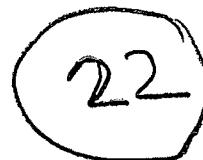


American Literature

*A Journal of
Literary History, Criticism, and Bibliography*

Volume 22

1950-1951



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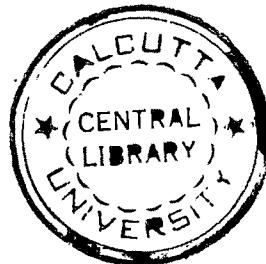
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Published in November, January, March, and May
by the

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

with the Co-operation of the American Literature Group of the
Modern Language Association of America

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KRAUS REPRINT CORPORATION

New York, 1961

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KALEVALA AS A REPUTED SOURCE OF LONGFELLOW'S SONG OF HIAWATHA

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I

FOR NEARLY a century scholars and critics have debated the relative influence of Lönnrot's Finnish folk-poem or epic, *Kalevala*, upon Longfellow's *The Song of Hiawatha*. One of the first and most devastating of them, T. C. Porter, declared that Longfellow had transferred the form, metre, spirit and some of the most striking incidents of [*Kalevala*] to the North American Indians; . . . his *Song of Hiawatha* was not a creation but an imitation. . . . The resemblance [is] not in the metre only. The general plan and structure of the two poems . . . are the same. . . . The runes are alike; the preludes are alike.¹

To this vitriol, Longfellow did not reply directly, but he wrote Charles Sumner (Dec. 3, 1855):

This is truly one of the greatest literary outrages I ever heard of. But I think it is done mainly to show the learning of the writer. He will stand finally in the position of a man who makes public assertions he cannot substantiate. . . . I know the *Kalevala* very well; and that some of its legends resemble those preserved by Schoolcraft is very true. But the idea of making me responsible for that is too ludicrous.²

In England the discussions were confined to the meter. William Howitt compared the meter of *Hiawatha* and *Kalevala*. Another critic, pointing to the lack of alliteration in Longfellow's poem, suggested Spanish models. For two months, November and December of 1855, the weekly issues of the *Athenaeum* carried controversial articles on the subject. Finally Ferdinand Freiligrath, the German poet-friend of Longfellow, published a communication³ revealing

¹ "Kalevala and Hiawatha," *Mercersburg Review*, VIII, 255 (Nov., 1855).

² Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (New York, 1891), II, 297.

³ "The Measure of Hiawatha," *Athenaeum*, No. 1470, p. 1534 (Dec. 29, 1855).

that he and Longfellow had read the *Finnische Runen*⁴ together in 1842. Freiligrath wrote to Longfellow:

Of course William Howitt is right; and your trochaic metre is taken from the Finns, not from the Spaniards. The very moment I looked into the book I exclaimed,—“Launawater, Frau die alte,” and was laughing with you . . . as thirteen years ago on the Rhine. The characteristic feature, which shows that you have fetched the metre from the Finns, is the *parallelism* adopted so skilfully and so gracefully in *Hiawatha*.⁵

Longfellow, embarrassed by his friend's gratuitous contribution to the *Athenaeum*, in a circumspect reply questioned his indebtedness to von Shröter's runes: “Your article . . . needs only one paragraph more, to make it complete; and that is the statement that parallelism belongs to Indian poetry as well as to Finnish. . . . And this is my justification for adopting it in *Hiawatha*.⁶”

Later Freiligrath recognized that Longfellow's view was correct.⁷ However, Freiligrath's initial statement is now generally accepted,⁸ and this in spite of the fact that he had entered the discussion without sufficient knowledge of the American background of *Hiawatha*, and worse still, without definite information about Lönnrot's *Kalevala* and the poetic devices governing Finnish runes.

The charges of imitation and plagiarism were reiterated by later critics, especially by W. F. Kirby,⁹ George Goodwin,¹⁰ and Malcolm Bingay. The latter expressed his horror of Longfellow as follows: “We have looked upon it as the great Homeric classic of our Indian folklore. And now we are informed that Mr. Longfellow stole the whole thing, almost bodily from the national epic of Finland. . . . The son of a gun.”¹¹

⁴ D. H. R. von Shröter's *Finnische Runen* is not a translation of *Kalevala* as G. S. and S. Osborn state in *Schoolcraft-Longfellow-Hiawatha* (Lancaster, Pa., 1942), p. 38, but an independent collection of runes made in Uppsala by von Shröter which he had gotten from Finnish students there, according to Aarne Anttila, professor at Helsinki University and secretary of Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (the national literary society of Finland).

⁵ Samuel Longfellow, *op. cit.*, II, 298.

⁶ James T. Hatfield, “The Longfellow-Freiligrath Correspondence,” *PMLA*, XLVIII, 1281 (Dec., 1933).

⁷ Preface of Freiligrath's German translation of *Hiawatha* (Stuttgart, 1857), p. 10. See also W. L. Schramm, “*Hiawatha* and Its Predecessors,” *Philological Quarterly*, XI, 338-339 n. 60 (Oct., 1932).

⁸ *Encyclopedie Britannica* (London, 1942), XIII, 244. See also Osborn, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁹ W. F. Kirby's preface to *Kalevala* (London, 1907), pp. viii-ix.

¹⁰ *John o'London's Weekly*, XLII, No. 1084 (Jan. 19, 1940).

¹¹ Malcolm Bingay, “Good Morning,” *Detroit Free Press*, Jan. 27, 1940, p. 23.

Chase Osborn, enraged by Bingay's journalistic bludgeoning of Longfellow, denounced Bingay and defended the fair state of Michigan, whose name, seemingly, Bingay had smirched by the belittling of its immortalized Indian folklore. Osborn and his daughter compiled a book which, they hoped, would scotch for all time the imputation that *Hiawatha* was not American in origin. They failed to convince Dr. Bingay, who had many reputable critics on his side. The dispute ended as others had, with Longfellow's disparagers relishing their iconoclasm, and with his friends outraged at a gross affront offered their favorite American poet.

A number of Americans have quite recently published data to support Longfellow's position. Helen A. Clarke and Stith Thompson have listed and discussed the Indian legends which Longfellow had at his disposal. They have pointed out the heroic portions of some of them used by Longfellow and the ignoble portions rejected by him, and they have noted the love story supplied by Longfellow, an appeal to his white readers.¹² W. L. Schramm found by examining eleven Indian narrative poems published in America between 1790 and 1849 that "ten [had] a predominance of tetrameter lines. Mrs. Morton's *Quabi* of 1790 was largely tetrameter, much of it trochaic. *Yamoyden* is almost entirely tetrameter. *The Land of Powhatan* employs four and five stress couplets and quatrains. . . . *Tecumseh* is almost entirely tetrameter. *Alhalla* is trochaic tetrameter."¹³ In the preface to *Alhalla*, writes Schramm, appears this statement: "The measure is thought to be not ill adapted to the Indian mode of enunciation . . . nearly every initial syllable of the measure chosen is under accent. [This] . . . favors repetitious rhythm, or pseudo-parallelism which so strongly marks their highly compound lexicography."¹⁴ Thus Longfellow was advised by Schoolcraft, concluded Schramm, to use tetrameters and trochees.¹⁵

¹² Helen A. Clarke, *Longfellow's Country* (New York, 1909), pp. 196-215; *The Poets' New England* (New York, 1911), pp. 78-81; Stith Thompson, "The Indian Legend of *Hiawatha*," *PMLA*, XXXVII, 139-140 (June, 1922). Nathan Haskell Dole in his "Introduction to *The Song of Hiawatha*" (New York, 1899), pp. iii-xiii, suggests that the meter and style of *Hiawatha* were utilized by translators of *Kalevala*, probably referring to Crawford and Porter. Certainly the paralleling of prepositional phrases was a Longfellow device by which Crawford profited.

¹³ W. L. Schramm, *op. cit.*, pp. 339-340. See also Osborn, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁴ See Henry Rowe Colcraft [Schoolcraft], *Alhalla or the Lord of Talladega—A Tale of the Creek War* (New York and London, 1843), pp. 2-3.

¹⁵ Schramm, *op. cit.*, p. 340; and Osborn, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

Chase Osborn quoted Schoolcraft¹⁶ to establish the Indian origin of parallelism and to prove that Greek meters and English rhymes were not adapted to Indian poetry.¹⁷ He indicated that Schoolcraft and Longfellow, very early, were inspired by Heckewelder.¹⁸ And finally Osborn pointed out that Schoolcraft's work is the true basis for *Hiawatha*, for without Schoolcraft's help it could never have been written, a fact admitted in Longfellow's journal and letters: "I pored over Schoolcraft's writings for nearly three years before I resolved to appropriate something of them to my own use. . . . Looked over Schoolcraft's great book on the Indians. . . . I wrote a few lines of the poem. . . . Working away with Tanner, Heckewelder, and sundry books about the Indians."¹⁹

The possibility that Longfellow in writing *Hiawatha* was stimulated by the theories of Herder²⁰ has generally been overlooked. Herder's influence in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe is well known. He had "awakened an interest in the primitive conditions of mankind." He had collected and published the folk songs of many nations (1778-1779) and had "drawn attention to those elements in German life and art which were . . . national." The fact that Herder's ideas spread to Finland almost immediately is generally unknown in America. These ideas spurred patriots of Finland to collect runes and folk songs. Much later, through Longfellow and Irving, the European interest in primitive poetry spread to America. Longfellow translated ancient poetry and, urged on by Schoolcraft, studied Indian lore and song for use in a new poem. Like Herder, he stressed the beautiful and good, the moral influence. But he cherished particularly the *Indian origin* of *Hiawatha*. To him, with its novel Indian verse form, *Hiawatha* probably seemed to be Indian *Volkslieder*, a vindication of Herder's theory

¹⁶ Osborn, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-40, quotes Schoolcraft's *Poetic Development of the Indian Mind* to establish the Indian origin of parallelism: "There is indeed in the flow of their oratory, as well as songs, a strong tendency to the figure of parallelism."

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38. Reference is made to Schoolcraft's *Historical and Statistical Information Regarding the . . . Indian Mind*, III, 328.

¹⁸ Osborn, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 400. Longfellow wrote his mother concerning Heckewelder's work on November 9, 1823. See Samuel Longfellow, *op. cit.*, I, 32.

¹⁹ Osborn, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-12. Longfellow got some information from a student just returned from the West and from an Ojibway chief. See also Samuel Longfellow, *op. cit.*, II, 273, 276.

²⁰ According to James T. Hatfield, *New Light on Longfellow* (Boston, 1933), chaps. iv and v, Longfellow "obtained the complete works of Herder (44 vols.) at Bowdoin, cir. '33."

that poetry is "a proteus among the people which changes its form according to language, manners, habits, temperament, climate . . . and accent."²¹

II

The critics who steadfastly maintained that Longfellow used *Kalevala* rather than Indian poems as a model and an inspiration for his poem *Hiawatha* assumed that *Kalevala* was easily accessible to Longfellow, and that its form and content could be (and were) transferred by him to *Hiawatha*. Is such an assumption warranted?

With "the sweet insouciance of lettered ease," Longfellow inadvertently encouraged the antics of his derogators when, in 1854, he noted in his journal that he was "reading with great delight the Finnish epic, *Kalevala*. It is charming." And later: "I have hit upon a measure, too, which I think the right and only one for such a theme."²²

Readers of his journal, believing that nothing could prevent him from reading *Kalevala* in Finnish once he acquired a copy, understood by his remarks that he read it in Finnish and planned to use its meter in *Hiawatha*. Actually Longfellow made no such statement. He did say that he pored over Indian lore and poetry (Schoolcraft) for three years and spent a day or two reading *Kalevala* (no language specified) before he began writing *Hiawatha*.

Barriers to his reading *Kalevala* in Finnish in such a short time were legion, the first being the barrier of language. "Carelian is the language of the *Kalevala*: forms and words . . . need explanation," for Carelian is a dialect and differs "from the ruling and literary speech of Finland, which is Tavast. There are also varieties in Carelian itself."²³ The Finnish instruction that Longfellow had in Stockholm was very probably in Tavast, for his teacher came from western Finland. Not until after 1862, when Lönnrot published his notes on *Kalevala*, was the vocabulary of Carelia made clear to any person not in the small group at the center of the rune-collecting movement. August Ahlqvist's early notes (1853), for example, are not in Longfellow's library; Ahlqvist's glossary

²¹ His early interest in Indians is well established by H. W. L. Dana and Manning Hawthorne in the "Origins of Longfellow's *Evangeline*," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XLI, 194 (3rd quarter, 1947).

²² Samuel Longfellow, *op. cit.*, II, 273.

²³ Domenico Comparetti, *The Traditional Poetry of the Finns*, trans. by Isabella M. Anderton (London, 1898), p. 59.

of *Kalevala* (Helsingfors, 1878),²⁴ as well as Lönnrot's dictionary (1874-1880), came out too late to be of use to Longfellow. Ahlqvist revised the text of *Kalevala* (1856), and Julius Krohn published a factual criticism of "all the popular literature of his country" (1885), including *Kalevala*, for current ideas of it were "very inexact and incorrect even among the Finns themselves."²⁵ Since Longfellow had a copy of Castrén's Swedish translation (1841), Schieffner's German translation (1852), and a French translation, he probably used them as aids to reading the Finnish version.²⁶ Ahlqvist, however, has shown that these translations do not reproduce the form and the meter of *Kalevala*, and very often fail to convey the meaning and spirit of the poem.²⁷

The fact that Longfellow in the summer of 1835 lacked time and good environment for studying even the Tavastian Finnish formed the second barrier. He made Stockholm, a most un-Finnish town, his headquarters for two months. During the last thirteen days of this period, he studied Finnish, interrupted by various activities, such as an evening with Professor Anders Fryxell, a Swedish historian; a visit with David Erskine; a call with Hughes on Count Wetterstedt; a visit to the museum of natural history; a dinner party at Stockoe's; visits to the city hall, to the House of Lords with Professor Forsell, to the archives with Liljegren, to the palace with Baron Stackelberg; the reading of Swedish ballads; taking notes in the public library; packing boxes of belongings, writing letters, and generally preparing for his departure. His teacher, Gustaf H. Mellin, remarked that Longfellow was trying to do too much in too little time—and so he was.²⁸

A third barrier was that Longfellow was never in direct touch with prominent Finnish patriots, linguists, or literary men, who might have conveyed important facts about *Kalevala* to him. Stockholm in 1835 attracted no Finns. Refugees from Finland like F. M. Franzén or G. H. Mellin were of Swedish stock and speech,

²⁴ August Ahlqvist, *Täydellinen Kalevalan Sonasto* (Helsingfors, 1878).

²⁵ Comparetti, *op. cit.*, p. 7 n. 2 and pp. 12-14.

²⁶ H. W. L. Dana in a letter of July 22, 1947, to Waino Nyland.

²⁷ August Ahlqvist, "Granskning af Hr. Schieffner's Översättning af *Kalevala*," *Suomi* (Helsingfors, 1853), pp. 49-99.

²⁸ Longfellow's journal at Craigie House, Aug. 13-26, 1835, as quoted by Andrew R. Hilén, Jr., *Longfellow and Scandinavia* (New Haven, 1947), pp. 133-136; see also letter of Mellin to Nicander, p. 18 n. 3.

natives of East Bothnia, an integral part of Sweden till 1808. Once in Sweden they interested themselves only in Swedish literature and culture. Even the so-called "Finn by birth,"²⁹ Adolf Iwar Arwidsson, once docent in history at Åbo Academy and editor of the Åbo *Morgonblad* (1817, Swedish), was of Swedish stock and speech though he advocated the adoption of Finnish in Finland thus: "We are not Swedes [citizens of Sweden], we do not want to be Russians, then let us be Finns."³⁰ In Uppsala, where he took refuge from the Russians, he was regarded as a Finn because his birthplace was Padasjoki, Tavastland, Finland.³¹ But he produced no Finnish works, collected no runes. Eventually he became Sweden's Royal Librarian and helped in the publication of the Rääf collection of Swedish folk songs.³²

Nor did Mellin, who taught Longfellow Finnish, promote Finnish national literature. Born of Swedish parents, Mellin had an ultra-Swedish bias, the result of unique childhood experiences, which fitted him for writing Swedish historical novels. He was born in Revolaks, East Bothnia, a region steeped in Swedish tradition. Orphaned after the war of 1808, Mellin was adopted by another refugee, Franz Michael Franzén, Sweden's popular bishop-poet, in whose highly cultured Swedish home the young man was trained for the ministry. He became assistant pastor in Stockholm in 1829.³³ When Longfellow arrived there in 1835, Mellin was at his zenith, the leader of a group of enthusiasts called "Young Sweden," and the publisher of a Swedish calendar, "Winter Flowers" (1832-1846), in which the poems of his friends and his own poems and historical novels appeared.³⁴ From Mellin, Longfellow could

²⁹ O. M. Reuter, *Finland i Ord och Bild* (Stockholm, 1901), pp. 389-390.

³⁰ Kustavi Grotenfelt, "Political Evolution, 1809-1899," *Finland, Its People and Institutions* (Helsinki, 1926), p. 183.

³¹ O. M. Reuter, *op. cit.*, p. 666.

³² Henrik Schück och Karl Warburg, *Illustrerad Svensk Litteraturhistoria*, 5 vols. (Stockholm, 1913), III, 194.

³³ Sara Wacklin, "G. H. Mellins Föräldrar och Barndom," *Hundrade Minnen från Österbotten* (Helsingfors, 1920), pp. 372-378. Mellin's father was a clergyman, his mother a relative of this educator and author, Sara Wacklin. The Mellin home, headquarters of the Russian General Bulatoff in 1808, was riddled with bullets in the bloodiest and most famous battle of the war. Gustav was one of the three children hidden in the cast-iron oven. Mrs. Mellin, with her infant in her arms, lay on the floor protected by hides and rugs. The pastor guarded the door; outside, the Russian general stood, gun in hand. All the Mellins survived. Later the infant died. The family was transferred to a parish in Sweden. There the parents died after suffering shock and disease as a result of the battle of Revolaks.

³⁴ Schück och Warburg, *op. cit.*, IV (1), 458-459.

scarcely get an impartial analysis or an adequate appraisal of the new Finnish cultural movement. Longfellow returned to Cambridge with "his manuscript notes and his Finnish grammars in various languages,"³⁵ but with no collection of runes, no copy of *Kalevala*, though the first volume came off the press on December 20, 1835—the second on March 5, 1836, the two years of Longfellow's principal activities in buying books for the Harvard Library. According to Aarne Anttila, the present secretary, copies were then available, for fifteen years elapsed before the five hundred copies of the first edition sold out. Not until December 1, 1906, did a copy of this edition arrive at Harvard; the second edition arrived on June 25, 1860, well after the publication of *Hiawatha*.³⁶ Longfellow had acquired a copy of the second edition, meantime, which, for reasons already mentioned, was of little use to him.

That Longfellow learned so little about *Kalevala* in Stockholm is not surprising for another reason. For nearly a century culture in Åbo had taken another course from that in Stockholm. While the French pseudo-classical school predominated in Stockholm, the ideas of the German and English early romantic schools were in the ascendancy in Åbo.³⁷ This cultural division was rooted in international relations.

During the eighteenth century Sweden left Finland "to its fate to form a gory breastwork for . . . Sweden."³⁸ Finland had been "brought to the brink of ruin and despair" by two Russian invasions and occupations, and feared obliteration. It longed to preserve its identity, to be free of invaders and oppressors, and to become a nation. Early standard-bearers of this nationalism were Daniel Juslenius, historian, folklorist, lexicographer; and H. G. Porthan (1739-1804), historian, geographer, newsman, rune-collector, teacher, and scholar.

After the war of 1808 the vaunted Swedish culture in Finland became as defunct as did Sweden herself. At home the writers of Sweden soothed the nation's wounds by glorifying her past in lyrical poetry and historical novels. Their resistance to the new cultural

³⁵ H. W. L. Dana, letter of July 22, 1947, to Waino Nyland.

³⁶ Foster Palmer, of the Harvard Library, in a letter to Waino Nyland, May 21, 1947.

³⁷ Karl Bruhn, "Literature in the Swedish Language," *Finland, Its People and Institutions*, p. 569.

³⁸ Kustav Grotenfelt, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

movement in Finland was rooted in century-old prejudice. Under Swedish domination only boors had spoken Finnish. Swedish had prevailed in the schools, the courts, and in the upper classes, though Tarkiainen writes that "conversations with the Almighty were permitted in Finnish."³⁹ Now, Swedish literary men, including Mellin, deaf to the melody of *Kalevala*, hoped for Sweden's reunion with Finland and a re-extension of Swedish culture. Their attitude galled the Finns, who regarded the Swedish demise as good riddance.⁴⁰

Meantime the nationalists were uncovering a native literature. In 1819 D. H. R. von Shröter,⁴¹ published some runes in Uppsala (in Finnish and German) which he had gotten from the Finnish students there. In 1820 Reinhold von Bekker published at Åbo a number of runes on Wäinämöinen, which he had collected in East Bothnia and ordered according to subject, anticipating *Kalevala* in this device. A country doctor, Zacharius Topelius, gathered runes from peddlers coming from East Carelia (1822-1831), and Elias Lönnrot collected a group called *The Cithern, or Runes and Songs, Ancient and Modern, of the Finnish People* (1829-1831). These collections were not ordered according to the subject.⁴²

When the "romantic movement began its victorious progress through Europe," the rune-collectors were already at work in Finland, noticed now by the brothers Grimm of Germany. At this time (1831), in order to insure the progress of the work, Topelius, Casström, Sjögren, Ahlqvist, D. E. D. Europaeus, and others, banded

³⁹ V. Tarkiainen, "Finnish Literature," *Finland, Its People and Institutions* (Helsinki, 1926), p. 545.

⁴⁰ Schück och Warburg, *op. cit.*, IV (1), 63-64. The following letter is in the possession of the Swedish Literary Society in Åbo (Feb., 1818): "The Finns are to them [the Swedes] Kalmucks and Russian Mongols. Only Sweden and Germany are of any account. They don't forget their ancestors. . . . That they are of 'gothic' blood is their boast. But they fail to acknowledge the value of the blood of Finland which flowed for them at Siikajoki, Revolaks, Pulkkila, Alavo, Lappo, and other forgotten places. The Swedes write down the victories to themselves. They speak of the culture (!) they opened to us but never of what we suffered for them, or of the fidelity with which our ancestors served their kings and their bailiffs. No honorable Finn can love this thankless, enervated, flaccid, malevolent, party-torn, ancestor-worshipping, bragging, and therefore 'has-been' Sweden. True, a few entertain fair thoughts of our country . . . but on the whole, noble and rabble alike are offal from the whore world of Stockholm, whose 'splendour' has definitely influenced even the most isolated regions of our homeland" (translation).

⁴¹ D. H. R. von Shröter, German antiquarian, published *Finnische Runen* in Uppsala, 1819. See Elof Tegnér's *Tegnér's Skrifter*, 7 vols. (Stockholm, 1884), V, 186, and VII, 354.

⁴² Comparetti, *ibid.*, p. 5.

themselves together in the Society of Finnish Literature. In 1833, while he was in Russian Carelia, Lönnrot heard the singer Vassili sing a long sequence dealing with Wäinämöinen. Less than a year later he set to work on *Kalevala* or *The Land of Heroes*. He presented it to the Finnish Society in February, 1835. It was published immediately. Castrén translated it into Swedish in 1841.⁴³ In 1845 Lönnrot discovered the Kullervo runes in Ingria. He included them in the second edition of *Kalevala* (1849).

The publication of the two editions of *Kalevala* was not a stopping point but rather the beginning of rune-collecting. To this day the Finns still consciously cultivate their indigenous literature and art. For Longfellow or anyone else, to copy their literary work rather than emulate it is quite impossible, as even a cursory examination of the content and form of their most famous poem, *Kalevala*, will show.

III

Kalevala "is of natural, spontaneous origin; it is simple, primitive, and easy, and has its roots in the nature . . . of the Finnic language"; whereas *Hiawatha* is an art poem, literary in adornment, created by an individual poet, who has shown "skill in the principle of artistic selection . . . omitting much that he knew would contradict the impression he desired to leave."⁴⁴ He has idealized his characters. His savages are noble in the manner approved in Europe of 1820-1850. "Between *Kalevala* and *Hiawatha* a chasm yawns," writes Aarne Anttila, one of Finland's leading scholars. "The resemblances are accidental and of superficial character."⁴⁵ Not only were the conditions under which the two poems came into being in no way similar, but the respective authors were apparently opposites in mind and aim. They had no influence on each other.

The folk poems and songs which Elias Lönnrot gathered on foot tours throughout Finland and arranged in a story pattern to form *Kalevala* were the result of a natural growth, in popular form, of songs composed by centuries of runo-singers. None was composed by a literate person.⁴⁶ Lönnrot wrote them down nearly ver-

⁴³ Longfellow possessed a copy of this translation.

⁴⁴ John Rush Powell, *Narrative Poems of Longfellow* (Chicago, 1908), pp. 112-113.

⁴⁵ Aarne Anttila, in a letter to Waino Nyland on Oct. 15, 1948: "Mellan *Kalevala* och *Hiawatha* gapar en klyfte, likheterna äro av tillfällig och ytlig karäktar."

⁴⁶ Martti Haavio, "Kalevala," *Finland Today* (Helsinki, 1948), pp. 99-112. Haavio states that "Professor Uno Harva, of Turku Finnish University, has reached the conclusion that the heroic ballads were composed by professional bards. Their listeners passed them on to new groups of listeners."

batim and connected them by inserting a few lines (about 4 per cent) to make a story. He superimposed no love story upon the original runes, and no modern notions of nobility and self-sacrifice. "Kalevala is entirely a folk poem."⁴⁷

The very fact that *Kalevala* was produced as a part of two centuries of rune-gathering and that it grew from a national urge toward self-realization tends to make it a unique poem—the symbol of national spirit. "The first edition of *Kalevala* was, for most people, not a book, not a poem, but a secret, magic, native inspiration, a fetish, an article of faith, a password among the people. An ordinary book or poem, which people read, understand, and marvel at, could not have had such an effect."⁴⁸

In the heroic sequences, which form the framework of *Kalevala*, we hear "the subdued murmurings of thoughts . . . a thousand years" old. These poems "reconstruct the whole of ancient society, . . . its customs and usages: (the farmer, the hunter, the fisherman), the smith in his low turf cabin, the boat-builder seeking a suitable keel for a war sloop, the housewife on her way to the storehouse, the beautiful daughter of the house going to the foggy headland to wash the clothes." "Over it all broods the potent, stark, strange spell of the ancient world . . . the primitive, naïve, proud heroism of the wilderness," the eternal struggle of the Finnish people against the threat of dark and evil forces.⁴⁹

Kalevala is not eclectic but experiential poetry. It illustrates the harsh, disappointing human relations surrounding daily life. The hero is beset with a succession of embarrassing moments. Virtue is not a shield against evil. Sin is unpunished. Evil often prevails. In these and many other respects, *Kalevala* is an antithesis of *Hiawatha*. *Hiawatha* is born to win. He progresses through life spiritually unscathed, a sure victor in all struggles against evil. He is never a fool, never uses bad judgment, is never thwarted. Wäinämöinen, though wise, cannot escape evil. His chosen bride Aino jumps into a lake to escape his embrace. His wooing of Louhi's⁵⁰ daughter ends by her marriage to the smith. Further-

⁴⁷ Anttila in a letter of Oct. 10, 1948, writes: "Kalevalaversen är rent folklig."

⁴⁸ Anttila, "Elias Lönnrot," *Radioföredrag* (Stockholm, June 17, 1942), p. 5, translated.

⁴⁹ Haavio, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

⁵⁰ The *Encyclopædia Britannica* refers to Louhi of the *Kalevala* as a hero of Pohjola; whereas Louhi is a woman, a very malicious one.

more, Wäinämöinen's proposal shows an impish lack of tact: "I will not make a bad husband; I am no lazier than other heroes." The story exposes his shortcomings fully. For all his wisdom and song he is an easy victim of any malicious old woman. The epic contains a welter of love episodes, but no happy endings. Wäinämöinen falls in love with a capricious and beautiful maiden who appears in the sky sitting on a rainbow; in showing off before her, he splits his knee with an axe and nearly bleeds to death while he gallops around the countryside screaming for help.

The handsome Lemminkainen, likewise, is often abashed and has his share of tragedy. When he woos the Maid of Saari, he drives into the yard with such recklessness that his sledge overturns, dumping him into the snow, to the hilarious amusement of the Saari kindred. He stills their laughter by abducting the maiden and later deserting her. Next, he courts Louhi's daughter, and while carrying out his difficult feats of strength to win her, he is shot by a jealous cowherd. His mother, through the power of her love, raises him from the dead. He returns to Pohjola (having learned that Louhi's daughter is married to the smith) to kill her father. He is then forced to flee to a distant island for safety, where he joins a company of maidens, many of whom fall in love with him. He is driven even farther away to another island, by the hatred of men. Louhi's daughter, over whom three heroes fought, is eventually murdered by an irate servant, Kullervo. In another rune⁶¹ Kullervo deflowers his sister, and their double suicide follows.

Throughout the poem we get exquisite glimpses of a maze of Finnish forests and lakes, and of the animals and birds and fish who live there. The objects of nature, accurately portrayed, are personified; startling comments on the adventures of human beings come from the trees, the birds, and the moon. In a clearing in the forest, miles from other clearings, one glimpses an occasional Finnish homestead. Within the walls of the house, one finds very little joy—conflicting wills, pride, frustration, oppression, quarrel-someness, even murder, and a "such-is-life" philosophy. Lönnrot's title, "The Land of Heroes," is tinged with irony; his collection of poems, handed down through the centuries by unknown men and women, deals not only with the glory and tragedy of man but also

⁶¹ Comparetti, *op. cit.*, chap. III.

with his ridiculous and mean side. These unknown authors had employed a subdued humor while humbly acknowledging human disgrace and debasement.⁵² Precisely such a subject appealed to the people, the rune-collectors, and to Elias Lönnrot.

Somehow, Lönnrot has become the symbol of Finland and of *Kalevala*. He was born into a poor tailor's family in the outmark, whose misery was swelled by war and hard times; the Lönnrot children, in order to alleviate their hunger, were forced to go on begging tours. These tours conditioned Elias for twelve and a half thousand miles of travel on foot incidental to his rune gathering. Though he suffered the innumerable embarrassments that a poverty-stricken home can bring to a boy who aims at culture and fame, he remained cheerful and fun-loving. Throughout his life he retained an exaggerated sense of humility; he viewed his success as a scholar as entirely accidental. He dressed in the simplest garb—that of a farm hand. A misled landowner once required Dr. Lönnrot to chop wood for a meal in the kitchen, while he and a visiting priest ate in the dining room.

Coupled with his extreme humility was his good-natured facetiousness and his sense of the comical; he had a gift for quips and turns of speech. Zachris Topelius said of him that he recited humorous poems with the solemnity of burial songs. On these occasions an irrepressible, roguish twist of his mouth would send his listeners into hysterics. "His mirth was always veiled in seriousness, hence natural and truly Finnish." To the country people, not only was he a rune-gatherer and a rune singer, but he was "old Wäinämöinen himself returned from long exile, with birch-bark slippers on his feet and a psalm-book under his arm."⁵³

Obviously, Lönnrot, the man, stands in sharp contrast with Longfellow and Schoolcraft. Even this brief description of *Kalevala* suggests that the collection of poems he wove together to form *Kalevala* does not resemble *Hiawatha* in subject matter, spirit, poetic intention, or method of composition, aside from a purely accidental and superficial resemblance to *Hiawatha* of one or two minor "divine myths" included in the poems.⁵⁴ Supposedly one indisputable fact remains: the similarity of the poems in meter and poetic device, a problem to which we shall now turn.

⁵² Haavio, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-112.

⁵³ Aarne Anttila, "Elias Lönnrot," *Radioföredrag* (Stockholm, June 17, 1942), p. 11.

⁵⁴ Aarne Anttila, letter of Oct. 15, 1948.

IV

To sum up the poetic devices of *Kalevala* as unrhymed trochaic tetrameter and parallelism, as well as to declare them similar to the poetic devices of *Hiawatha*, is not only to oversimplify but to misrepresent facts. "Several Finnish scholars have [studied runo-verse], defining its metre, and its structure: Porthan first, then Rennval, von Bekker, Europaeus, Lönnrot, and most thoroughly of all, Ahlqvist."⁵⁵

Ahlqvist has furnished definite information about the unique poetic devices occurring in the original *Kalevala* but not reproduced in the translations, in *Hiawatha*, or in any analytic language. Because *Kalevala* is but an attempted recording of Carelian folk-song poetry, it has little relation to any book lyric of any modern poet. *Kalevala* is "a reflex of primitive life . . . the heart-beat of a youthful, impulsive people [contrasting] in simple directness . . . with the false rhetoric of modern book lyrics."⁵⁶ *Kalevala* belongs to a song-poetry which grew among a free people of the European North as the Negro spiritual grew among the slaves of the American South, without knowledge of writing, of notation, of rules, or of the standards of other nations, improvised, passed from voice to voice, to become traditional. Like spirituals and jazz it was "discovered" by an educated group, recorded not too accurately, and utilized by that group.

The first factor restricting the verse of *Kalevala* and making it folksong-poetry is the simple tune, played on the kantele, a five-stringed (G, A, B, C, D) instrument, to which each line is fitted.⁵⁷ This tune consists of four measures in 5/4 time. Each measure begins with six eighth-notes and ends with two quarters to make the count of five. The total of eight notes exactly fits the eight-syllabled tetrameter, causing the first six syllables to be rapid and the last two to be long. Two singers, according to ancient custom, sing

⁵⁵ Comparetti, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁵⁶ Kuno Francke, "Herder," *Library of the World's Best Literature* (New York, 1898), XIII, 7261.

⁵⁷ J. Tengström, "Om de Fordna Finnars Sällskap-Nöjen och Tidsfördrif," 1795, in *Vitterhets, historie, och antikvitets akademiens handlingar* (*Publications of the Academy of Literature, History, and Antiquity*), ed. Bror Emil Hildebrand (Stockholm, Ecksteinska Boktryckeriet, 1802), pp. 279-280. (Photostatic copy made by Aarne Antilla.)

the runes—the chief singer and his helper or weaver. The former initiates the line, the latter joins him on the two last syllables or quarter notes and repeats the first line solo, in the same notes and in a different key (according to Comparetti, *op. cit.*, p. 70), introducing an affirmation after the first foot, such as "I say," "yes," or "is." (According to Tengström the second singer sings the second measure of the tune.) The leader then introduces the second verse, either a variation of the first line or a new line, and the second measure of music. The singing proceeds in this way till the tune of four measures is used up. Then the tune is repeated. The two singers sit side by side or opposite each other. They hold hands and rock with the music, the second always verifying the statements of the first. Each line or verse must therefore contain an independent statement or concept, upon which variations can be built. The ancient musical phrase of *Kalevala* possesses a melancholy beauty when good voices sing it. It runs as follows:



"This ancient Finnish melody of the Finnish runes was used without fail throughout every song of the Skalds, however long, and so that the chief idea always might remain the same, without falling below the tonic or rising above the fifth, any variation of individual singers was slight, as for example":⁵⁸

FIRST VARIATION



⁵⁸ J. Tengström, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-280.

SECOND VARIATION



The usual Finnish runo-melody was described a century later as follows:⁵⁹



The second regulator of the meter, the trochaic tetrameter, according to Ahlqvist, does not have the same significance in Finnish, an innately trochaic and synthetic language, as it has in English or any innately analytic language.⁶⁰ The fact that the Finnish language is innately trochaic and that the language of *Kalevala* is very near to prose⁶¹ has never been hinted at by Longfellow's de-

⁵⁹ "Den vanliga Finska Runo-Melodin," *Fosterländskt Album*, I (Helsingfors, 1895), appendix.

⁶⁰ Ahlqvist, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

⁶¹ Anttila, letter of July 2, 1947.

rogators, or even by his friend Freiligrath. Surely this fact struck Longfellow with some force during the few days he spent with Mellin, as it would any English-speaking student.

The stress falls on the first syllable and uneven syllables of each word or line, with even syllables remaining always unstressed. Whether used in daily speech, in runo-songs, in *Kalevala*, Finnish is consistently trochaic. Its meter does not differentiate it from prose.⁶² Its feet are natural and free. *Hiawatha*, on the other hand, has been poured into a trochaic mold; its feet are chained.

The factors which distinguish the prose line of *Kalevala* from prose, in addition to the tune to which it is sung, are (1) an eight-syllable line adopted in Finnish folksong about A.D. 900. (2) Parallelism: "Every line must contain a complete idea, or a part of a greater idea, and this must be repeated in different words in the succeeding line."⁶³ (3) Alliteration: Each line must have within it words "beginning with the same letter, whether consonant or vowel. Alliterative consonants must generally be followed by the same vowels; but alliterative vowels need not be the same; it is quite sufficient that they be in some way related."⁶⁴ (4) Sixteen definite patterns for the "trochaic" feet: The inevitable trochees of *Kalevala* must follow one of sixteen patterns depending on whether one or two heavy stresses occur within the line. Lönnrot's Table II in his preface to *Kalevala* illustrates this requirement.⁶⁵ Two lines of similar stress rarely occur together except to emphasize the meaning. (The few lines of *Hiawatha* which can, by careful reading, be made to suggest the never-failing types of trochees in *Kalevala* have been placed to the right of Table II. Many lines in *Hiawatha* are not trochaic: "Without mercy, he destroyed them," "And so awful was his aspect," "On the grave of the Mondamin," "If still further you should ask me.")

(5) Free rhyme does occur in *Kalevala*, not only between lines but within them. It is never obligatory. It results from the similarity of the many-syllabled endings of grammatical forms in this highly synthetic language.⁶⁶ Ahlqvist speaks of "the sensuous,

⁶² Comparetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁶⁵ Elias Lönnrot, *Kalevala, taikka Wanhoja Karjalan Runoja, Suomen Kansan muinosista ajoista*—i.e., *Kalevala, or Ancient Carelian Songs of the Primitive Finnic People* (Helsingfors, 1835), Table II, pp. xxviii-xxix.

⁶⁶ Ahlqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

caressing pleasure of the [unstressed end] rhyme."⁶⁷ The following end rhymes occur in the twenty opening lines of the *Kalevala*: tekewi - ajattelwi; weikkoseni - kielkumppalini; rajoilla - mailla; kåtchen - hakahan; kultasien - mielitehtosien; nousewassa - kasuawassa. A few rhymes within the line also occur. Often five end rhymes occur in succession. None occur in *Hiawatha*.

(6) The caesura is present in every line. "The Finnish runo-verses, though they are so simple that they seem to consist only of four trochees, offer through the anticipated caesurae and the dissimilarity of their location in the verse, such a variety and interchange [of rhythm] that [the rune] never seems to pound along or become monotonous or tiresome. Good lines escape duplication of accent, quantity, and caesura in a succeeding verse. When duplication occurs, it marks some unique circumstance."⁶⁸

LÖNNROT'S TABLE II

THE VERSE	THE FEET	LINES FROM <i>Hiawatha</i> (approximating this accent)
	I II IV V	
Four-footed	- u - u - u - u	Ever rising, rising, rising, Youth is lovely, age is lonely,
Little-headed	u u - u - u - u	Of his perilous adventures
Little-necked	- u u u - u - u
Little-backed	- u - u u u - u	Smote and crushed it into fragments
Little-tailed	- u - u - u u u	Arrow-heads of chalcedony
Rising	u u - u u u - u	Of his perilous adventures
Falling	- u u u - u u u	Wayward as the Minnehaha
Fronting	- u - u u u u u	Strip these garments, green and yellow
Backing	u u u u - u - u	And the very strong man, Kwasind
Sided	- u u u u u - u	Cried aloud, "It is Mondamin!"
Centered	u u - u - u u u	All the trunks that Kwasind lifted
Tailed	u u u u u u - u	To the land of the Hereafter
Backed	u u u u - u u u	Through the shining mist of morning
Necked	u u - u u u u u	That you come so far to see us
Headed	- u u u u u u u	Never was our lake so tranquil
Littled	u u u u u u u u

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

(7) Onomatopoeia has a vital function. "Often the runo-verse tries and succeeds through sounds found within the range of human articulation to express even the inarticulate sounds of nature, and imitates and characterizes various nuances of form, color, weight, speed, etc."⁶⁹

(8) The interplay of alliteration and rhyme seemingly results in emphasis. Ahlqvist continues, "*Kalevala* is embellished with alliterations and with the sensuous, caressing pleasure of rhyme. Alliteration is found regularly in each verse. Rhyme does not occur as often, however. Generally when rhyme occurs, it occurs when the accent and the caesura occur together in succeeding lines, in order to call attention to some unique or unusual fact."

(9) The trochaic tetrameter in English lacks the provocation of the Finnish rune, for in English, the strife of the accent with the quantity is absent. In the rune verse, "when the accent is trampled by the quantity the caesura is produced," the so-called syncopation. The rune verse is highly rhythmical.⁷⁰ In these ways, not in the meter, it differs from prose.

Finally, in the opinion of Comparetti,⁷¹ the poem that Lönnrot pieced together from ancient folksongs lacks historicity, unity, harmony, and convergence toward a final catastrophe.⁷² Hence, it is not an epic. It has no limited subject. "A studious Finnish youth has observed that no runes had been found or can be found which might not be introduced into it."⁷³ Lönnrot scattered parts of some songs throughout, for the sake of story. Other parts have little connection with each other.

v

With these points at hand, we see the danger of a remark such as "the meter of unrhymed trochaic tetrameter was frankly borrowed from the *Kalevala*, a Finnish epic."⁷⁴

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Ahlqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁷¹ Comparetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 327-359.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 345. He refers the reader to Ursin, *Den Homeriska frågan* (Helsingfors, 1878), p. 59.

⁷⁴ Crawford-Kern-Needleman, *Outline-History of American Literature* (New York, 1945), p. 112. Ahlqvist has asked: "What do the Swedish and German translators [I add English] give us of [the] unique beauties of *Kalevala*? Nothing but four trochaic feet, dry and stripped of all pleasure! For [these] languages . . . building the line on accent, have been unable to endow their verse with that excitability and provocation which arises through the contest (always going on) between the accent and the quantity, the caesura resulting from the quantity trampling the accent. These languages have long since divorced them-

Like Aarne Anttila, Longfellow apparently was conscious of the gap between *Kalevala* and *Hiawatha*. As a result he refused to acknowledge any debt to *Kalevala*. His angry denials as well as his remark, "I know the *Kalevala* well," are evidence of this fact. He predicted that his derogators would finally stand "in the position of a man who makes statements he cannot substantiate." Longfellow declared that he took the meter of *Hiawatha* from Indian songs, for he knew enough about *Kalevala* to know that his poem did not follow its poetic techniques. The prose rhythms of Finnish are the rhythms of *Kalevala* but are not the rhythms of *Hiawatha*, or of any other non-Finnish poem.

selves from all close relation with nature, and have very little feeling for nature's manifold manifestations and phenomena. As a result they have lost their power to imitate nature's sounds. Consequently when transferred to these languages, the rich onomatopoesy of the Finnish original has been lost in translation. [These] languages have even balked at the use of alliteration which in ancient Finnish takes the place of sensory musical devices, such as rhyme and assonance, which serve to beautify poetry in other languages. This nakedness, this lack of all the agents through which poetic beauty [in Finnish] becomes beauty of language, has resulted in making at least the Swedish translations of the ancient Finnish poems almost worthless to the general public (*Granskning af Hr. Schieffner's Översättning af Kalevala*, p. 51).

TOCQUEVILLE AND WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING

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SEVERAL WRITERS have been impressed by the prophetic quality of some of Alexis de Tocqueville's formulations on American literature. Without a consuming interest in American belles-lettres, without a single explicit reference to any American poet or novelist, Tocqueville, in 1839, put his finger on certain qualities of this literature which only the future would unveil. Edward Dowden and Charles Cestre were to find a striking correlation between his characterizations and many features of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*.¹ Such facts as this may well justify a closer study of Tocqueville's ideas on literature. Here we are concerned with only a small area of the background of his thinking. I want to call attention to William Ellery Channing's *Remarks on National Literature* as a possible source of some of the Frenchman's notions on the kind of literature to be expected in America.

G. W. Pierson's admirable study of *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America* traces a large part of *Démocratie en Amérique* to its sources in documents garnered and interviews held by Tocqueville during his visit to the United States. One of these conversations was with Channing. As reported in Tocqueville's papers, it was devoted mainly to the subject of religion. Tocqueville expresses his apprehension that democracy might lead men to natural religion, a religion without revelation. Channing, who reposes more confidence in the common man's religious instinct than does Tocqueville, defends the Unitarian creed against the charge that it might open the way to natural religion or to no religion at all. There is nothing in the conversation, as it is reported, to suggest that the two men discussed literature. But whether they did or not, Tocqueville had already read some of Channing's writings. Tocqueville's diary de-

¹ Edward Dowden, "The Poetry of Democracy: Walt Whitman," *Studies in Literature* (1789-1877) (London, 1909), pp. 495 ff.; Katharine Harrison, "A French Forecast of American Literature," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXV, 350-360 (Oct., 1926); Charles Cestre, "Alexis de Tocqueville, témoin et juge de la civilisation américaine," *Revue des cours et conférences*, XXXV, 281-287 (Jan. 15, 1934).

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scribes Channing as the "most remarkable author" in the America of that time.² A letter he wrote to a biographer of Channing tells us that he had read with ardor some of the New Englander's writings before their 1831 meeting in Boston.³ He had at least one volume of Channing in his library.⁴ In the course of his travels he met in Philadelphia the same Charles J. Ingersoll whose 1823 oration, the "Discourse concerning the Influence of America on the Mind," had been the text for Channing's *Remarks on National Literature*.⁵ Channing's essay was to appear in translation in Paris in 1838, with a preface by Mme Louise Swanton Belloc discussing that first part of Tocqueville's work that had already appeared in 1835.⁶ Tocqueville did not finish writing his second part until late in 1839.⁷

Tocqueville's chapter on the sources of poetry among democracies bears an interesting resemblance to sections of Channing's essay. Both stress the differences between aristocratic and democratic literature. Democratic society, Tocqueville declares, lacks the intermediate powers between God and man which are portrayed in aristocratic ages. It shows a distaste for the past. It lacks the high and low classes whose remoteness from the mean favors an idealized portrayal in aristocratic literature. Democratic literature is inclined to depict individual men, for all individuals are marked with an all-too-familiar stamp.⁸

But if all these sources of poetry are lacking, democratic ages disclose new sources. Tocqueville writes:

² G. W. Pierson, *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America* (New York, 1938), pp. 421 f.

³ This meeting was disappointing to Tocqueville, as this passage from the letter shows: "Ce que vous dites de l'espèce de réserve de M. Channing à la première vue m'explique l'impression que j'ai reçue de lui, lorsque je fus le voir en 1831, à Boston. Je le trouvai froid, et cette chaleur qui m'avait pénétré en lisant quelques-uns de ses écrits diminua beaucoup au contact de l'auteur. Je fus, je l'avoue, un peu rebuté par ce premier abord, je ne retournai plus chez lui et aujourd'hui je déplore d'avoir perdu une si bonne occasion d'entrer en contact personnel avec lui" (letter of M. de Tocqueville to Mrs. Robert Holland cited in her book, *Channing, sa vie et ses œuvres*, 2d ed.; Paris: Didier, 1861, pp. 165-166).

⁴ Pierson, *op. cit.*, pp. 727-730 n.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 474.

⁶ Channing, *Essai sur l'état actuel des lettres dans l'Amérique du nord et sur l'importance d'une littérature nationale*, traduction et notice par Mme L. Swanton Belloc (Paris: Chervilie, 1838).

⁷ Tocqueville, letter to Henry Reeve, Nov. 15, 1839, *Oeuvres complètes*, VII, 177.

⁸ Tocqueville, *De la démocratie en Amérique* (16th ed.; Paris, 1874), III, 118-120. (This title will be abbreviated below as *D. A.*)

Je suis convaincu qu'à la longue la démocratie détourne l'imagination de tout ce qui est extérieur à l'homme, pour ne la fixer que sur l'homme. . . . La similitude de tous les individus, qui rend chacun d'eux séparément impropre à devenir l'objet de la poésie, permet aux poètes de les renfermer tous en une même image, et de considérer enfin le peuple lui-même. Les nations démocratiques aperçoivent plus clairement que toutes les autres leur propre figure, et cette grande figure prête merveilleusement à la peinture de l'idéal. . . . Tout ce qui se rapporte à l'existence du genre humain pris en entier, à ses vicissitudes, à son avenir, devient une mine très-féconde pour la poésie.⁹

Channing had placed the same emphasis on man as seen in his universal aspect, divested of attributes based on class or station. He believed that in America human nature could thus be perceived more clearly. The true man would appear "stripped of his insignia."¹⁰

We enjoy some peculiar advantages for understanding our own nature. Man is the great subject of literature, and juster and profounder views of man may be expected here than elsewhere. In Europe, political and artificial distinctions have more or less triumphed over and obscured our common nature. In Europe we meet kings, nobles, priests, peasants. How much rarer is it to meet *men*, by which we mean human beings conscious of their own nature. . . . Man does not value himself as man. Man is not hidden from us by so many disguises as in the old world. The essential equality of all human beings . . . is, we hope, better understood; and nothing more is needed, to work the mightiest changes in every province of human life and human thought.¹¹

There is a great difference between Tocqueville's sober reflections and Channing's enthusiasm, but the basic idea is the same. Emerson is less sanguine when he says, "Men looked, when all feudal straps and bandages were snapped asunder, that nature, too long the mother of dwarfs, should reimburse itself by a brood of Titans. . . ."¹²

The similarity between Tocqueville and Channing is emphasized by their pages on religion as a source of democratic poetry.

⁹ *D. A.*, III, 120-123.

¹⁰ This phrase is quoted by H. M. Jones, *The Theory of American Literature* (Ithaca, 1948), p. 154.

¹¹ William Ellery Channing, "Remarks on National Literature," *Works* (Boston, 1903), I, 267-268.

¹² Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Literary Ethics," *Complete Works* (Boston, 1903), I, 156.

The central importance of such a theme for a great minister may go without saying. Mme de Staël had already predicted a republican literature. And her ideas on this point are linked with her views on the influence of Christianity on literature.¹³ But that Tocqueville should have emphasized it as he did suggests that he may well have been thinking of the Unitarian leader. He does not copy Channing; the pages are instinct with personal sincerity. But the linking of the theme with democracy is profoundly characteristic of Channing.

The possibility that democracy might weaken positive religion had been the main topic of their conversation in 1831. Now Tocqueville writes:

Dans le même temps que chacun, élevant les yeux au-dessus de son pays, commence enfin à apercevoir l'humanité elle-même, Dieu se manifeste de plus en plus à l'esprit humain dans sa pleine et entière majesté.

Si dans les siècles démocratiques la foi aux religions positives est souvent chancelante, et que les croyances à des puissances intermédiaires, quelque nom qu'on leur donne, s'obscurcissent; d'autre part les hommes sont disposés à concevoir une idée beaucoup plus vaste de la Divinité elle-même, et son intervention dans les affaires humaines leur apparaît sous un jour nouveau et plus grand.

Apercevant le genre humain comme un seul tout, ils conçoivent aisément qu'un même dessein préside à ses destinées, et, dans les actions de chaque individu, ils sont portés à reconnaître la trace de ce plan général et constant suivant lequel Dieu conduit l'espèce.

Ceci peut encore être considéré comme une source très abondante de poésie, qui s'ouvre dans ces siècles.¹⁴

Most of the older sources of poetry, Channing felt, in common with Peacock and Hazlitt, had perhaps spent their force. But he, like Tocqueville after him, saw a new and greater one in religion. He wrote:

Are we asked . . . to what impulse or power we look for a higher literature than has yet existed? We answer, to a new action of the religious principle. . . . Our chief hopes of an improved literature rest on

¹³ Mme de Staël's views on republican literature are comparable but more tenuous. Cf. *De la littérature, Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1820), IV, 406-410, 423-426. On Christianity, cf. *De l'Allemagne, Oeuvres Complètes*, X, 272-273.

¹⁴ *D. A.*, III, 123-124.

our hopes of an improved religion. From the prevalent theology . . . we hope nothing. . . . [But a true faith], by revealing to us the supreme purpose of the Creator, . . . places us, as it were, in the centre of the universe, from which the harmonies, true relations and brightest aspects of things are discerned.¹⁵

Might not Tocqueville have had in mind those words of Channing when he wrote the following passage?

Si [les poètes démocratiques] veulent rattacher les grands événements qu'ils retracent aux desseins généraux de Dieu sur l'univers, et, sans montrer la main du souverain maître, faire pénétrer dans sa pensée, ils seront admirés et compris, car l'imagination de leurs contemporains suit d'elle-même cette route.¹⁶

In any case, Tocqueville could have cited Channing's *Remarks* as evidence for this statement. There is, of course, no discipleship involved. Tocqueville develops this theme in a way that Channing would not have endorsed.

The religious optimism which imbues Channing's pages is one element that Tocqueville leaves out. That anxiety, that almost religious terror, to use his own words, with which he contemplates the progress of equality,¹⁷ makes it difficult for him to respond to the note of optimism, though other parts of his book acknowledge the prominence of this element in the American character. A dominant influence in the last passages of his chapter on poetry is, clearly, that of Pascal. We are here far from the point of intersection of the thought of Tocqueville and that of Channing. We are with the French Romantics who discovered Pascal:

Je n'ai pas besoin de parcourir le ciel et la terre pour découvrir un objet merveilleux plein de contrastes, de grandeurs et de pettesses infinies, d'obscurités profondes et de singulières clartés, capable à la fois de faire naître la pitié, l'admiration, le mépris, la terreur. Je n'ai qu'à me considérer moi-même. . . .¹⁸

¹⁵ Channing, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-275. Channing and Tocqueville go farther than Chateaubriand or Hugo. Not only Christianity but the democratic tendency is driving out ancillary deities from the world. Cf. Chateaubriand, *Génie du Christianisme*, 2d part, Bk. IV, chap. i; Hugo, Preface to *Odes* (Dec., 1822).

¹⁶ *D. A.*, III, 124.

¹⁷ *D. A.*, I, 8.

¹⁸ *D. A.*, III, 124-125. Even this passage is not too remote from an almost Pascalian Romanticism expressed in a *Christian Examiner* review devoted to De Gérando: "We would see a more profound analysis of the soul, with its boundless capacities for suffering and enjoyment . . . its inexpressible wants, its lofty aspirations, the religious and immortal relations of the human race . . ." (cited by William Charvat: *The Origins of American Critical Thought 1810-1835*, Philadelphia, 1936, p. 79).

The rest of this passage brings out even more strikingly the mark of Pascal.

But lest the parallel with Channing be missed, let me go back a page in Tocqueville. Here he is speaking of the dearth of inspiration for poets in a humdrum equalitarian society:

Cela force les poètes à percer sans cesse au-dessous de la surface extérieure que les sens leur découvrent, afin d'entrevoir l'âme elle-même. Or, il n'y a rien qui prête plus à la peinture de l'idéal que l'homme ainsi envisagé dans les profondeurs de sa nature immatérielle.¹⁹

Channing also expected literature to "penetrate farther into the soul," to "find new interpretations of nature and life." "Our position," as he said, "favors a juster and profounder estimate of human nature."²⁰ In an ordination sermon of 1824 Channing drew attention to certain qualities in Romantic poets which are similar to those he expected from American poetry. The parallel with Tocqueville extends to the wording itself of the passage cited above:

Men want a . . . more thrilling note, a *poetry which pierces beneath the exterior of life to the depths of the soul*,²¹ and which lays open its mysterious workings, borrowing from the whole outward creation fresh images and correspondences, with which to illuminate the secrets of the world within us.

Channing goes on to note a tendency toward extravagance and lack of taste manifested in the new poetry:

So keen is this appetite that extravagances of imagination and gross violations both of taste and moral sentiment are forgiven, when conjoined with what awakens strong emotion.²²

Tocqueville was to regard this fondness for strong emotion at the expense of taste as one of the main characteristics of democratic literature:

[Les hommes] ont besoin d'émotions vives et rapides. . . . Il . . . régnera une force inculte et presque sauvage dans la pensée. . . . On tâchera

¹⁹ *D. A.*, III, 124.

²⁰ Channing, *op. cit.*, pp. 275, 268.

²¹ Italics mine. This was, to be sure, an idea common to many French Romantics Tocqueville might have had in mind. Cf. Alex. Guiraud and Alex. Soumet in *La Muse française*. Reviewing Hugo's *Nouvelles Odes* in 1824, Soumet wrote: "L'imagination des modernes a besoin de pénétrer plus avant dans les mystères de notre propre cœur . . ." (cited by C. M. Des Granges, *La Presse littéraire sous la Restauration*, Paris, 1907, p. 278).

²² Channing, *Works*, III, 146.

d'étonner plutôt que de plaire, et l'on s'efforcera d'entraîner les passions plus que de charmer le goût.²³

It is not likely that Tocqueville depended on Channing for this idea. That sociological, or protosociological, analysis of democratic society, by means of which Tocqueville deduced the cultural consequences of equality, owed little or nothing to Channing. Such consequences as neglect of theory, slighting of form, commercialism, Tocqueville discussed at length, but Channing had little bearing on this part of *De la démocratie en Amérique*.

The *Remarks* may, however, have provided him with stimulation and corroboration for his belief that a major concern of poetry in a democracy would be with the destiny of mankind. Certainly Tocqueville thought of Channing in this connection. In the letter to Mrs. Holland mentioned earlier it is just such a theme as this which he associates with Channing: "Quoique Channing se plaçât volontiers à cette hauteur d'où l'on peut embrasser d'un oeil tranquille l'espèce humaine tout entière et sa destinée, il ne mettait la véritable grandeur de l'homme que dans l'individu."²⁴

The reader will not have failed to notice that many of the parallels drawn between Channing and Tocqueville involve well-known features of Romanticism. Channing's two-year residence in England in the early 1820's and his association with Wordsworth and Coleridge had converted him to the Romantic school.²⁵ In "The Present Age" (1841) he was to call Wordsworth the poet of humanity "who teaches reverence for our universal nature [and] breaks down the factitious barriers between human hearts."²⁶ It is evident that with all his hopes for the birth of a great new literature in America, he did not distinguish it sharply from the Romantic movement. American Romanticism could not be a completely novel development, but would share some features with the European.

Tocqueville's own conception of democratic literature likewise included European developments. In fact, his chapter on poetry, like the chapters on history and drama, is devoted to the genus "democracy" and only partly to the species "American democracy." His

²³ *D. A.*, III, 96-97.

²⁴ Holland, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv.

²⁵ Cf. *Memoir of William Ellery Channing* (Boston, 1848), II, 216-219.

²⁶ Channing, *Works*, VI, 156.

description is close to the kind of poetry already produced by the Romantic movement, and he illustrates it with the examples of Childe Harold, René, and Jocelyn.²⁷ His belief that the characteristic theme of the poetry of the age is human destiny and the human condition echoes ideas expressed by the Romantics themselves.

Such basic affinities between the English and French Romantics help to form a meeting-ground for Channing and Tocqueville.²⁸ If Tocqueville came so close to foreseeing the appearance of poetry like that of Whitman, the explanation is partly to be found in Whitman's Romantic heritage, and more specifically, perhaps along the line of ascent running back through Emerson to Channing. Moreover, the French writer would appear to have been more familiar than has been assumed with the matrix of thought and feeling from which Whitman arose. In any event, the parallels between Channing and Tocqueville suggest that Channing's ideas, adding to and re-enforcing notions stemming from European Romanticism, may well have provided necessary background for Tocqueville's thoughts on American literature.

²⁷ *D. A.*, III, 126.

²⁸ Tocqueville and Channing meet on other grounds as well. John White Chadwick noted with regard to Tocqueville's famous idea of the tyranny of public opinion in America, a statement from Channing's election sermon of 1830: "Three years before De Tocqueville, he put his finger on our ailing spot: 'The power of opinion grows into a despotism which more than all things represses original and free thoughts, subverts individuality of character, reduces the community to a spiritless monotony and chills the love of perfection'" (Chadwick, *William Ellery Channing, Minister of Religion*, Boston, 1903, p. 165). The French writer's observations on the important role of associations in American social and political life may owe something to Channing's 1830 discourse on "Associations" (*Works*, I, 281-332). Pierson does not mention the Unitarian minister among those who, like John Quincy Adams, supplied Tocqueville with ideas and information on this topic. Cf. *D. A.*, II, 32-44; III, 175-198.

WALT WHITMAN'S MANUSCRIPT NOTES ON ORATORY

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NO ONE WHO today begins a serious study of Walt Whitman can for long remain uninformed about his great interest in the spoken word, or of the effect of that interest on the form of his poetry. Yet, during his lifetime, and for several years after his death, even very close students of Whitman were quite unaware of the existence of this special interest. This was a natural consequence of the fact that they had access to Whitman's published writings only; while much that we now know about this matter has been derived from the manuscript material which has been published since Whitman's death.¹

The contents of many of the Whitman manuscripts which relate to the art of public speaking were first made public by Thomas B. Harned, one of Whitman's literary executors, in a paper entitled "Walt Whitman and Oratory," which he read at a meeting of the Walt Whitman Fellowship held on May 31, 1896.²

Harned's revelations were a complete surprise to even the intimate friends and devoted followers of Whitman who constituted the Fellowship³ and "excited . . . much interest at the time."⁴ None-

¹ The main sources are: (a) *Notes and Fragments Left by Walt Whitman*, ed. Richard Maurice Bucke, privately printed, 1899, republished in *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, ed. R. M. Bucke, T. B. Harned, and H. L. Traubel (New York, 1902), IX and X, 3-97; (b) Thomas B. Harned, "Walt Whitman and Oratory," *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman* (New York, 1902), VIII, 244-260. (In succeeding references, this will be cited as *Complete Writings*.); (c) *An American Primer by Walt Whitman*, ed. Horace Traubel (Boston, 1904); (d) Clifton Joseph Furness, *Walt Whitman's Workshop* (Cambridge, 1928). (In succeeding references, this will be cited as *Furness*.); (e) Jean Catel, *Rythme et langage dans la 1^{re} édition des "Leaves of Grass"* (Paris [1930]). (Hereinafter this will be cited as *Catel*.)

² Horace L. Traubel, "Annual Meeting: Boston May 31," *Walt Whitman Fellowship Papers*, Third Year, No. 3, p. 7 (July, 1896).

³ Cf. this unpublished note made at the time by Mrs. E. P. Gould: "Mr. Harned's paper on 'Whitman as an Orator' [sic] brought out interesting words from the members. It was something entirely new to them." The original is in the Gould Collection of Whitmaniana in the Boston Public Library. I wish to thank the officials of the Library for permission to cite it.

⁴ Thomas B. Harned, "Whitman and Physique," *Walt Whitman Fellowship Papers*, Fifth Year, No. 8, p. 43 (May, 1899).



theless, it was not until six years later (when they were included in *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*) that these manuscript notes on oratory became available in printed form.

Many of these notes were to appear in print once again, about a quarter of a century later, in Clifton J. Furness's *Walt Whitman's Workshop*. Furness devotes much of this book to evidence for his belief that "Considerable understanding of his [Whitman's] philosophy and the genesis of his own poetical expression may be gleaned from the [manuscript] notes for lectures, and their delivery comments...."⁵ Of the manuscript material which in *Walt Whitman's Workshop* is grouped under the head "Notes on Lecturing and Oratory,"⁶ something less than one half consists of manuscripts until then unpublished; the rest are manuscripts which had been published previously in Harned's essay "Walt Whitman and Oratory."

In the course of his independent examination of the manuscript notes on lecturing and oratory Furness was struck by their atypical appearance. Thus he observes that in the notebook marked "Oratory," "Most of the entries are made on heavy blue paper, a uniformity which is unusual with Whitman."⁷ And he continues: "The various notes seem to be written with a surer touch, and fewer revisions, than is the case with the lecture memoranda jotted on loose scraps of paper."⁸ From these observations, Furness concludes: "This probably indicates that he [Whitman] copied the notes into this book from rough drafts made elsewhere, placing them here only when he was satisfied of their permanent value. This is another evidence of the very great importance which he placed upon his views concerning oratory."⁹

But this conclusion leads to an interesting question. For if Whitman placed such great importance upon his ideas concerning oratory, and if he was satisfied that the form into which he had cast these ideas had permanent value, then, as Furness points out, "It is singular . . . that he does not make more specific mention of his ideas concerning it in his published works."¹⁰

How is Whitman's singular reticence about publishing his views on oratory to be explained? Furness himself seems to be of the

⁵ Furness, p. 32.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-38.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 209 n. 48.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 202 n. 37.

opinion that this reticence may be accounted for by Whitman's belief that oratory is essentially of an ineffable nature.¹¹ But he indicates, also, that it may perhaps be explainable on other grounds: "If, as Holloway suggests," Furness writes, ". . . [Whitman] was really not able to cut a successful figure in platform work, his natural sensitivity on the subject might account for the fact that he did not publish more about oratory in his writings . . . or discuss it with friends."¹²

But was there actually any such reticence as Furness has assumed and has sought to account for? Was Whitman really reticent about publishing *his* views on oratory? Evidence to be presented in this paper will show that he was not.

It is clear that Whitman can be deemed to have been reticent in this matter only if it is a fact that these manuscript notes on oratory represent his original contributions to the subject. That this is what they do represent was never questioned by either of the two independent editors of these manuscripts. Thus, Harned introduces his paper "Walt Whitman and Oratory," in part, as follows:

It was his [Whitman's] habit to make notes of his daily thought on any subject and to place the memoranda in a package devoted to that subject. From such a sheaf marked "Oratory" I obtain the material which I shall use in writing this paper. . . . These notes display a mind early matured and wonderfully orbic. . . . This material will have value only because I shall leave it as much as possible verbally Whitman's.¹³

And Furness writes with particular positiveness:

The word "Oratory" Whitman used to label almost all his notes on this subject . . . using the word with the special significance of the new style of public speaking which he felt it to be his work to inaugurate, as distinct from the "elocution" of the day.¹⁴

To complete the record in this matter, two items must be noted as exceptions to the foregoing categorical statements concerning the original nature of this material. For, in the respective editings of

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 204 n. 42. Furness continues: "It is largely because of his reticence on the subject that it was not realized, until the documentary evidence was discovered long after his death, how deep and lasting a place the whole subject of oratory had occupied in his thought throughout his life."

¹³ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 245.

¹⁴ *Furness*, p. 210 n. 50; cf. *ibid.*, p. 30.

the manuscripts, (1) Harned singles out one note and identifies it as a passage which Whitman is quoting from Bulwer-Lytton; and (2) Furness singles out one phrase ("agonistic arena") as a Whitman borrowing, and indicates what he believes to be its source. Thus, the evidence leaves no room for doubt that, with the exception of the single passage and the single phrase noted above, both Harned and Furness assumed all the manuscript notes on oratory which they (respectively) edited, to be original Whitman material. And this assumption has, to date, been made by all others who have written about Whitman's interest in oratory.¹⁵

The rest of this paper will be devoted to a presentation and an evaluation of newly discovered evidence concerning these manuscript notes on oratory. The first section will deal briefly with the evidence which confirms Harned's assertion that a particular manuscript note is a quotation from Bulwer-Lytton.¹⁶ The sections which follow will present evidence which disproves the hitherto universal assumption that all the other Whitman manuscript notes on oratory represent his original language and his original views. This evidence will reveal that many of these manuscripts are either verbatim extracts or adaptations of passages from the following:

1. An address on oratory by Professor Charles Murray Nairne;
2. An essay on "The Training of the Preacher," by Henry N. Day;
3. *Lectures on the Art of Reading* by Thomas Sheridan;
4. An account of Pericles which derives from translations of the classics;

¹⁵ For example: *Complete Writings*, I, liv; Henry Bryan Binns, *A Life of Walt Whitman* (London, 1905), p. 129 n. 2, pp. 130-131; Bliss Perry, *Walt Whitman* (New York, 1906), p. 124; Léon Bazalgette, *Walt Whitman: The Man and His Work*, trans. Ellen Fitzgerald (Garden City, 1920), p. 124; *Catel*, pp. 33-61; *I Sit and Look Out*, ed. Emory Holloway and Vernolian Schwarz (New York, 1932), pp. 18, 204 nn. 44, 53; *New York Dissected*, ed. with Introduction and Notes by Emory Holloway and Ralph Adimari (New York, 1936), pp. 210 n. 11, 211 nn. 23, 24, 213 n. 44; Esther Shephard, *Walt Whitman's Pose* (New York, 1936), pp. 191-194; Lionel Crocker, "Walt Whitman's Interest in Public Speaking," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXVI, 657-667 (Dec., 1940); F. O. Matthiessen, *American Renaissance* (New York, 1941), pp. 539, 552-559; Gay Wilson Allen, *Walt Whitman Handbook* (Chicago, 1946), p. 373. (The foregoing will hereinafter be cited simply by the names of their respective editors or authors.)

I may add that I have not found a single student of Whitman's interest in oratory who has questioned the assumption that these manuscripts represent Whitman's original contributions to the subject.

¹⁶ For the evidence which proves Furness to be mistaken about the source from which Whitman borrowed the phrase "agonistic arena," see footnote 35.

5. An account of Phocion, similarly derived (in all probability, from Plutarch);
6. An essay on Charles James Fox written by Sir James Mackintosh.

The concluding section will indicate the problems which are generated by the preceding disclosures.

I

Because it lends itself to brief independent consideration, I present, first, the evidence which confirms Harned's identification of one of Whitman's manuscript notes as a quotation from Bulwer-Lytton. In this instance, Harned writes:

He [Whitman] quotes Bulwer-Lytton when he says: "All men are not born with genius, but every man can acquire purpose, and purpose is the marrow and backbone of genius—nay, I can scarcely distinguish the one from the other." "With purpose comes the grand secret of all worldly success, which some men call will, but which I would rather call earnestness."¹⁷

Harned tells us no more about the matter. And his statement that the foregoing manuscript is a quotation from Bulwer-Lytton has remained unverified.

It can now be proved that Harned's assertion is correct. For among Whitman's papers in the Library of Congress I found a newspaper clipping entitled "Purpose or Earnestness," which examination reveals to have been the direct source of Whitman's manuscript.¹⁸ And this clipping consists of extracts from the *Inaugural Address* delivered by Sir E. L. Bulwer-Lytton on his installation as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, January 15, 1857.¹⁹

¹⁷ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 255.

¹⁸ The original is in the Whitman Manuscript Collection of the Library of Congress. I wish to thank the officials of the Library of Congress for their kind permission to use the several Whitman documents which I cite in this essay.

I am not able to identify the newspaper from which the clipping was made. Evidence that this clipping was Whitman's direct source is given in the next footnote.

¹⁹ Published by Richard Griffin and Company (London and Glasgow, 1857). The material reproduced in the clipping which Whitman preserved is from page 19 of the printed address.

A variation in wording proves that Whitman's note was derived from the newspaper clipping. In the original the first sentence of Whitman's note reads: "Every man is not born with genius . . ."; in the clipping, and in Whitman's manuscript, the reading is: "All men are not born with genius . . ."

From the above confirmation of Harned's identification of a particular manuscript, I turn to the disproof of the hitherto universal belief that the rest of Whitman's manuscript notes on oratory represent his original contributions to the subject. The evidence follows directly.

II

One of the chief sources of Whitman's manuscript notes on oratory is an oration on that subject, delivered June 30, 1857, as part of the Commencement Exercises of Rutgers College, by Charles Murray Nairne, then Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy and Literature at Columbia University.²⁰ Whitman, it is almost certain, first learned of Nairne's address from the *Christian Intelligencer* of July 2, 1857, which reproduced a long continuous extract from it.²¹ This extract Whitman read, clipped from the paper, and preserved.²² He also read and preserved a copy of the complete address which became available in book form later that year.²³

The number and the variety of devices which Whitman used to emphasize much in Nairne's address prove plainly that Whitman felt he had come upon material of considerable importance. Along the margin of the newspaper clipping he wrote: "Some very sensible ideas in this." And in both the clipping and in his copy of the complete address he marked numerous passages for special emphasis. (Only two of the last twenty pages of the complete address are not marked by him in one way or another.) These markings, moreover, constitute strong evidence that many of these passages were read and reread. For many of them are marked in more ways than one: by underlining; and again, by vertical lines drawn along the margin; and yet again, by hands drawn with the index finger pointing. Some passages are underlined, and then underlined

²⁰ *Oration. Delivered by Charles Murray Nairne, M.A. before the Philoclean & Peithessopian Societies of Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.* (New York: Joseph W. Harrison, 1857). Whitman's copy is in the Library of Congress. In succeeding references this oration will be cited as *Nairne*.

²¹ *Christian Intelligencer*, XXVIII, 2 (July 2, 1857). For assistance in identifying the source of this clipping, I am indebted to Mrs. Elizabeth Ross Boyd, of the Library Staff of Rutgers University.

²² Whitman, it appears, cut this clipping into four pieces of about equal size. I found only three such pieces among his papers in the Library of Congress. I found no part of the *Christian Intelligencer* of July 9, 1857, which, on p. 5, reproduced another very long extract from Nairne's address.

²³ It was announced under the heading "New Books" in the *Christian Intelligencer* of Sept. 3, 1857, p. 38.

again—with pen and with pencil, and with pencil markings of different weights.²⁴ Furthermore—and this brings us to the heart of the matter with which we are here concerned—Whitman copied some of these passages on separate scraps of paper without indicating that he was making extracts. These verbatim extracts which Whitman made from Nairne's address are included among the manuscript notes which have been mistaken for Whitman's original ideas concerning oratory. The evidence for this, follows directly.

Whitman's Manuscripts

The importance of public speaking is to say something. A speech that proves nothing, but deals only in passionate appeals, cannot be effectual except on rare occasions; that is, when the facts which constitute the ground of the appeals are well known or have been previously established by proof.²⁵

The eloquent man is natural. His manner, his tones, his style, his argumentation, his feeling, his flight of fancy are all spontaneous results of his mind being fully occupied with his subject and with nothing else for the time being. A manner studied and artificial, tones that rise not from and correspond not with, the sentiments he utters; a style that attracts attention to itself and is not the transparent vehicle of his thoughts; reasoning that is far-fetched and

Charles Murray Nairne

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²⁴ The descriptions of the markings are derived from my photostatic copies of the originals. It should be noted that the earlier passages which Whitman marked in the newspaper clipping are not marked in his copy of the complete address, while the rest of the latter is very heavily scored. This fact is another indication that he had read the clipping before he obtained the complete address.

²⁵ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 255. I have not deemed it necessary to note such minor differences as variations in spelling, punctuation, the use of plural in place of singular forms, etc. I shall call attention to every significant variation.

²⁶ *Nairne*, p. 15.

fantastic, pathos that tends to start no tear because it finds no sympathy; and figures that neither elucidate nor adorn, constitute a mere parody of oratory, and fitted to provoke the mirth of wise men, if their disgusts did not stifle their laughter.²⁷

They have spoiled more speakers than they have benefitted, for the artificial tones, postures, stretchings forth of the hands and heavenward rolling of the eyes, exhibited by persons who attempt to put their elocution in practice, and their ambitious imitations of the speeches which they have parrotted for spouting, counterfeit nature more abominably than the great stiff, staring dolls that excite rustic wonder in the shop windows of a metropolitan hairdresser. One flash of real nature is worth a whole eternity of such mummery. If our attention to gesture and inflexion has been carried so far as to cure all awkwardness of tone and motion then we have really made a valuable acquisition. We can then give our feelings full play without the risk of ungracefulness; but if our art and practice in vocal gymnastics go not so far as to conceal themselves by becoming a second nature, we had better rest contented with that which nature has originally

fantastic . . . pathos that tends to start no tear because it finds no sympathy; and figures that neither elucidate nor adorn . . . constitute a mere parody of oratory . . . and fitted to provoke the mirth of wise men, if their disgust did not stifle their laughter.²⁸

. . . elocution and declamation, as commonly studied, have spoiled more speakers than they have benefitted . . . for the artificial . . . tones, postures, stretchings forth of the hands, and heavenward rolling of the eyes, exhibited by persons who attempt to put their elocution in practice, and their ambitious imitations of the speeches which they have parrotted for spouting, counterfeit nature more abominably than the great, stiff, staring dolls that excite rustic wonder in the shop windows of a metropolitan hair dresser. One flash of real nature is worth a whole eternity of such mummery. If our attention to gesture and inflexion has been carried so far as to cure all awkwardness of tone and motion, then we have really made a valuable acquisition. We can then give our feelings full play, without the risk of ungracefulness. But if our art and practice in vocal gymnastics go not so far as to conceal themselves by becoming a second nature, we had better rest contented with that which nature has originally

²⁷ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 258. Furness includes this manuscript by reference (*Furness*, p. 211 n. 50).

²⁸ *Nairne*, pp. 19-20.

bestowed upon us, and which she will certainly not fail to display, if we honor her with the faith of true men.²⁹

An eloquent man must be earnest and honest. His heart's desire is to communicate with the mind of his audience, to lay hold of it and wield it for some cherished purpose. Neither can his oratory be of the highest order unless his earnestness springs from thoroughly honest conviction and passionate love of truth. Let earnestness be pure and strong enough, and the man who is under its inspiration will never be chargeable with unlawful artifice or vain-glorious exhibition. The appropriateness of every element in his discourse will be in direct proportion to the singleness and intensity of his desire to enforce truth. He does not talk as a mere talker, he says what he has to say and is content. He speaks as if his sole concern were the truth and pertinence, not the beauty and brilliancy of what he utters.³¹

There cannot be true eloquence without solid thought. Eloquence is not pretty sentences and ornate diction, neither is it, as some suppose, the power of dramatic anecdote, whether picturesque, pathetic, or ludicrous. Eloquence is not any

bestowed on us, and which she will certainly not fail to display, if we honor her with the faith of true men.³⁰

. . . an eloquent man is . . . *earnest* and *honest*. His heart's desire is to communicate with the mind of his audience—to lay hold of it and wield it for some cherished purpose. Neither can his oratory be of the highest order unless his earnestness springs from thoroughly honest conviction, and passionate love of truth. . . . Only let it be pure and strong enough, and the man who is under its inspiration will never be chargeable with unlawful artifice, or vain-glorious exhibition. . . . The appropriateness of every element in his discourse will be in direct proportion to the singleness and intensity of his desire to enforce truth . . . does not talk as a mere talker. He says what he has to say, and is content. He speaks as if his sole concern were the truth and pertinence, not the beauty and brilliancy, of what he utters.³²

. . . there cannot be true eloquence without solid thought. Eloquence is not pretty sentences, and ornate diction; neither is it, as some suppose, the power of dramatic anecdote, whether picturesque, pathetic or ludicrous. Eloquence is not

²⁹ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 258-259.

³⁰ *Nairne*, p. 20.

³¹ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 259-260. Variations: In the first sentence Whitman substitutes "must be" for "is"; in the fifth, "trust" for "truth."

³² *Nairne*, pp. 21-22.

of these, although they may all frequently, and with propriety, go along with it, but it is thought and demonstration clothed with sentiment, adorned as the goodly tree is, by the efflorescence of its own branches, not by garlands hung on, and above all, instinct with the fervor of a truth-worshipper.

Declamation that has no substratum of substantial mind work is mere literary syllabub, frothy, windy, and in large doses sickening.³³

any of these, although they all may frequently, and with propriety go along with it; but it is thought and demonstration clothed with sentiment, adorned as the goodly tree is, by the efflorescence of its own branches, not by garlands hung on, and above all, instinct with the fervor of a truth-worshipper. . . . Declamation that has no substratum of substantial mind-work, is mere literary syllabub—frothy, windy, and, in large doses, sickening.³⁴

The evidence which has been presented thus far leaves no room for doubt that the foregoing Whitman manuscript notes were copied from Nairne's address. That the Whitman manuscripts which are next to be examined derive in part from the same source cannot be affirmed with the same degree of certainty. But it appears highly probable that this is the case, when two facts are considered together. These are: first, the fact that in Whitman's copy of the address each of the passages from Nairne which is hereafter cited as a source is marked by Whitman for special emphasis; and second, the fact that a comparison of each of these passages with a particular manuscript note reveals an identity or a marked similarity of phrase or thought.

Whitman's Manuscripts

The place of the orator and his hearers is truly an agonistic arena. There he wrestles and contends with them—he suffers, sweats, undergoes his great toil and ecstasy. . . .³⁵

Charles Murray Nairne

May not the Grecian orator have intended to recommend, in addition to an animated delivery, the study of that style which Aristotle has named the "agonistic," wherein we *wrestle* with an auditory, in

³³ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 260.

³⁴ *Nairne*, pp. 22-23.

³⁵ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 245-246; *Furness*, p. 37; *Catell*, p. 35; *Crocker*, p. 664; *Matthiessen*, p. 556. The remaining sentence of this manuscript (which I have omitted from the text above, simply for the purpose of facilitating comparison) reads: "Perhaps it is a greater battle than any fought for by contending forces on land and sea." This sentence derives from the following passage in *Nairne*: "Doubtless there is a fascinating sublimity

Practise and experiment until I find a flowing, strong, appropriate speaking composition style; which requires many different things from the written style.³⁶

Talk only of what is insouciant and native and spontaneous and must inevitably be said, otherwise, silence.³⁷

opposition to the "graphic," which we use in the written disquisition or essay . . . Lord Jeffry . . . delivered a learned and labored production . . . very suitable for the pages of the Edinburgh Review, but very unsuitable for the agonistic arena of the House of Commons. It wanted *action*. It could not possibly be taken for the fresh, natural utterance of spontaneous thought and feeling.³⁸

Restrain and curb gesture. Not too much gesture. Animation and life may be shown in a speech by great feeling in voice and look. Interior gesture, which is perhaps better than exterior gesture.³⁹

The accomplished musician thinks of his theme, and not of his fingers, when he charms the sense, and so must the speaker of his

in the career of a conqueror. . . . But there is a loftier, although a calmer sublimity . . . in the triumph of a great speaker. . . . This is verily a triumph beyond the soldier's ovation, a conquest without humiliation, a subjugation unattended either by suffering or shame!" (*Nairne*, pp. 8-9).

Furness writes with reference to this manuscript: "This phrase, 'the agonistic arena,' became a favorite with Whitman. *Its origin is clearly traceable to this passage in the 'Oratory' notebook* (Library of Congress MSS) because on the sheet on which this is written is pasted a clipping from an English newspaper, in regard to public speaking, in which it is compared to the 'agonistic arena' in which gymnastic contests are held. This MS note, then, appears to be Whitman's first elaboration of that idea which evidently struck him forcibly when he read the newspaper article" (*Furness*, p. 211 n. 52; italics mine). Furness is mistaken. The clipping is from p. 2 of the *Christian Intelligencer* of July 2, 1857. See my footnotes 21 and 22, and the corresponding texts.

Catel's comments on the same phrase are an interesting mixture of misinformation and inspiration. He writes: ". . . Whitman semble avoï vuoulé écrire une Rhétorique dont il avait déjà trouvé le titre . . . The Agonistic Arena. Le mot *agonistic*, Whitman l'emprunte à Aristote qui désigne par là le style 'en lutte avec un auditoire,' par opposition avec le style graphique, c'est-à-dire le style écrit. C'est la dualité acceptée par Whitman lui-même du style oral . . . et du style écrit. Une note manuscrite précise d'ailleurs sa pensée sur ce point." Catel then quotes the two sentences given in my text, and concludes: "Sa grande tâche . . . sa grand extase. . . . Tout Whitman n'est il pas dans cets mots?" (*Catel*, pp. 34-35.)

³⁶ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 247; *Furness*, p. 35; *Catel*, p. 44; *Matthiessen*, p. 553.

³⁷ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 249.

³⁸ *Nairne*, pp. 14-15.

³⁹ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 246; *Furness*, p. 37; *Catel*, p. 50; *Matthiessen*, p. 557.

The amount of all this about "interior gesture" and a flowing forth of power, simply is: that so much must have been generated, such an exhaustless flood of vitality, tone, sympathy, command and the undeniable clinch (all the product of long previous perfect physique through food, air, exercise, &c., &c.) that a subtle something equivalent to gesture and life, plays continuously out of every feature of the face and every limb and joint of the body, whether active or still.⁴⁰

From the opening of the oration and on through, the great thing is to be inspired as one divinely possessed, blind to all subordinate affairs and given up entirely to the surgings and utterances of the mighty tempestuous demon.⁴²

themè, and not of his tones and postures, if he would charm the soul. His voice must be attuned, his limbs must be moved, as his thoughts must be supplied, from within, and as little as possible from without, himself.⁴¹

More than any speaker I ever listened to, he abandoned himself, in the delivery of his discourses, to the full energy of his feelings; and like a good "spiritual medium" of the present day, he seemed entirely passive to the inspiration of his own genius. It possessed him. It bore him along as in a chariot of fire . . . and no man can hope to entrance an audience as Chalmers did, unless he can, in like manner, totally forget himself, and abandon his body, soul and spirit to the force of truth alone!⁴³

The audience—every hearer, must strain just as hard to go along with you as you do in your oratory. To

There is widely spread and deeply rooted among us, in this country of enterprise and excitement—of

⁴⁰ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 246; *Furness*, pp. 37-38; *Crocker*, p. 664.

⁴¹ *Nairne*, pp. 20-21. This quotation is a continuation of the selection indicated by my footnote 30. It is suggested that both selections be read together.

⁴² *Complete Writings*, VIII, 249; *Furness*, p. 37; *Matthiessen*, pp. 539, 552; *Crocker*, p. 664; *Allen*, p. 252.

⁴³ *Nairne*, pp. 27-28. Cf. *Shephard*, p. 192, for an opinion that the element of "ecstasy" in Whitman's conception of oratory derives, in part, from George Sand's *Consuelo*. Cf. also, *Matthiessen*, pp. 557-558.

harrow and plough up the soil of your hearer, constantly dropping seed therein, to spring up and bear grain or fruit many hours afterwards, perhaps weeks and years afterwards.⁴⁴

May 31 '58

It seems to me called for to inaugurate a revolution in American oratory, to change it from the excessively diffuse and impromptu character it has (an ephemeral readiness, surface animation, the stamp of the daily newspaper, to be dismissed as soon as the next day's paper appears), and to make it the means of the grand modernized delivery of live modern orations, appropriate to America, appropriate to the world. This change is a serious one, and, if to be done at all, cannot be done easily. A great leading representative man, with perfect power, perfect confidence in his power, persevering, with repeated specimens, ranging up and down The States, such a man, above all things, would give it a fair start. What are your theories? Let us have the practical sample of a thing, and look upon it and listen to it, and turn it about for to examine it.⁴⁵

hurry and high pressure—a distressing intolerance, a foolish juvenile impatience of thought and demonstration—a luxurious appetite for high-spiced rhetoric—a passive, spectacular, indolence, that desires to be fed as infants are . . . a pertinacious refusal to meet a reflective speaker half way, and to follow him through any lengthened train of argument—a perverse determination to be tickled and entertained, rather than a manly effort to rouse our thinking faculties, and to task our reason . . . hence it is that speakers . . . greater lovers of transient fame than of their fatherland—have made up their minds to indulge this pernicious craving, rather than to cure it—to blaze and sparkle . . . instead of shining, and warming, and giving life. . . . Think not that I exaggerate the dangers of this course. All history tells me that the eloquence of a nation, and the well being of a nation, are united by an indissoluble bond. . . .⁴⁶

⁴⁴ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 251; *Furness*, p. 212 n. 54. For the second sentence of this manuscript, both Harned and Furness give the reading: "To *hurry* and plough up the soil . . ." (italics mine). The writing in the original document is not clear. My reading is *harrow*.

This manuscript and the manuscript which follows immediately may derive from both Nairne and a second source (which is considered later). See my comments in the next footnote.

⁴⁵ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 257-258; *Furness*, pp. 34-35. This manuscript appears to be Whitman's answer to a question which he puts to himself in another note, namely: "Whether the whole of the present style of orations . . . is not far below the level of American wants and must not be revolutionized." (For the complete text of the fore-

A lesson must be supplied, braced, fortified at all points. It must have its facts, statistics, materialism, its relations to the physical state of men, nations, the body &c. and to money making and well being. It must have its intellectual completeness, its beauty, its reasoning to convince, its proofs, &c. And finally it must have its reference to the spiritual, to immortality, to the mystic in man, that which knows without proof, and is beyond materialism.⁴⁷

If you ask me . . . to what faculty of the soul his eloquence was addressed—to the intellect, the heart, or the imagination? I answer, that it was addressed mainly and ultimately to the *conscience*. The intellect, the heart, and the imagination, he regarded as avenues to this, the ruling power in man; and his demonstrations, his illustrations, his figures, his pathos, were all advances along those avenues to that ruling power.⁴⁸

III

Another source from which Whitman copied verbatim notes which have been mistaken to be his original contributions is an article entitled "The Art of Oratory," which appeared in the *Indicator* of December, 1843.⁴⁹ This article, the editor of the *Indicator* noted, was an adaptation of an essay from the *Biblical Repository*

going manuscript and my comments concerning its source, see the section of this paper which is devoted to an account of Phacion.)

I have indicated what seems to me to be the primary source of each of the foregoing manuscripts. These manuscripts are so closely related, however, that each of them ought, perhaps, to be looked upon as deriving from both sources together.

It may be noted, in the above connection, that although the settings and the approaches of the two sources are different, the views on oratory expressed in both are similar. Compare, for example, Nairne's condemnation of the American "pertinacious refusal to meet a reflective speaker half way," with the other writer's commendation of Athenian audiences for valuing themselves "upon understanding an orator at half a word."

As a separate matter, comment must be made on the reading which I give in my text. Both Harned and Furness omit the words "to inaugurate" and the last "it" from the first sentence of the manuscript. That these omissions are the results of slips in editing is made evident by the photostatic copy of the original. (See *Furness*, facing p. 34.)

Attention must also be called to the fact that Furness concludes the manuscript with the words: "Washington made free the body of America, for that was first in order—Now comes one who will make free the American soul." Harned edits these words as a separate manuscript (*Complete Writings*, VIII, 245). After examination of the original documents which bear on this point, I follow Harned. Cf. *Catell*, p. 58.

⁴⁶ Nairne, pp. 35-36.

⁴⁷ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 252; *Furness*, p. 34.

⁴⁸ Nairne, p. 31.

⁴⁹ "The Art of Oratory," *Indicator*, I, 142-148 (Dec., 1843). I found only two and a half pages of this article in the Whitman Manuscript Collection of the Library of Congress. I am indebted to the officials of the Harvard University Library for making available to me its file of this very rare periodical. The *Indicator*, during its brief existence, was published in New York City, every alternate month, by Theodore Foster.

of July, 1842.⁵⁰ Examination of the latter reveals that the original source of the Whitman manuscripts which are next presented is "The Training of the Preacher," by Henry N. Day.⁵¹

Whitman's Manuscripts

[He speaks of oratory as being something which requires years of consideration, citing] Demosthenes devoting years of practice in the study of vocal expression; Cicero applying himself under the direction of the most eminent masters of the art, year after year with untiring assiduity; Chatham contending like those ancient orators with the difficulties of an infirm bodily constitution, and giving up a large portion of his time in his effort to acquire a free, graceful, and forcible action.⁵²

Henry N. Day

... Demosthenes devoting years ... upon ... vocal expression; of Cicero applying himself under the direction of the most eminent masters of the art, year after year, with untiring assiduity; of Chatham, contending, like those ancient orators, with the difficulties of an infirm bodily constitution, and ... practising, hour after hour, before a mirror, that he might acquire a free, graceful, and forcible action. . . .⁵³

Men witness the prodigies of oratory, they are themselves the victims of its power, and suppose it wholly a boon of heaven. They have no idea of the midnight study and the toil by day, the severe discipline, the long and patient training which the fruits of eloquence have cost in their production; such, for instance, as Brougham, who, to catch a proper power of expression, first locked himself up for three weeks to the study, night and

Men witness the prodigies of oratory,—they are themselves the victims of its power, and suppose it wholly a boon of heaven. They have no idea of the midnight study and the toil by day; the severe discipline, the long and patient training which the fruits of eloquence have cost in their production. . . . Brougham to catch a proper power of expression, first locking himself up for three weeks to the study, night and day, of the single oration

⁵⁰ This adaptation does not change the passages which I cite here.

⁵¹ Henry N. Day, "The Training of the Preacher," *Biblical Repository*, 2d Ser., VIII, 71-90 (July, 1842). Day was Professor of Sacred Rhetoric in the Western Reserve College, at Hudson, Ohio.

⁵² *Complete Writings*, VIII, 255-256. I have inserted brackets to set off what is, evidently, Harned's introductory material. I have not deemed it necessary to specify the insignificant verbal differences which obtain between the documents which are compared in this section.

⁵³ *Indicator*, I, 142 (Dec., 1843); from the *Biblical Repository*, VIII, 75 (July, 1842).

day, of the single oration "on the crown," and then writing over fifteen different times his peroration before bringing it to its final shape.⁵⁴ "on the crown" and then writing over fifteen times his peroration before bringing it to its final shape. . . .⁵⁵

IV

Among the Whitman papers in the Library of Congress collection, I found three pages which he had torn from a small book.⁵⁶ Each of these pages has a separate heading, as follows: "Sect. CLXXXIII.—Pericles"; "Sect. CCXXI.—Phocion"; "Sect. CCXXXVIII.—The Perfect Speaker." Each of these is a source of material which Whitman copied verbatim in some of his manuscript notes on oratory.

Thus far I have been unable to identify the book from which these three pages were torn. Fortunately, I have been more successful in identifying the sources from which Whitman's direct sources derive. I can therefore present evidence which is sufficient for my purpose. I shall consider first the Whitman manuscript which is derived from the page entitled "The Perfect Speaker," for in this instance I am able to cite a definitive identification of the original source. The manuscript note and the text of his direct source are given below:

Whitman's Manuscript

Within, the memory, the fancy, the judgment, the passions, all are busy; without, every muscle, every nerve is exerted; not a feature, not a limb, but speaks. The organs of the body attuned to the exertions of the mind, through the kindred organs of the hearers, instantaneously, and as it were, with an electrical spirit, vibrate those energies from soul to soul. Notwithstanding the diversity of minds in

Sect. CCXXXVIII—The Perfect Speaker

. . . Within, the memory, the fancy, the judgment, the passions are all busy: without, every muscle, every nerve, is exerted; not a feature, not a limb, but speaks. The organs of the body attuned to the exertions of the mind, through the kindred organs of the hearers, instantaneously, and, as it were, with an electrical spirit, vibrate those energies from soul to soul.—Notwithstanding the diversity of minds

⁵⁴ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 256.

⁵⁵ *Indicator*, I, 144 (Dec., 1843); from the *Biblical Repository*, VIII, 77-78 (July, 1842).

⁵⁶ I have photostatic copies of the originals.

such a multitude, by the lightning of eloquence, they are melted into one mass, the whole assembly actuated in one and the same way, become as it were, but one man, and have but one voice.⁵⁷

in such a multitude, by the lightning of eloquence they are melted into one mass: the whole assembly actuated in one and the same way, become, as it were, but one man, and have but one voice. The universal cry is—*Let us march against Philip; let us fight for our liberties: let us conquer—or die!*

Its title excepted, the foregoing description of "The Perfect Speaker" is a verbatim extract from *Lectures on the Art of Reading* by Thomas Sheridan.⁵⁸

v

Another Whitman manuscript consists of a verbatim extract from the account of Pericles which he preserved:

Whitman's Manuscript

Sect. CLXXXIII—Pericles

He had no cause to repent his having bestowed so much time on this study, for his success far exceeded his utmost hopes. The poets, his contemporaries, used to say, that he lightened, thundered, and agitated all Greece: so powerful was his eloquence. It had those piercing and lively strokes, that reach the inmost soul; and his discourse left always an irresistible incentive, a kind of spur, behind it in the minds of his auditors. He had the art of uniting beauty with strength, and making even severity itself, and the kind of harshness with which he spoke against the flatterers of the people, popular. There was no resisting the solidity of his arguments, or the sweetness of his words, whence it was said, that the goddess of per-

⁵⁷ Complete Writings, VIII, 254-255; Furness, p. 38.

⁵⁸ Thomas Sheridan, *Lectures on the Art of Reading* (London, 1775), Vol. I (First Part: containing *The Art of Reading Prose*), pp. 311-312. The quotation in my text is the concluding half of the material in Whitman's direct source.

suation, with all her graces, resided on his lips. He never spoke in public until he had besought the gods not to suffer any expression to drop from him either incongruous to his subject or offensive to the people. Whenever he was to appear in the assembly, before he came out of his house, he used to say to himself, "Remember Pericles, that thou art going to speak to men born in the arms of liberty; to Greeks, to Athenians."⁵⁹

ers of the people, popular. There was no resisting the solidity of his arguments, or the sweetness of his words; whence it was said that the goddess of persuasion, with all her graces, resided on his lips. And indeed, as Thucydides, his rival and adversary, was one day asked, whether he or Pericles was the best wrestler, "Whenever," says he, "I have given him a fall, he affirms the contrary, in such strong and forcible terms, that he persuades all the spectators that I did not throw him, though they themselves saw him on the ground." Nor was he less prudent and reserved than strong and vehement in his speeches; and it is related, that he never spoke in public till after he had besought the gods not to suffer any expression to drop from him, either incongruous to his subject, or offensive to the people. Whenever he was to appear in the assembly, before he came out of his house, he used to say to himself, "Remember, Pericles, that thou art going to speak to men born in the arms of liberty; to Greeks: to Athenians."

Who wrote the above account of Pericles from which Whitman made his extract I have not been able to discover. But I have ascertained that almost the whole text of Whitman's direct source—and the text of Whitman's verbatim extract from that source—are com-

⁵⁹ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 256-257. In the course of his research Catel examined this account of Pericles (and also the account of Phocion which is considered next). But he was unaware, apparently, that Whitman had made extracts from these sources. In each case, he merely quotes a phrase which he says Whitman marked in a newspaper clipping, "coupure de presse" (*Catel*, p. 39).

posed of translations of passages from the classics. And this is sufficient evidence for my purpose. This evidence follows:

Perikles the Olympian lightened and thundered and threw all Greece into confusion.⁶⁰

. . . the writer of the old comedy said of Pericles, that the goddess of persuasion sat enthroned upon his lips.⁶¹

What was the character of Pericles?—of whose power in speaking we have heard, that when he spoke for the good of his country against the inclinations of the Athenians, that very severity with which he contradicted the favourites of the people, became popular and agreeable to all men; and on whose lips the old comic poets declared . . . that the graces of persuasion dwelt, and that there was such mighty energy in him that he left, as it were, certain stings in the minds of those who listened to him.⁶²

But the comic poets of that day . . . make it plain that he got this surname [Olympian] chiefly because of his diction; they spoke of him as "thundering" and "lightening" when he harangued his audience, and as "wielding a dread thunderbolt in his tongue."

There is on record also a certain saying of Thucydides . . . a political antagonist of Pericles. When . . . asked . . . whether he or Pericles was the better wrestler, he replied: "Whenever I throw him in wrestling, he disputes the fall, and carries his point, and persuades the very men who saw him fall."

The truth is, however, that even Pericles, with all his gifts, was cautious in his discourse, so that whenever he came forward to speak he prayed the gods that there might not escape him unawares a single word which was unsuited to the matter under discussion.⁶³

It was not without good reason that Pericles used to pray that no word might occur to his mind that could give offence to the people.⁶⁴

. . . call to mind those considerations of which Pericles reminded himself when he assumed the cloak of a general: "Take care, Pericles; you are ruling free men, you are ruling Greeks, Athenian citizens."⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Aristophanes *Acharnians* 530-531. This is quoted by Cicero (*Orator* ix. 29) and by Quintilian *Institutio oratoria* II. xvi. 19.

⁶¹ Quintilian *Institutio oratoria* X. i. 82, English translation by H. E. Butler (London, 1922). Cf. *ibid.*, XII. x. 24 and 65.

⁶² Cicero *De oratore* III. xxxiv, translation by J. S. Watson (London, 1855).

⁶³ Plutarch "Pericles" VIII. 3-4, *The Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans*, Vol. III, translation by Bernadotte Perrin (New York, 1916). Cf. Plutarch, "Precepts of Statecraft" 802, 803, *Moralia*, Vol. X.

⁶⁴ Quintilian, *op. cit.*, XII. ix. 13.

⁶⁵ Plutarch "Precepts of Statecraft" 813, *Moralia*, Vol. X, translation by Harold N. Fowler (London, 1936).

VI

The account of Phocion which follows is especially noteworthy, for examination of the Whitman manuscripts reveals that this account is not only the source of the verbatim extracts of which some of these manuscripts are composed, but also that it is an influence which led Whitman to think about oratory along certain lines. Consideration of the nature of this influence must be postponed until it is proved that certain Whitman manuscripts are extracted, verbatim, from this source. The proof follows:

*Whitman's Manuscripts**Sect. CCXXI—Phocion*

[“He speaks of Phocion’s] lively, close, concise style, which expressed a great many ideas in a few words. . . .”⁶⁶

. . . He was a strong reasoner and by that means prevailed over the most sublime eloquence.⁶⁷

He knew that eloquence is a necessary quality in a statesman, for enabling him to execute happily the great designs he may undertake during his administration. He therefore applied himself particularly to the attainment of it, and with great success. Persuaded that it is with words as with coins, of which the most esteemed are those that with less weight have most intrinsic value, Phocion had formed a lively, close, concise style, which expressed a great many ideas in few words. Appearing one day absent in an assembly, where he was preparing to speak, he was asked the reason of it: *I am considering, says he, whether it is not possible for me to retrench some part of the discourse which I am to make.* He was a strong reasoner, and by that means prevailed over the most sublime eloquence; which made Demosthenes, who had often experienced this, whenever he ap-

⁶⁶ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 257; cf. *Catet*, p. 39. The brackets in the text are mine. I have used them to separate Harned's introductory words from the words of Whitman's manuscript.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* This and the preceding item constitute one manuscript note. The sentences have here been separated in order to facilitate comparison.

peared to harangue the public, say,
*There is the axe which cuts away
the whole effect of my words.* One would imagine that this kind of eloquence is absolutely contrary to the genius of the vulgar, who require the same things to be often repeated, and with greater extent, in order to their being more intelligible; but it was not so with the Athenians; lively, penetrating, and lovers of a hidden sense, they valued themselves upon understanding an orator at half a word; and really did understand him. Phocion adapted himself to their taste, and in a matter of conciseness could surpass even Demosthenes.⁶⁸

[“He speaks of the Athenians as] ‘lively, penetrating, and lovers of a hidden sense who valued themselves upon understanding an orator at half a word; and really did understand him. Phocion adapted himself to their taste, and in a matter of conciseness could surpass even Demosthenes.’”⁶⁸

The foregoing account of Phocion appears to have made a strong impression on Whitman: If Phocion could score a great success with a style which “expressed a great many ideas in a few words,” might not Whitman be able to do the same thing? If Athenian audiences had learned to love “a hidden sense” and to understand an orator “at half a word,” surely American audiences could learn to do likewise. And if Americans had not learned to do so before this, was that not because the then current style of oratory was not suited to the development of their potentialities in that direction? And if this was so, ought not the prevailing style of oratory to be revolutionized? That the account of Phocion led Whitman to think along lines such as these, is made evident by the following manuscript:

Develop language anew, make it not literal and of the elder modes, but elliptical and idiomatic.

. . . elliptical style as not to explain and spread out, not to be afraid of ellipses. An audience of Americans, would they not soon learn to like a hidden sense, a sense only just indicated? As just to indicate what is meant and let the audience find it out for themselves. Whether the whole of the present style of orations, essays, lectures, political speeches,

⁶⁸ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 257; brackets mine. See n. 66.

&c. is not far below the level of American wants and must not be revolutionized.⁶⁹

Who composed the particular account of Phocion from which Whitman made the extracts and the adaptations which have been considered in this section of my paper, I have been unable to discover. But that Whitman's direct source derives, in good measure, from Plutarch is made evident by the following passages:

. . . a statesman ought to have in himself not only a spirit of government, but also a commanding faculty of speech.⁷⁰

. . . Phocion's language had most meaning in fewest words. And this is probably what Polyeuctus the Sphettian had in mind when he said that Demosthenes was a most excellent orator, but Phocion a most powerful speaker. For, as a valuable coin has greatest worth in smallest bulk, so effective speech would seem to indicate much with few words. Indeed, it is said that once upon a time, when the theatre was filling up with people, Phocion himself was walking about behind the scenes lost in thought, and that when one of his friends remarked: "You seem to be considering, Phocion," he replied: "Yes, indeed, I am considering whether I can shorten the speech which I am about to deliver to the Athenians." And Demosthenes, who held the other orators in great contempt, when Phocion rose to speak, was wont to say quietly to his friends: "Here comes the pruning knife of my speeches."⁷¹

VII

Whitman also preserved a single page (page 636 of a book which I am unable to identify) which is probably the source of another of his manuscript notes. At the top of this page Whitman wrote, "Chas. Jas. Fox." The passage cited below was marked by Whitman in three different ways—by underlining, by a vertical line along the margin, and by a hand with the index finger pointing.⁷²

⁶⁹ Complete Writings, VIII, 248; Furness, p. 35, and p. 211 n. 50; Catel, p. 55. For my comments concerning the relation of this manuscript to another manuscript in which Whitman announces the inauguration of the revolution in American oratory which he is here deliberating, see n. 45. Cf. the manuscripts to which nn. 44-46 refer.

⁷⁰ Plutarch, "Political Precepts," *Miscellanies and Essays*, ed. William W. Goodwin (Boston, 1898), V, 105.

⁷¹ Plutarch "Phocion" V. 2-4, *The Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans*, Vol. VIII, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (New York, 1919). Cf. "Demosthenes" X. 2, 3, *ibid.*, Vol. VII. Cf. also Plutarch "Precepts of Statecraft" 803, *Moralia*, Vol. X, trans. Harold N. Fowler (London, 1936).

⁷² From my copy of the original in the Library of Congress.

Whitman's Manuscript

After a style of abandon and familiarity among those talked with in rooms, streets, the circle of friends &c. when stepped upon the platform, what a change! suddenly the countenance ilumined, the breast expanded, the nostrils and mouth electric and quivering, the attitude imperious and erect—a God stands before you—the sound of the voice also joins in the wondrous transformation—it becomes determined, copious, resistless.⁷³

James Mackintosh

Every where natural, he carried into public something of that simple and negligent exterior which belonged to him in private. When he began to speak, a common observer might have thought him awkward; and even a consummate judge could only have been struck with the exquisite justness of his ideas, and the transparent simplicity of his manners. But no sooner had he spoken for some time than he was changed into another being: he forgot himself and everything around him: he thought only of his subject: his genius warmed and kindled as he went on. He darted fire into his audience. Torrents of impetuous and irresistible eloquence swept along their feelings and convictions.

The source of the foregoing passage is an essay written by Sir James Mackintosh on the "Character of Charles James Fox."⁷⁴

VIII

To conclude: It has hitherto been believed, universally, that Whitman's manuscript notes on oratory represent his original contributions to the subject. The evidence presented in this paper proves, on the contrary, that more than two fifths of the entire body of this manuscript material consists either of verbatim extracts or of adaptations of the writings of several authors, including writings published in different countries and separated in their dates of publication by more than eighty years.

⁷³ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 251; *Furness*, p. 211 n. 50; *Mathiessen*, p. 553; *Shephard* p. 192.

⁷⁴ *History of the Revolution in Engand in 1688*, by Sir James Mackintosh. To which is Prefixed, by the Editor, A Notice of the Life, Writings, and Speeches of Sir James Mackintosh (London, 1834), p. lxxviii. The editor informs us that the essay first appeared in a Bombay newspaper in January, 1807.

The disclosures made in this study, moreover, do more than radically change the status of the particular manuscripts which have here been considered. In addition, they make suspect and ambiguous other manuscripts which have not been examined in this essay. The present findings make it impossible to continue to *assume* that any Whitman manuscript on oratory is an authentic statement of his original ideas; they make it necessary, hereafter, to *prove* that it is such.⁷⁵

It has hitherto also been assumed that the great bulk of these manuscripts on oratory belong to the years preceding the first appearance of *Leaves of Grass*.⁷⁶ The evidence which has been presented in this essay proves conclusively that one source from which a considerable number of Whitman's manuscript notes derive (Nairne's address), could not have been available to Whitman until the year after the publication of the second edition of *Leaves of Grass*. The evidence proves that this is true also of Whitman's extract from Bulwer-Lytton. It indicates that it is probably true of the manuscripts which derive from the account of Phocion.⁷⁷

It remains to be noted, finally, that although the results of the present study are negative in nature, they confirm rather than dis-

⁷⁵ It may be noted, in this connection, that in an essay to appear in a forthcoming issue of *American Literature* I shall present evidence which proves that much of the Whitman manuscript material which T. B. Harned in his "Walt Whitman and Physique" (*The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, VIII, 261-274) presents as Whitman's original contribution to the subject is, in fact, of the same nature as the manuscript material on oratory which I have examined in this essay.

⁷⁶ Thus, according to Harned: "It is quite evident [from these MSS] that *very early in life* he [Whitman] gave much attention to the study of public speaking and had formulated a purpose to present his message in that way *before* he adopted the plan of reaching the people through the medium of a printed book" (*Complete Writings*, VIII, 244-245; italics mine). And this statement is quoted by Furness—without dissent (*Furness*, p. 197 n. 30).

A more specific indication of Furness's view in this matter is his statement that "Considerable understanding of the *genesis . . .*" of Whitman's poetical expression may be derived from these notes (quoted earlier—see n. 5; italics mine).

⁷⁷ And therefore probably true, also, of the manuscripts which derive from the accounts of Pericles and Demosthenes, since these were torn from the same book as the account of Phocion. Note, in this connection, the date of the manuscript to which n. 45 refers, and see my comments in nn. 45 and 69.

This proof of the erroneous nature of our assumption concerning the time when these manuscripts were written makes it impossible for us to continue to *assume* dates of composition for other manuscripts on oratory. Whether these others are proved to consist of borrowed or original material, it becomes necessary hereafter to *establish* dates of composition for any of them which we may wish to cite as evidence in any matter in which time is of the essence.

prove Whitman's interest in the spoken word. These results do, however, radically affect the status of some important manuscript evidence of that interest; and they raise serious questions concerning the rest of this evidence. They thus suggest a revaluation of current conceptions concerning the nature and the depth of Whitman's interest in public speaking, and of the relationship of that interest to his poetry.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ The revaluation which they suggest is the subject of another study.

NOTES AND QUERIES

TIMOTHY FLINT'S "LOST NOVEL"

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PROFESSOR Alexander Cowie, in his recent study of the American novel, states that Timothy Flint's "*The Lost Child*," published about 1830, has proved to be a lost book.¹ Since this novel was first listed by the *North American Review* among recent publications,² it has proved to students of Flint an elusive book,³ and our knowledge of it has been confined to speculation. Guesswork can now be replaced by certainty; a copy of *The Lost Child* is to be found in the Stimson Collection of the Marietta College Library.⁴

The title page reads: THE / LOST CHILD / BY REV. TIMOTHY FLINT / BOSTON / Putnam & Hunt, Pierce & Williams, / and Wait, Greene & Co. / 1830. The title was entered in the District Clerk's office for the District of Massachusetts on December 2, 1829, and the book, a small, pocket-size volume of 121 pages, was printed at the press of Putnam and Hunt, 41 Washington Street, Boston.

The story of *The Lost Child* may be briefly summarized. Henry Howe, a child between four and five years of age living on the sparsely settled frontier near the Washita River, is kidnaped by two ruffians, Tuttell and Callender, who bear a grudge against his father for his God-fearing life and his exertions against the desperadoes of the neighborhood. Mr. Howe has particularly aroused their desire for vengeance by his activities against Negro-stealers, among whom the two have been active. The pursuit of the kidnapers by Mr. Howe is fruitless; the two men take the child through the swamps to Alexandria, where they place him in the care of the

¹ Alexander Cowie, *The Rise of the American Novel* (New York, 1948), p. 220.

² *North American Review*, XXX, 564 (April, 1830).

³ The book is not listed in Lyle H. Wright, *American Fiction 1774-1850* (San Marino, 1948) and is ignored by such historians of the American novel as Loshe, Van Doren, and Quinn. John Ervin Kirkpatrick (*Timothy Flint 1780-1840*, Cleveland, 1911, p. 310) and Ralph L. Rusk (*The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*, New York, 1925, I, 290) mention it, but neither was able to locate a copy.

⁴ The Union Catalogue of the University of Illinois locates copies in the Newberry Library, Chicago, and in the University of Michigan Library.

wife of the jailer. Callender disappears, and Tuttell, deciding to reform, becomes a schoolmaster near Natchez, but, needing money, Tuttell writes a letter, signed Tutty, to Mrs. Howe offering information as to the child's whereabouts in exchange for money. When he picks up the answer at the postoffice, he is arrested, but he refuses to confess and, while riding through a swamp with Mr. Howe, falls from his horse and is drowned. Some time later the jailer's wife is arrested for the maltreatment of the child, and Henry is placed in a good home. He is eventually restored to his parents by a Colonel O, a friend of the Howes, who identifies the child through such telltale marks as a bruised fingernail, a mole, and a scar on his head.

Rusk's conjecture that the book is "of somewhat the same sentimental and moral kind as *George Mason*"⁵ is an accurate summary of the tenor of the novel, which is evidently designed for the moral edification of children. Flint addresses his story to "my young readers,"⁶ and frequently interrupts the narrative with statements of the religious lessons to be derived from the events—that "parents, who are really religious and devout, have strong consolations in deep affliction from trust in God," that their "one effectual resource . . . is love, trust and submission to our Heavenly Father," and that "the wicked never fail to expiate their guilt, even in this life."⁷

Kirkpatrick, the biographer of Flint, suggested that the novel might be an expansion of Flint's sketch of the same title in the *Western Monthly Review*.⁸ Flint, in *The Lost Child*, confirms this guess; he refers to this sketch as "a brief account of the events which I have here detailed,"⁹ and adds that his retelling of the story is the outgrowth of the interest shown in the earlier sketch. The facts of the story, he says, are true, derived from newspaper accounts and from individuals, especially the sheriff at Natchez.¹⁰

When Flint wrote the sketch in 1827, the mystery was unsolved, and he contented himself with telling only what was actually known. Most of the space is devoted to the story of the extortion letter and the death of Tutty, material covered in Chapter III of the

⁵ Rusk, *op. cit.*, I, 290.

⁶ *The Lost Child*, p. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 38, 73.

⁸ Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 310. The earlier sketch appeared in the *Western Monthly Review*, I, 20-23 (May, 1827).

⁹ *The Lost Child*, pp. 103-104.

¹⁰ *The Lost Child*, pp. 4-5, and *Western Monthly Review*, I, 20 (May, 1827).

novel, and Flint ends the account with the safe moral, "Parents, watch your children."¹¹ It is unlikely that the case was solved; to illustrate the theme of his novel, Flint invents the happy denouement, using the time-worn eighteenth-century device of identifying marks.

In moving from the realm of fact to that of fiction, Flint made a number of other changes in the story to heighten the pathos and to provide motivation. To hide the identity of the real characters, he changed the child's name from Clark to Howe, and where the real "lost child" was an only child, he gave him a brother and sister. Henry's little Negro playmate becomes in the novel the faithful slave, Caesar. In the sketch the villain, Tutty, directs the parents to some hidden bones and the child's clothing; in the novel these are found by Mr. Howe on his first pursuit of the kidnapers, and thus the emotional tension is increased, for much space is devoted to descriptions of the feelings of the parents. Finally, in the factual sketch no motivation is found for the kidnaping; but in the novel the two villains (Callender is an imaginative addition) are fully developed, and their hatred of Mr. Howe is given a basis.

The Lost Child is, then, a minor item in American fiction, or even in the work of Flint, but it may take its humble place in the stream of sentimental literature and of moral tales for children.

ADDENDA TO "BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL STUDIES OF
HENRY JAMES, 1941-1948," AMERICAN LITERATURE,
XX, 424-435 (JANUARY, 1949)

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Western Reserve University

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**ADDENDA TO ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE
APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS 1920-1945**

In the Introduction to his check list Lewis Leary points out that it is of necessity "a preliminary survey" only and suggests that it can be considerably extended by further investigation. In accordance with this suggestion a small group of students of American literature in a bibliography course at The Johns Hopkins University have made what they believe to be a thorough check of the complete files of certain periodicals which may not originally have been given so much attention as the more strictly scholarly journals. An effort was made to select articles in accordance with the general standards of significance and pertinence to American literature which can be inferred from Mr. Leary's Introduction and from a study of the list itself. The form of this supplementary list has been made like that of Mr. Leary's except that the Miscellaneous articles have not been subdivided. The list which follows represents approximately two hundred articles found in these periodicals: *Accent*, *Antioch Review*, *Arizona Quarterly*, *Horizon*, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, *Kenyon Review*, *New Mexico Quarterly*, *Partisan Review*, *Poetry*, *Quarterly Review of Literature*, *Scrutiny*, *Sewanee Review*, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, *Southern Review*, *Southwest Review*, *Theatre Arts*, *University of Toronto Quarterly*, *Virginia Quarterly Review*, and *Yale Review*.

JACKSON COPE
OTIS B. DAVIS
SAMUEL HENDERSON
ELIZABETH A. LARSON
JOSEPH SMEALL

1607-1800

No entries.

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J. B. H.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

Henry Adams as Historian and Artist. J. C. Levenson (Harvard, American Civilization).

Science and History: A Study of the Thought of John Quincy, Henry, and Brooks Adams. Nathan Reingold (Pennsylvania, American Civilization).

Edward Bellamy: Literary Aspects of an Original American Mind. Joseph Schiffman (New York).

Characterization in Cooper's Novels of the Sea and Forest. Katherine T. Gill (Illinois).

George William Curtis and the Genteel Tradition: A Revaluation. W. Gordon Milne (Harvard).

Impressionism in Stephen Crane. Mervin R. Lowe (Pennsylvania).

Richard Harding Davis: A Study. Scott Osborn (Kentucky).

Journalistic and Aesthetic Factors in the Art of John Dos Passos. S. Joseph Leon (Pennsylvania).

The Art of William Faulkner. Albert G. Hofmann, Jr. (Pennsylvania).

F. Scott Fitzgerald: Critic of the Jazz Age. Dan Piper (Pennsylvania, American Civilization).

The Reception and Development of Robert Frost as a Poet. Donald McCoy (Illinois).

The Life of Parke Godwin. David Latt (Columbia).

William Dean Howells as Editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Robert E. Butler (Rutgers).

James Gibbons Huneker: The Man and His Work. Arnold T. Schwab (Harvard).

Lowell and Environmentalism. John E. Reinhardt (Wisconsin).

Herman Melville's Concept of Personality. Merlin Shelley Bowen (Chicago).

The Humanism of Paul Elmer More. Robert M. Davies (Pennsylvania).

Elizabeth Madox Roberts: A Biography. Woodridge Spears (Kentucky).

Thorne Smith: A Study in Popular Fiction. Joseph L. Blotner (Pennsylvania).

Whitman and Wergeland: A Comparative Study. Sigmund Moe (New York).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

American Humor in England. Nils Erik Enkvist (Helsinki).

A History of the Book of the Month Club. Carrie Lee Farthing (Duke).

Twentieth-Century American Literary Autobiographies. Forrest W. Frease (Pennsylvania, American Civilization).

Historical Writing in Eighteenth-Century America. Laurence Holland (Harvard, American Civilization).

Methodism and Moral Conflict in the Novels of Twain, Howells, Garland, and Others. Cecil L. Patterson (Pennsylvania).

Politics and Publishing in America, 1870-1891. Warren B. Bezanson (Maryland).

Reception by British Periodicals of American Regional and Realistic Fiction, 1865-1910. Douglas R. Dickson (Pennsylvania).

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

The Growth of Nationalism in American Literature, 1800-1815. James Harold Coberly (George Washington, 1949).

The Early Life of Edgar Watson Howe. Ruth E. Brune (Colorado, 1949).

A Critical Study of Edgar Lee Masters. Lois Hartley (Illinois, 1949).

Verse Satire and the New Republic, 1790-1820. George Roth (Princeton, 1949).

IV. DISSERTATION TOPICS DROPPED:

American Literary Men and the International Copyright. Warren B. Bezanson (Maryland).

G. H. Boker: A Re-examination. Donald McCoy (Kansas).

Elizabeth Madox Roberts: A Biography. Mabel Tyree (Kentucky).

The *Unitarian Review*, 1874-1891, in Relation to Current Literary and Philosophical Trends. John E. Reinhardt (Wisconsin).

V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Hyatt H. Waggoner (University of Kansas City) is at work on a critical study of Hawthorne's work.

LEWIS LEARY, *Bibliographer*.

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BOOK REVIEWS

MAGAZINES IN THE UNITED STATES, THEIR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFLUENCE. By James Playsted Wood. New York: The Ronald Press. 1949. x, 312 pp. \$4.00.

Mr. Wood undertook an all but impossible task, and his achievement must be viewed in the light of the difficulty of the undertaking. For he has tried to tell the story of the American magazine, from its origin in England to the present day, when some seven thousand different periodicals are published. Moreover, he has set himself the task of trying to indicate the social and economic influence of American magazines. The sheer magnitude of the objective is breathtaking; and needless to say the author has leaned heavily on the work of predecessors, notably Richardson, Tassin, Smyth, Cairns, and, especially of course, on Mott. But he has also sampled widely on his own account and has often made fresh, independent judgments. Nowhere defining precisely the term "influence," he has failed to solve most of the stubborn problems that confront any scholar who attempts to deal with this subtle and all but immeasurable force. Yet by citing a great many specific examples, some of which are familiar and some of which are not, he has succeeded, at least, in approaching his goal.

Every specialist in the life and work of a given American man of letters is familiar, of course, with the role of magazines in the career of the writer; and the general student of American literature is aware of the fact that almost no well-known author has emerged who was not greatly indebted to the periodicals that brought out his work, in many instances kept him alive, and in others profoundly affected his relations to his reading public. The evidence of the role of periodicals in our literature has never hitherto been brought together as comprehensively and as simply as it is here.

The role of magazines in disseminating all sorts of specialized knowledge about agriculture, industry, statecraft, the home, and the school, to cite only a few examples; in elevating and changing standards of taste; and in broadening the American mind becomes abundantly clear in these pages. Mr. Wood presents his material in a topical-chronological organization. Many will be grateful for the emphasis he has put on the twentieth century and especially on the last two decades. For this is a period that scholars have as yet barely touched.

Several chapters will provide useful reading in courses in American literature and cultural history. But the chief value of the book, perhaps,

is to indicate roughly the present status of knowledge in a vast and unwieldy field and to suggest points of departure for further investigation.

University of Wisconsin.

MERLE CURTI.

THE GENTLEMAN IN AMERICA: *A Literary Study in American Culture.*

By Edwin Harrison Cady. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press. 323 pp. \$3.00.

The concept of the gentleman in America, strikingly in contrast to the elements of shallowness in native cultural traditions, brings to mind, of course, earlier investigations by Professors Wecter, Curti, Schlesinger, Wright, and Osterweis. Professor Cady's new and carefully integrated study, however, is no mere repetition of previous research. Stressing many paradoxes, compromises, and tensions, he reveals the inadequacy of the philosophic process (from Cotton Mather to Thorstein Veblen) to account for the gentleman in America. Adopting a limited approach, he purposed in this book to show that the "gentlemanly configuration" supplies a useful tool for discovering and measuring the greatness in our "men of letters and for understanding anew native cultural history.

His small band of chosen writers, for whom gentlemanly standards have provided a normal point of view toward life, includes widely different types from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. Here are New England theocrats, with special attention given to John Winthrop and Cotton Mather; statesmen such as Jefferson and John Adams; Cooper and his notion of an agrarian gentleman's democracy; the professor-scientist and "apotheosis of Society's Gentleman," Dr. Holmes; Emerson, "God's democratic gentleman" and spokesman for cultural idealism; the editor as typified by Howells, with brief consideration given Lowell; and various moderns. Geographically the range is relatively wide, with entertaining pictures of such centers of culture as Concord, Cambridge, Boston, and New York (a bit more indirectly). Although Professor Cady acknowledges in a preface his omission of notable gentlemen in the history of our culture, one questions the exclusion of centers in the Far West and the South. True, such a recent volume as Roland Osterweis's *Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South* treats various aspects of Southern culture; nevertheless, some treatment of Charleston, Richmond, New Orleans, or even Louisville (at the time of James Freeman Clarke's *Western Messenger*) would not have been amiss here. Other readers may question the omission of St. Louis and its Hegelians. Such omissions, however, are the author's privilege, for, as he notes, the relational aspects of cultural analysis are potentially endless.

Analyzing the question of whether the Whitmanesque "roughs" or

the gentlemen have played the greater role in American society, Mr. Cady traces the histories of various ideals expressive of gentlemanly conduct. First among such ideals is the pioneer-gentleman, fittingly exemplified by John Winthrop, who helped create the new and fired the faith in the American experiment. In the eighteenth century arose the great controversy as to which is the truer ideal: the "fine" gentleman (the rake, the snob, or clotheshorse), as satirically exposed in *The Contrast*, or the Christian gentleman, who, like the Reverend Timothy Dwight, sought an aristocracy of soul and mind like that of the theocrats. John Adams and Jefferson are pictured in relation to the belief that there is among men a natural aristocracy (the democratic "aristoi"). Later chapters analyze the rich stimulation of the gentlemanly ideal on the literary art of Cooper, Emerson, Howells, and Lowell. The harshest tone appears in the revelation of Dr. Holmes's devotion to the Gospel of Success. Holmes's concept of the genteel tradition—of a gentlemanliness dissociated from social responsibilities—is described as something which could only rot. Finally, there is Professor Cady's affirmative answer to the provocative query: "Are there any gentlemen now?"

The excellence of the text (all in all, an effective synthesis of the old and the new in the gentlemanly code) overshadows certain oversights in proofreading. An introductory survey of codes of conduct in other cultures, full bibliographical notes, and an index make this a very useful addition to American cultural history. May future scholarly interpretations extend the range of Professor Cady's criticism to include Poe, Lowell (in fuller treatment), Longfellow, Henry James, Lanier, and others!

Southern Methodist University.

IMA HONAKER HERRON.

THE LIFE AND DIARY OF DAVID BRAINERD. Edited by Jonathan Edwards. Newly Edited, and with a Biographical Sketch of President Edwards by Philip E. Howard, Jr. Chicago: Moody Press. 1949. 385 pp. \$3.50.

Well printed and handsomely bound, this volume makes available once more Jonathan Edwards's redaction of the diary of his friend David Brainerd, the heroic missionary to the Indians. Judging from Thomas H. Johnson's *Printed Writings of Jonathan Edwards*, this is the thirty-sixth edition. The editor has quite wisely followed the example of Sereno E. Dwight, who in the 1822 edition incorporated in its proper chronological place Brainerd's journal of his work among the Indians on the Pennsylvania frontier (June, 1745-June, 1746), originally published by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, his sponsors.

The differences between this semipublic journal and the private diary

which the dying missionary reluctantly turned over to Jonathan Edwards are striking. Frankly, it is the public "journal" which makes the more interesting reading today. The "diary" is a long private agonizing over his inward state. As such, it illustrates the type of piety which the Great Awakening could superinduce upon a sensitive soul in a sickly body. But for anyone except a psychologist of religion (like Edwards) the self-analysis tends after a while to become a trifle tedious. Not so Brainerd's account in the "journal" of his preaching to the Indians at the Forks of the Delaware or on the banks of the remote Susquehanna. One notes instantly the sharp shift from subjective to objective: see, for example, his story of his interpreter, Moses Tautamy (pp. 207-212) or his description of the diabolical rites which he was forced to watch the Delawares perform on the Susquehanna (pp. 233-238).

The book, a volume in the "Wycliffe Series of Christian Classics," is equipped with a somewhat jejune biographical sketch of "Mr. Edwards" and a curious bibliography, which could have been compiled almost a century ago, since it cites no authority more recent than the Reverend Samuel Miller, D.D., who published a memoir of Edwards in 1856! Students of Edwards and of religion on the American frontier will be glad, however, to see this text made available once more.

Swarthmore College.

FREDERICK B. TOLLES.

PORTRAIT FOR POSTERITY: *Lincoln and His Biographers*. By Benjamin P. Thomas. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1947. 329 pp. \$3.00.

The fact that William H. Herndon, with the assistance of Jesse W. Weik, wrote the first important life of Lincoln is much less notable than the influence he and his Lincolniana had on some of his predecessors and all of his successors in the field. It is quite natural, even inevitable, that the shadow of Herndon should lie across *Portrait for Posterity*, as it does across all Lincoln biography. In an excellent analysis and criticism of the major lives of Lincoln, Mr. Thomas discusses every important book from the Victorian portrait of Josiah G. Holland (1866) to the yet unfinished historical biography of James G. Randall. Using correspondence and all other available sources, Mr. Thomas has given us a series of delightful character sketches of the principal Lincoln biographers to augment his criticism of their work.

After what seems an unnecessarily detailed account of the Lamon book, which Lamon did not write, Mr. Thomas takes up *Herndon's Lincoln*. Neither of these books was successful because the American people still wanted an ideal picture of the man who had become a

national hero after his death. The honesty of these books offended Robert Todd Lincoln, the President's only surviving son, and his attitude retarded the natural development of Lincoln biography for the next fifty years. Mr. Thomas's account of the Nicolay and Hay *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, showing how the shortcomings of the authors and Robert Todd Lincoln's blue pencil made a ponderous history instead of a readable biography, is particularly good.

The problems presented in these three lives made necessary a re-examination of the whole field. At the suggestion of S. S. McClure, Ida Tarbell began to search for the facts, particularly those concerned with Lincoln's early life. First published as a series of magazine articles, her researches marked the beginning of a realistic approach to Lincoln biography. William E. Barton, one of the most prolific of all writers on Lincoln, began to re-examine the whole field again some twenty years after Miss Tarbell's researches. Mr. Thomas's account of Barton's work and of his personality is one of the most interesting chapters in the book.

When Albert J. Beveridge, the great biographer of Chief Justice Marshall, began his life of Lincoln, he thought the task would be a relatively simple one. He was soon disillusioned. He found that there had been no search of some of the most important sources, such as Illinois newspapers and legal documents, or Lincoln's Congressional record. He found that no one had presented the early Lincoln, that no one seemed to know him. When Beveridge's work was cut short by his death in 1928, he left an unrevised version of Lincoln's life to 1858. What the final result would have been no one can say, but we know that Beveridge found a very different Lincoln and a very different Douglas from the men his predecessors had depicted.

Since Beveridge, the professional scholars have entered the field, and such historians as James G. Randall have presented new points of view. It remained, however, for a poet, a native of Illinois of Swedish descent, to write what is now the greatest of Lincoln biographies. As Mr. Thomas intimates in his discussion of Carl Sandburg, a subject like Lincoln yields to facts and to research up to a certain point. It is, perhaps, only the poetic imagination, the reality, that will explain satisfactorily such a "simple" man as Abraham Lincoln.

Philadelphia.

E. H. O'NEILL.

THE SCENIC ART: *Notes on Acting & the Drama: 1872-1901*. By Henry James. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Allan Wade. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1948. xxv, 384 pp. \$4.50.

Since only six of the thirty-seven theatrical essays and extracts by Henry James in *The Scenic Art* have hitherto been collected, the book is highly valuable not only for further study of James as a novelist and playwright but also for remarkably perceptive comments on the state of the theater in London and Paris (and to a lesser degree in Boston and New York) for the period 1872-1901. The editor, Mr. Allan Wade, long associated with London theaters as actor, secretary, playreader, director, and business manager, has adequately supplied readers with pertinent details regarding the publication of each article and also with an appendix briefly describing the lives of all the actors and actresses mentioned as well as data on the plays and the theaters.

For his own pleasure, Mr. Wade years ago copied in longhand many of these articles by James, and the studies of Professor Edna Kenton and Dr. Leon Edel have led to identification of several other unsigned articles. Nearly all of the articles appeared originally in such American journals as the *Nation*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *New York Tribune*, *Galaxy*, *Scribner's*, *Century*, *New Republic*, and *Harper's Weekly*; only a few were published in such English journals as the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Cornhill*. Only five of the essays refer chiefly to the theater in America; nine of them treat of the French theater and actors, and fifteen of the English.

In his essay on "The Parisian Stage" (*Nation*, January 9, 1873) James remarked pertinently that "an acted play is a novel intensified." This dominant idea, of course, played a great part in the development of James's own technique in the writing of fiction. Many other personal, revelatory ideas lie imbedded in these articles and are valuable guideposts to a study of James as novelist, critic, and playwright.

Further, the essays present acute moral and intellectual assessments of the French, English, and American theaters during the years 1872-1901, a period of considerable historical interest. The French theater had attained to a high cultural level; it had become so fine an art as to be a vital necessity to many Frenchmen, and James was tutored in its tradition, its grace, and its taste. The English and the American theaters were at a comparatively low level; but though the plays were trivial and the acting was crude, and though the London theaters were largely in the poorer sections of the city, James saw that new thetic effects were developing on the English stage in decorations, costumes, and lighting, and that these factors brought glory to the directors and producers. He realized that this "danger is common—the danger of smothering a piece in its acces-

series"—and he was on the side of acting rather than that of scenic effect; yet he never spoke entirely against this new trend.

In addition to chapters which survey the art of the theater in Paris and London, there are specialized, discerning essays on Madame Ristori, Henry Irving and Ellen Terry, Émile Augier, Tommaso Salvini, Coquelin, Henrik Ibsen, Dumas *fils*, and Edmond Rostand.

Western Reserve University.

LYON N. RICHARDSON.

AGNES REPLLIER, LADY OF LETTERS. By George Stewart Stokes. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. 274 pp. \$3.00.

Agnes Repplier was born in Philadelphia in 1855. Her convent schooling was of short duration but of lasting influence, and the discipline and decorum she learned as a girl subsequently became easily recognizable traits of her writing. When the family fortunes went into eclipse, she turned to literature and after unsuccessfully dabbling with fiction took the advice of Father Isaac Hecker, then the editor of the *Catholic World*, who urged her to write not about life (of which she was certainly a very distant observer) but about books. The paper on Ruskin as a teacher which she immediately submitted to Hecker was the first of a long line of literary essays which continued to pour from Agnes Repplier's pen until the 1940's.

In an active literary life of sixty years Agnes Repplier produced some twenty-six books. Five of these are biographies, including the well-known studies of Père Marquette, Mère Marie of the Ursulines, and Junípero Serra. One is a warm but perceptive eulogy of her native Philadelphia. The rest are books of essays, arbitrary collections of individual papers which she originally contributed to such periodicals as the *Catholic World*, *Lippincott's Magazine*, the *Yale Review*, and chiefly the *Atlantic Monthly*. The titles of some of these volumes—*Points of Friction*, *Varia*, *Compromises*, *Counter-Currents*, *Points of View*—indicate their diversity and their nonconformity. With the exception of *The Fireside Sphinx*, her tribute to cats in general and to her own feline pet Agrippina in particular, these essays are individual and discrete, though collectively they show their author's wit, shrewdness, and erudition. By the time Agnes Repplier could look back upon "a happy half-century," she could also pardonably regard herself as the leading American essayist.

George Stewart Stokes's biography, the first full-length study of Agnes Repplier, is a competent but pedestrian job. Save for the last chapter, the author's method is strictly chronological. Thirteen chapters trace Miss Repplier's girlhood, her physical and literary maturity, her growing recognition as an essayist, her success as a lecturer, her joy in European

travel, and her final triumphant entrance into the republic of letters as measured by honors and awards. Each of the twenty-six books is assessed briefly in its proper place, and the biographical account closes with the year 1942, when Agnes Repplier passed her eighty-seventh birthday. The long final chapter is an attempt to estimate Miss Repplier as a literary artist. Six pages of notes and bibliography complete the volume. The author has, unfortunately, chosen to omit from his study his bibliography of Agnes Repplier's contributions to periodicals.

As an outline of Agnes Repplier's life and work this book is both satisfactory and useful; as an estimate of her achievements it falls short of the mark. Miss Repplier, a charming and distinguished essayist at her best, was a bookish writer who fascinated readers by her extraordinary erudition and her engaging style rather than by either originality or profundity. In her hands the familiar literary essay became a tissue of quotation, allusion, comparison, and paradox, gracefully bound together and wittily phrased. Mr. Stokes rightly points out that Miss Repplier was more partial to English than to American literature and that, save for the first World War, she practically ignored topical events. But he fails either to place her in the tradition of the English literary essay or to explain her singularly adroit use of her medium. Certainly if her virtues of order, sobriety, and clearness seem somewhat old-fashioned today, one can still read her work, as one reads the most discontinuous and paradoxical of modern poetry, for the joy of recognition.

Mr. Stokes's own style has not benefited from his study of Miss Repplier's work. Probably the worst of his infelicities is the following sentence (p. 180): "Although among the forefront of interventionists before the United States was drawn into the conflict, once the war was over, the older, more natural isolationism was to settle down on Agnes Repplier as well as on many of her friends." It should be added that the author's style of documentation, the use of page numbers and key phrases without footnote enumeration, is confusing and not always adequate since some quotations are incompletely identified. Thus Mr. Stokes's book tends to fall between the stools of a documented thesis and an urbane piece of criticism. Sometimes one and sometimes the other, it ends in being neither.

University of Illinois.

JOHN T. FLANAGAN.

O. HENRY: *The Man and His Work*. By E. Hudson Long. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. xiii, 158 pp. \$2.75.

The first biography of W. S. Porter, or O. Henry, C. A. Smith's (1916), ran to 251 pages of text, the second, Davis and Maurice's (1931),

to 402. Professor Long has boiled down his narrative to 137. Most readers will applaud his conciseness, even though they may still wish to consult the older books for letters, pictures, and anecdotes. A conscious effort to condense no doubt explains why the Bibliography is called "Selected," yet the list of O. Henry's works omits *The Two Women* (1910), an excessively rare book that could provide an interesting chapter in itself. The "Supplementary Sources," too, omit a number of important titles: e.g., Edmunds Travis's "The Triumph of O. Henry," *Bunker's Monthly*, June, 1928; Lollie Cave Wilson's *Romance and Tragedy of O. Henry*, 1935 (first called *O. Henry's Trying Years* and later rewritten into *Hard to Forget*, 1939); David Boyd's "O. Henry's Road of Destiny," *Americana*, October, 1937; Robinson, Elmquist, and Clark's "O. Henry's Austin," *Southwest Review*, July, 1939; and Trueman E. O'Quinn's "O. Henry in Austin," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, October, 1939.

The biographies of Smith and Davis-Maurice made their chief contributions to Porter's North Carolina and New York periods. Mr. Long has added interesting details about both, as of Miss Lina Porter's character and actions and of O. Henry's residence "down in Greenwich Village" late in 1908. In connection with the latter detail Mr. John S. Mayfield recently told me that he owns the actual lease, for seven months beginning November 15, 1908, which Porter signed for a furnished apartment at 88 Washington Place, a New York address never mentioned in print.

Nothing is easier than to find errors and faults in any book, particularly a biography. I illustrate the truism by noting the contradictions (pp. 53 f., 103, 124) on the origin of the name "O. Henry"; the repeated transposition of the initials of the first Mrs. Porter's stepfather, Roach, from "P[eter]. G." to "G. P.;" the misspelling of "Lampasas" (p. 52); the assertion that Williamson County, which is next door to Austin, was "farther away from civilization" than Cotulla in La Salle County (p. 46); and the apparent placing of the Katy Railway in Austin, years too early, in 1886 (p. 52). Again, the brief account of the musical comedy *Lo* could have been improved by an examination of the records now at Harvard. It is true that *Lo* opened at Aurora, Illinois (the receipts were \$638.50), and closed at St. Joseph, Missouri (receipts \$290). But readers might like to know that it familiarized the names of O. Henry and F. P. Adams to audiences in many other places in Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Minnesota, Manitoba, North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, British Columbia, Oregon, Utah, Colorado, and Kansas, and that it was presented for a week or longer in Milwaukee, Kansas City, and Seattle.

Myths abound about Porter, some of them innocently started by me as long ago as 1914. Mr. Long indulges in fewer than his predecessors, but he *does* repeat Al Jennings's yarn of a July 4 celebration in Honduras with Porter, forgetting that he had already correctly located the latter in Houston and New Orleans during July, 1896, and in Austin during July, 1897. Naturally he retells the story of how, skipping his bond, at Hempstead Porter "took the train for New Orleans instead of continuing to Austin." The Houston-Hempstead-Houston trip may itself be a myth. Many years ago Mr. Herman Pressler, one of Porter's bondsmen, let me copy letters he had received in 1896 from Colonel R. M. Johnston, of the Houston *Post*, and his night editor, W. R. Sinclair. The former (July 7) denied having any "idea where he [Porter] went, which way he went or any thing about him." But Sinclair (July 10) wrote: "The reporters who went to see the Austin train off saw Mr Porter there and he has never been seen since. Our presumption naturally is that he took the east bound Southern Pacific, which leaves about the same time, the west bound having left before he got there." As Sinclair also said that the *Post* had "advertised for him but nothing has been heard of him," some energetic researcher should dig up the advertisements, presumably in Houston, New Orleans, and Havana newspapers.

It is a pleasure to say that Mr. Long's account of Porter's trial and conviction for embezzlement is by far the best yet written, and that it should end forever the ridiculous slurs on the Austin court and the Texas lawyers begun by Smith and re-echoed nearly everywhere. (Possibly it is worth noting that Marshal George Louis Siebrecht's endorsement, showing that he had delivered Porter to the Ohio penitentiary on April 25, 1898, is not [pp. 98, 145] on the back of the printed Transcript of Record which was filed at New Orleans on May 2, but is written by hand on the back of Judge Maxey's "judgment, sentence and order" of March 25.) Since Mr. Long, unlike earlier biographers, is convinced of Porter's guilt, perhaps he deliberately ignored the eight articles in the Austin *Statesman*, 1925, wherein Don Hollis hotly discussed "The Persecution of O. Henry." But one could wish that he had not overlooked Trueman E. O'Quinn's *O. Henry's Own Trial* (Austin, 1940), a facsimile reproduction of the defending attorneys, Ward and James's, Writ of Error to the New Orleans Circuit Court of Appeals, August 30, 1898, with introductory notes on certain legal aspects of the appeal.

O. Henry: The Man and His Work tells more about the man than the work. Evidently, however, the author regards O. Henry, whose "books have sold literally by the millions throughout the world" (*Time* recently characterized him as "the father of the high-gear, machine-tooled

short-short story"), as "a permanent addition to American literature," and finds restated in him "the verities which exist wherever people continue to strive for truth and beauty in life." Such popularity must—or may—be deserved. At any rate, Mr. Long's book is pleasant to read, and it takes a long step toward the "definitive" biography of some future day.

Harvard University.

HYDER E. ROLLINS.

ANNALS OF THE NEW YORK STAGE. By George C. D. Odell. Vol. 15.
New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. xvii, 1010 pp. \$12.50.

It is a melancholy task to review the final volume of this great work, and to know that the industrious scholar and keen critic will no longer be able to give us the benefit of his many years of playgoing. There are few men who would have had the courage to attempt a work of similar scope; there are none living, I believe, capable of carrying it to fifteen volumes.

The present volume discusses plays given during the seasons 1891-1894, which Dr. Odell aptly called "The New School." That new school has long been looked upon as old-fashioned, but it gave to the stage dramas of permanent value as literature and it witnessed some remarkable acting. Many of the plays I have seen, either in their first or their later productions, so that the privilege of reading Dr. Odell's impressions is a real treat, flavored by the nostalgia caused by a boy's college memories. Those were the days of Augustin Daly's sumptuous production of Tennyson's *The Foresters*, of his great success with *Twelfth Night*, which far surpassed the recent effort. Each season a play by Arthur Pinero or Henry Arthur Jones would be an event eagerly expected.

But more to our purpose were the American plays which were establishing the reputations of James A. Herne, Augustus Thomas, Clyde Fitch, and Charles H. Hoyt, and re-enforcing the already solid stature of Bronson Howard and Edward Harrigan. In the season 1891-1892 Herne produced *Margaret Fleming* in New York, after his critical success in Boston, where Howells hailed it as "epoch-marking." But alas for realism, it was too far ahead of its time. To make amends to popular taste, Herne's *Shore Acres* saved the season of 1893-1894 at the Fifth Avenue Theater and later at Daly's. It is ironic to remember that the fate of this play hung in the balance for the first two weeks, and only a clause in Herne's contract, which required the management to keep it on for four weeks, saved one of the finest plays and perennial money-makers from oblivion. Today it would be withdrawn at the end of the first week.

Professor Odell's critical analysis of Thomas's *In Mizzoura* is especially good. He found it "a rich comedy of rural life," as it is, a "fellow in charm to its author's *Alabama*."

It is by such faithful daily recording that we learn that several of William Dean Howells's comedies, notably *Evening Dress* and *Bride Roses*, were given professional productions at the Empire Theater and at Daly's. These productions were part of the movement to bring American literature to the stage; of which the more extended performances of *Mercedes* by Thomas Baily Aldrich at Palmer's Theater in 1893 was a high spot. I did not see *Mercedes*, but Miss Julia Arthur, who played the title role, told me some years ago of the dramatic value of this poignant tragedy. These incidents are just a few more proofs that the literary drama can succeed on the stage if opportunities are offered to it. Playwrights who were also producers, like Daly, Harrigan, or Hoyt, could build or lease theaters and secure their plays a fair hearing, but Aldrich had the mortification of having his plays sent back often unopened. Yet even clever stage carpenters like Clay Greene turned to material furnished by Longfellow and put on *The Maid of Plymouth* as an operetta in 1894, a practice which certainly points forward to today. How different was the standard of censorship in the early nineties was illustrated by the uproar which was caused by the production of Hauptmann's *Hannele*. This play was deemed blasphemous by organized guardians of public morals, and Hauptmann, who had come over to arrange for the play's production, was haled down to City Hall along with the producers. I saw *Hannele* in 1947, put on at a first-class summer theater in Stockbridge. It has now reached the security of a classic!

These fifteen volumes are a mine of similar events which furnish the social historian with source material for his judgments upon the progress or decline of popular ideals, morals, and taste in New York City. And for the theater New York audiences are often a cross section of the entire country. Their standards are by no means universal, but through Professor Odell's wide knowledge the pattern of New York has been woven with skill into the general picture of the theater in the United States.

University of Pennsylvania.

ARTHUR H. QUINN.

THE INTERCHANGE OF PLAYS BETWEEN LONDON AND NEW YORK, 1910-1939:
A Study in Relative Audience Response. By Alice Katharine Boyd.
New York: King's Crown Press. 1948. xii, 126 pp. Offset. \$2.50.

The study under review deals particularly with those plays that, between 1910 and the outbreak of the last war, were successful in one

metropolis but failed to make a hit in the other. Very convincingly Miss Boyd shows—and statistical material supports her arguments—that national and other fundamental differences have no bearing on this phenomenon of success at home and failure abroad. She refutes the critics and reviewers who constantly speak of those differences and predict the fate of theatrical productions on that basis. If there are no general criteria, what then are the elements responsible for the unfavorable foreign reaction to native stage successes? Each play, she concludes, is a special event; its success depends on "theatrical timeliness," on the choice of actors, on the peculiarities of the adaptation. Miss Boyd ventures the "speculation" that "the good script *together with* the memorable performance was popular with both audiences, that failure might have sometimes resulted when the transportation failed to combine the two." More valuable is her observation that the British play which represents what Americans think British life is like has a good chance of success in this country, and that Londoners are fond of American plays that fit their idea of the American play—one with emphasis on action rather than on character or ideas. But even this point cannot be generalized. The study makes it very clear that American producers of British hits and British producers of American successes will have to continue to take their chances with fate.

Miss Boyd's dissertation is actually more valuable as extensive statistical data on Anglo-American stage productions than as a critical study of audience reactions, for it is very difficult to measure audience response on the basis of purely theatrical considerations.

Indiana University.

HORST FRENZ.

IMMORTAL SHADOWS: *A Book of Dramatic Criticism*. By Stark Young.
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1948. 290 pp. \$3.00.

THE AMERICAN DRAMA SINCE 1939: *Essays on Playwrights and Plays*.
By Joseph Mersand. New York: The Modern Chapbooks. 1949.
188 pp. \$2.00.

Students of the American drama and theater and of American criticism are deeply indebted to Mr. Stark Young for collecting under the title *Immortal Shadows* sixty-five of his dramatic reviews, written over a period of twenty-five years and printed, for the most part, in the *New Republic*. A considerable number of illuminating discussions of major plays and performances on the American stage since 1922 are thus given a more accessible form and may have, one trusts, a wider circulation than if they had remained buried in the portly bound volumes of a weekly magazine.

Mr. Young's judgments on specific plays and productions are no less interesting and challenging than the critical theory on which he operates and which he brilliantly exemplifies. At the beginning, he gives us his conception of the art of the theater. "The art of the theater is not a mere combination of particular things, setting, actors, recitation, literature, for example; it is a distinct and separate art. It may be composed of many things, but it is none of them. Nothing that goes to compose this art remains as it was before becoming a part of it." His practice—if this collection of essays is truly representative of it—is to decide, first, whether or not a play or a performance is worthy of serious critical consideration, and then to estimate the degree to which the performance coincides with the ideal performance as he conceives it, or falls short of it. No detail that might contribute to the ideal effect escapes him. Thus, of Jane Cowl's gown in *Romeo and Juliet*, he writes, "her gown is too loose and easy, a tighter and more formal effect in the cutting would help enact the dramatic idea that this girl is imprisoned within the family patterns and the feudal conceptions that go along with them." Again, of the treatment of hands in a production of a Molière comedy, "The wrists and hands should be like porcelain for such roles, the palms and between the fingers rouged the color of sea-shells." An expert translator himself, he is extremely critical of other translations of the drama. Thus, he says of a translation of Benavente's *Field of Ermine*, "In many spots, Mr. Underhill's lines could not be spoken by any actors; they sound like a schoolroom version of a passage far removed in every sense from the language which we speak."

This delightful volume will help the lover of the theater to recall bits of stage history he may have forgotten and will furnish him innumerable judgments of plays and performances that he will enjoy checking against his own. It is interesting, for example, to note Mr. Young's comments on the too brief stage-career of Mr. Edward G. Robinson. Of his acting of Aliocha in the Theatre Guild's production of *The Brothers Karamazov*, he writes, "Mr. Edward G. Robinson, as the epileptic, comes nearer to the play and to the Russian than anyone else; he is often very good, and his is the only playing in the cast that could be called so." One is struck, too, by his early enthusiasm for Lawrence Olivier's acting in *The Green Bay Tree*: "It is a long time since so subtle, fluent, and right a performance of a younger role has been seen in this town."

A critic's superlatives—of praise and dispraise—are as good a measure of his taste as any, and on this scale, Mr. Young, I should say, scores very high. "Of all our actors, certainly of all those who have become known, Miss Laurette Taylor could not be called the most cultured, the

most versatile in divers styles, the most gracious-minded, but few would deny that she is the most talented. She is the real and first talent of them all." "*Four Saints in Three Acts* is as essential theater the most important event of our season." Of Canada Lee's performance in *Native Son*, he says, it "is the best I have ever seen in New York from a Negro player," and of the producer of the play, Orson Welles "is one of the best influences our theater has, one of the important forces. . . . His talent begins with the violent, the abundant and the inspired-obvious, all of which make for the life of the theater art." "Miss Uta Hagen—not too happily costumed—with that curiously flexible talent of hers that might carry her far in our theater, is one of the best of the numerous Desdemonas I have seen."

Mr. Young has taste, sensitiveness, perceptiveness, and vast theatrical "know-how." At times, however, his style is distressingly fuzzy, as when he writes, "It carried the theme of the play to a quintessence" or "Mr. Paul Robeson lacks the instinct and the phrasing for wearing costumes *per se*" or "The joy and rippling overtones by which the theater art swings and goes forward. . . ." During the production of this book, someone should have caught a considerable number of errors in proofreading and the attribution of Hotspur's paternity to Bolingbroke!

Dr. Mersand's *American Drama since 1930* is a very slightly revised edition of his *American Drama, 1930-1940* (1941). Most of the essays, some of which had appeared even earlier as "chapbooks," and others in his *Tradition in American Literature* (1939), are reprinted without change; even the obvious errors—Raichstadt for Reichstadt; Richard Merivale for Philip Merivale—are uncorrected. In fact, the major alterations consist in the extension of the play-lists in the essays, "When Ladies Write Plays," and "Two Decades of Biographical Plays." The text of these essays is practically unaltered. The critical level on which the author operates may be illustrated satisfactorily by the following judgments: George S. Kaufman "is generally recognized as the most successful master of stage technique in our contemporary theater. He is acknowledged as our outstanding satirist, one of our best directors, one of the best writers of dialogue, and as our most capable 'play-doctor.'" Miss Clare Boothe is "the most gifted satirist in the whole history of American drama."

Wesleyan University.

FRED B. MILLETT.

THE PUPPET THEATRE IN AMERICA: *A History*. By Paul McPharlin. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1949. xi, 506. \$6.00.

To the average citizen today the term "puppet show" means something more than Punch and Judy. But even to the student of American theatrical history this stout volume comes as a revelation of the quantity and variety of puppetry the Americas have seen from first to last. Beginning with a puppeteer who was one of the servants of Cortés in Mexico in 1524, and pausing for brief speculation concerning Indian puppets, which must have existed even before the coming of the white man, Mr. McPharlin devotes his book largely to a history of puppetry in the United States, though he gives a chapter each to Latin America and to Canada.

The beginnings of this folk art in the colonies, we learn, are vague, but it was getting itself established here during the first half of the eighteenth century. Throughout that century the puppeteers seem to have been almost wholly British. While England continued to provide us with numerous marionette companies in the nineteenth century, Germany, France, and Italy also contributed, and of course the native performers increased rapidly. In all these respects one notes a marked parallel with the course of development of the regular theater.

Because of its mobility the marionette show went everywhere. Punch and Judy fought it out near San Francisco almost at the beginning of the Gold Rush, and many a frontier town far from the orbit of the professional actors was visited by professional puppeteers. But even in the large centers they competed on not unfavorable terms with live drama. Mr. McPharlin quotes this comment from a New York newspaper of 1873: "The Marionettes at Robinson Hall are not to be mistaken for a mere addition to our most sprightly amusements. They are in reality a school for actors. . . . If they are not quite as large as life, they are certainly twice as natural as the sort of life which we see on the ordinary dramatic stage."

As the author points out, the rise of vaudeville in the latter part of the nineteenth century was a boon to puppetry in that it provided more security and a more extensive ready-made audience than it had enjoyed before. But the coming of motion pictures dealt it a seemingly fatal blow. Yet, like legitimate drama, puppetry is apparently indestructible, for in the early years of the present century it was reborn as a more consciously aesthetic and educational activity. By about 1915 the revival, which had already begun in Europe, was under way in America. Leaders like Tony Sarg and Ellen Van Volkenburg gave a new impetus to puppetry as an art. In time, many schools and colleges were offering courses in puppet-making especially as an aid to visual education. The

WPA was responsible for a large boom by making possible thousands of free puppet shows for the public. During World War II the humble marionette helped to sustain morale both on the home front and among the armed forces. Today new functions are being discovered for puppets. They are a part of the therapeutic technique of some hospitals. They are being used in advertising campaigns, often through the medium of television. And then there is Charlie McCarthy.

But extensive as Mr. McPharlin's record is, he believes it may be "a mere opening chapter" in the eventual history of puppetry.

The history of the puppet theatre, until its revival as an independent art [he writes], was a course of imitation of the larger theatre. . . .

But it has been learned that moving figures under human control may transcend human actors. They can be shaped to play any role. They can be as realistic, as expressionistic, as fantastic as an artist can make them. They can present many of the classics of the stage, in full antiquarian accoutrement, for the benefit of students and the cultivated. They can do experimental drama, ballet, and spectacle. . . . Their potentialities are as vast as they themselves may be small.

One may venture to remark, however, that the puppet, not only traditionally but during the more recent revival, as this book brings out, has seemed to gravitate by natural attraction to the grotesque and the fanciful in spite of some attempts to the contrary. Possibly some puppet enthusiasts, such as Mr. McPharlin and Gordon Craig, have seen more universality in the marionette than most playgoers will grant.

However that may be, one cannot question Mr. McPharlin's fitness to write an account of puppetry. A professional puppeteer, he has written several technical booklets on the subject, he taught a college course in puppet production for eight years, and he has been one of the most active leaders in the field. His book is a thorough and well documented record which is pleasant to read in spite of its necessarily detailed nature, and, having designed the volume himself, he has embellished it with scores of illustrations, many of them pen-and-ink drawings of his own making. Unfortunately Mr. McPharlin died while this book was in the press. The work was completed by his wife, Marjorie Batchelder McPharlin, who prepared the excellent index. She has also added "A List of Puppeteers, 1524-1948," containing information about twelve hundred or more individuals and groups who have practiced their art somewhere in the Americas. While admittedly incomplete, this list in itself is a useful summary of American puppetry.

New Jersey College for Women.

ORAL SUMNER COAD.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PLACE NAME LITERATURE: *United States, Canada, Alaska and Newfoundland.* By Richard B. Sealock and Pauline A. Seely. Chicago: American Library Association. 1948. 332 pp. Offset. \$4.50.

This bibliography is an excellent work and will be indispensable to students of place names. After a general section the arrangement is by states and provinces and then alphabetically by name of author, or by name of article for anonymous and editorial contributions. If the subject matter is not clear from the title, a brief note is added.

This work is as close to being all-comprehensive as can be expected. I have noted no important omissions. Certain questions may of course be raised. Why should the department *Names and Places* in *Western Folklore* be listed only under the general title, although the scholarly contributions to it are published under their own titles and are generally of much more importance than many of the separate items here listed? By what standards have the bibliographers, as a casual reference in the Preface would indicate, silently omitted certain items as not being "acceptable"?

It should be understood of course that the bibliography concerns itself only with secondary, or "scholarly" materials. Original sources, such as narratives of explorers, have not been included. Also omitted are many casual but often important discussions of names which occur in works, such as histories, which are not primarily concerned with names. A bibliography including such items, however, would be almost impossible to compile and so large and scattering as probably to be impossible to use.

I therefore list these omissions descriptively, not derogatorily. This volume will be constantly on my desk, and I only wish it had appeared a few years earlier.

University of California.

GEORGE R. STEWART.

BRIEF MENTION

A MENCKEN CHRESTOMATHY. Edited and Annotated by Henry L. Mencken. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1949. xvi, 627 pp. \$5.00.

A selection from Mr. Mencken's out-of-print writings—from books, magazines, and newspapers.

C. G.

THIS WAS AMERICA. Edited with an Introduction by Oscar Handlin. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1949. ix, 602 pp. \$6.00.

The subtitle properly describes this anthology as "True accounts of people and places, manners and customs, as recorded by European travellers to the Western Shore in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries."

C. G.

A LITTLE TREASURY OF AMERICAN PROSE: *The Major Writers from Colonial Times to the Present Day*. Edited with an Introduction by George Mayberry. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1949. xxii, 946 pp. \$5.00.

A handsomely bound little gift-book containing an unusually well-chosen collection of writings.

C. G.

MARK TWAIN IN THREE MOODS: *Three New Items of Twainiana*. Edited by Dixon Wecter. San Marino: Friends of the Huntington Library. 1948. 32 pp. \$1.25.

A fragment possibly from a lecture on the Far West, a newspaper satire, and an anecdote, this last told by Charles E. S. Wood. Mr. Wecter supplies elucidating detail.

C. G.

THE HARVARD READING LIST IN AMERICAN HISTORY. Compiled by Kenneth B. Murdock and Others. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1949. \$0.50.

A new edition of an excellent guide for the use of general readers. Teachers also will find it of value.

C. G.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Richard E. Amacher (Rutgers University), Ashbel Brice (Duke University), Herbert Brown (Bowdoin College), James F. Dolson (Alabama Polytechnic Institute), Horst Frenz (Indiana University), John C. Gerber (University of Iowa), Chester T. Hallenbeck (Queens College), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Lewis Leary, *Chairman* (Duke University), Ernest Marchand (San Diego State College), Thomas F. Marshall (Western Maryland College), Blake Nevius (University of California at Los Angeles), Henry F. Pommer (Allegheny College), Thelma M. Smith (Dickinson College), Herman E. Spivey (University of Kentucky), Edward Stone (Duke University), Walter Sutton (Syracuse University), James L. Woodress (Grinnell College), with the co-operation of Lars Åhnebrink (University of Upsala), Roger M. Asselineau (University of Paris), Anna Maria Criño (University of Florence), and Sigmund Skard (University of Oslo).

Items for the check list to be published in the May, 1950, issue of *American Literature* should be sent to the chairman of the committee, Lewis Leary, 4633 Duke Station, Durham, N. C.

I. 1609-1800

[ADAMS, JOHN] Haraszti, Zoltán. "John Adams and Turgot." *Boston Public Lib. Quar.*, I, 1-22 (July, 1949).

Turgot's letter criticizing American constitutions moved John Adams to make at least forty-five rejoinders (here printed); these comments are significant in the light of Adams's *Defense of the Constitutions of America* (1787).

[DWIGHT, TIMOTHY] Aldridge, Alfred O. "Timothy Dwight's Posthumous Gift to British Theology." *AL*, XXI, 479-481 (Jan., 1950).

Thomas Hartwell Horne's unacknowledged use, in the second edition of his *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures* (1821), of Timothy Dwight's *The Nature and Danger of Infidel Philosophy*.

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Gallacher, Stuart A. "Franklin's Way to Wealth: A Florilegium of Proverbs and Wise Sayings." *JEGP*, XLVIII, 229-251 (April, 1949).

- Quinlan, Maurice F. "Dr. Franklin Meets Dr. Johnson." *Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXXIII, 34-44 (Jan., 1949).
- [FRENEAU, PHILIP] Brown, Ruth W. "Classical Echoes in the Poetry of Philip Freneau." *Classical Jour.*, XLV, 29-34 (Oct., 1949).
The echoes are mainly of Horace, Vergil, Ovid, Lucretius, and Seneca.
- [JEFFERSON, THOMAS] Fucilla, Joseph G. "An American Diplomat in Settecento Italy." *Italica*, XXVI, 78-101 (March, 1949).
Letters of William Short (1759-1849) to Thomas Jefferson during the former's Italian journey, 1788-1789, with emphasis on antiquities and public improvements.
- Peder, William. "A Book Peddler Invades Monticello." *Wm. and Mary Quar.*, 3d ser., VI, 631-636 (Oct., 1949).
- [PAINE, THOMAS] Aldridge, A. O. "Why Did Thomas Paine Write on the Bank?" *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, XCIII, 309-315 (Sept., 1949).
Paine defended the Bank of North America not only because he believed in its principles, but also because published works on the contrary side had been attributed to him.
- [SANDYS, GEORGE] Davis, Richard B. "George Sandys v. William Stansby: The 1632 Edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*." *The Library* (London), 5th ser., III, 193-212 (Dec., 1948).
- [MISCELLANEOUS] Hamar, Clifford E. "Scenery on the Early American Stage." *Theatre Annual*, VII, 84-103 (1948-1949).
A detailed account of the use of scenery in the American theater in the late eighteenth and very early nineteenth centuries.
- Jennings, K. Q. "The New American Magazine." *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Lib.*, XIII, 29-31 (Dec., 1949).
Describes the first New Jersey magazine.
- Markham, R. H. "Paul Revere and his America." *Chris. Sci. Mon.*, Magazine Section, 3 (April 17, 1948).
An informal description of Old North Church, Boston, as a mirror of democratic ideals.
- Murphy, Lawrence W. "A Monopoly Daily of 1785 Looks at Its Obligations." *Journalism Quar.*, XXVI, 202-203 (June, 1949).
- Sioussat, St. George L. "The *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society in the Libraries of William Byrd of Westover, Benjamin Franklin, and the American Philosophical Society." *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, XCIII, 99-113 (May, 1949).
The Abridgements of the *Transactions* afforded the best opportunities for scholars in the Colonies to purchase the most useful of the publications of the Royal Society which had appeared in the regular *Philosophical Transactions*.

II. 1800-1870

[BAKER, W. M.] Parrott, Thomas M., and Milton H. Thomas. "William Munford Baker: Forgotten Princetonian." *Princeton Univ. Lib. Chron.*, X, 61-80 (Feb., 1949).

Brief biographical sketch, with references to Baker's twelve novels.

[BENJAMIN, PARK] Williams, Mentor L. "Park Benjamin on Melville's 'Mardi.'" *AN&Q*, VIII, 132-134 (Dec., 1949).

[BIDDLE, NICHOLAS] Govan, Thomas P. (ed.). "An Unfinished Novel by Nicholas Biddle." *Princeton Univ. Lib. Chron.*, X, 124-136 (April, 1949).

Publication of a fragment of a novel by Nicholas Biddle, one-time president of the Bank of the United States.

[BRYANT, W. C.] Glicksberg, Charles I. "William Cullen Bryant: Champion of Simple English." *Journalism Quar.*, XXVI, 299-303 (Sept., 1949).

As a journalist, poet, and literary critic Bryant exercised a strong influence on the English of his time by example. He also made pointed editorial attacks on triteness, circumlocution, and the use of foreign phrases and traditional euphemisms.

[BUSHNELL, HORACE] Paul, Sherman. "Horace Bushnell Reconsidered." *Etc.*, VI, 255-259 (Summer, 1949).

Bushnell's theory of language and symbols; his use of the idea of correspondence.

[CARUTHERS, W. A.] Davis, C. C. "The Virginia 'Knights' and Their Golden Horseshoes: Dr. William A. Caruthers and an American Tradition." *MLQ*, X, 490-507 (Dec., 1949).

[COOPER, J. F.] Butterfield, L. H. "Judge William Cooper (1754-1809): A Sketch of His Character and Accomplishment." *N. Y. History*, XXX, 385-408 (Oct., 1949).

Brief biographical sketch of the father of James Fenimore Cooper. Sutton, Walter. "Cooper as Found—1949." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XVI, 3-10 (Autumn, 1949).

"Cooper never achieves the artistic synthesis which is the mark of literary genius. The fusion of technique and content into a whole which compels imaginative acceptance is lacking, and it is impossible for any but the most unsophisticated readers to dwell imaginatively in the world of a Cooper novel."

[CRANCH, C. P.] Levenson, J. C. "Christopher Pearse Cranch: The Case. History of a Minor Artist in America." *AL*, XXI, 415-426 (Jan., 1950).

An analysis of the life and works of "a minor talent in the making of a great literature."

- [DAVIDSON, M. M.] Harding, Walter (ed.). "Sentimental Journal: The Diary of Margaret Miller Davidson." *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Lib.*, XIII, 19-25 (Dec., 1949).

Interesting verbatim account, with some omissions, by a once well-known prodigy who died at the age of fifteen. Her works were collected and her biography written by Irving.

- [DWIGHT, J. S.] Thomas, J. Wesley. "John Sullivan Dwight: A Translator of American Romanticism." *AL*, XXI, 427-441 (Jan., 1950).

As translator and adapter of German lyrics and as "the dictator of American musical tastes during our most formative period, Dwight excited an influence greater than any other American in disseminating the *Ton-Dichtkunst* of German Romanticism."

- [EMERSON, R. W.] Amacher, R. E. "Emerson's *Divinity School Address*." *Expl.*, VII, 59 (June, 1949).

- Connor, M. H. "Emerson's Interest in Contemporary Practical Affairs." *Engl. Jour.*, XXXVIII, 428-431 (Oct., 1949).

- Jones, Joseph. "Emerson and Bergson on the Comic." *Comparative Lit.*, I, 63-72 (Winter, 1949).

- Quinn, Patrick F. "Emerson and Mysticism." *AL*, XXI, 397-414 (Jan., 1950).

Since Emerson can be called a mystic only in "the very loosest sense" of the term, his philosophy should not be labeled mysticism. Schappes, Morris. "The Letters of Emma Lazarus, 1868-1885." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, LIII, 315-334, 367-386, 419-446 (July, Aug., Sept., 1949).

See LAZARUS, below.

- [FULLER, MARGARET] Thomas, J. Wesley. "A Hitherto Unpublished Textual Criticism by James Freeman Clarke of Margaret Fuller's Translation of *Tasso*." *Monatshefte*, XLI, 89-92 (Feb., 1949).

- . "New Light on Margaret Fuller's Projected 'Life of Goethe.'" *Germanic Rev.*, XXIV, 216-223 (Oct., 1949).

Margaret Fuller collected material for a biography of Goethe which was never completed.

- [GRISWOLD, R. W.] Hárászti, Zoltán. "The Correspondence of R. W. Griswold." *Boston Public Lib. Quar.*, I, 61-74, 156-165 (July, Oct., 1949).

The seventh and eighth installments of the list of 1200 letters and other manuscripts in the Boston Public Library.

- [HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Anon. "Puritan Romancer." London *TLS*, No. 2495, 770 (Nov. 25, 1949).

Hawthorne had little sense of the depths or heights of the human

dilemma—only of human miserableness. He rejected all hopeful intellectual and political movements without a hint from his own mind of a remedy for evil.

Cantwell, Robert. "Hawthorne and Delia Bacon." *Am. Quar.*, I, 343-360 (Winter, 1949).

Dauner, Louise. "The 'Case' of Tobias Pearson." *AL*, XXI, 464-472 (Jan., 1950).

"In the case of Tobias Pearson [in "The Gentle Boy"] . . . Hawthorne follows to the end of bitter actualities what he usually leaves merely as subtle and tantalizing implications"; in many respects Pearson's case parallels that of Melville's *Pierre*.

Howe, Irving. "Hawthorne on American Fiction." *Am. Merc.*, LXVIII, 367-374 (March, 1949).

[INGRAHAM, J. G.] French, Warren G. "A 'Lost' American Novel." *AL*, XXI, 477-478 (Jan., 1950).

A description of *Pierce Fenning, or The Lugger's Chase* (1846), a short romance hitherto unnoted in bibliographies of Ingraham, prolific romancer of the mid-century.

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Van Wart, R. B. "Washington Irving and Scotland." *Blackwood's Magazine*, CCLXVI, 257-263 (Sept., 1949).

An account of Irving's Scotch ancestry, interest in Scotch literature, relations with Scotch authors, and visits to Scotland.

[LINCOLN, ABRAHAM] Nicolay, Helen. "The Writing of Abraham Lincoln: A History." *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XLII, 259-271 (Sept., 1949).

Background on the collaboration of Nicolay and Hay.

Richter, Werner. "Portraet Abraham Lincolns." *Neue Rundschau*, 218-236 (Fruehjahr, 1949).

An attempt to give a complete picture of Lincoln's personality and to explain his popularity.

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Huebener, Theodore. "Longfellow's French Grammar." *French Review*, XXII, 448-451 (May, 1949).

Comments on some strange and amusing material that appears in a French grammar Longfellow translated for use by students of Bowdoin College shortly after he was made instructor in modern languages there.

[LOWELL, J. R.] Pritchard, John Paul. "A Glance at Lowell's Classical Reading." *AL*, XXI, 442-455 (Jan., 1950).

A summary and analysis of the skilful use to which Lowell put his humanistic acquaintance with the best of the classics.

Seigler, M. B. "Lowell's *The Courtin'*." *Expl.*, VIII, 14 (Nov., 1949).

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Arvin, Newton. "Melville's Shorter Poems." *Partisan Rev.*, XVI, 1034-1046 (Oct., 1949).

Most of Melville's poems miss the excellence of achieved form, but at least a score are masterful fusions of language, imagery, and meaning.

Beverley, Gordon. "Herman Melville's Confidence." London *TLS*, No. 2493, 733 (Nov. 11, 1949).

Argues that *The Confidence-Man* shows a picture of true confidence in the Universe and in Man.

Cahoon, Herbert. "Herman Melville and W. H. Hudson." *AN&Q*, VIII, 131-132 (Dec., 1949).

Hayford, Harrison, and Merrell Davis. "Herman Melville as Office-Seeker." *MLQ*, X, 168-173, 377-388 (June, Sept., 1949).

Leyda, Jay. "Ishmael Melvill: Remarks on Board of Ship *Amazon*." *Boston Public Lib. Quar.*, I, 119-134 (Oct., 1949).

The whaling career of Herman Melville's cousin, Thomas Melvill, whose ships usually took a route like that of Captain Ahab's *Pequod*. Mabbott, T. O. "Melville's *Moby Dick*." *Expl.*, VIII, 15 (Nov., 1949). Paul, Sherman. "Morgan Neville, Melville, and the Folk Hero." *N&Q*, CXCIV, 278 (June 25, 1949).

Melville's use of Mike Fink.

Sealts, M. M., Jr. "Melville and the Shakers." *Stud. in Bibl.: Papers of Bibl. Soc. Univ. Virginia*, II, 105-114 (1949-1950).

—. "Melville's Reading: A Check-List of Books Owned and Borrowed." *Harvard Lib. Bul.*, III, 268-277, 407-421 (Spring, Autumn, 1949); IV, 98-109 (Winter, 1950).

The fourth, fifth, and sixth (concluding) installments.

Stevens, Harry R. "Melville's Music." *Musicology*, II, 405-421 (July, 1949).

A study of Melville's writings reveals a sensitive appreciation of music and a complex employment of musical materials—realistic, symbolic, and dramatic.

Weber, Walter. "Some Characteristic Symbols in Herman Melville's Novels." *Engl. Studies*, Luedke Anniv. Number, 217-224 (1949).

"A direct psychological interpretation of the favourite and most salient symbols and subjects betraying the hidden and unconscious springs in the writer's soul."

Williams, Mentor L. "Park Benjamin on Melville's 'Mardi'." *AN&Q*, VIII, 132-134 (Dec., 1949).

[PAYNE, J. H.] Blakely, S. H. "John Howard Payne's *Thespian Mirror*, New York's First Theatrical Magazine." *SP*, XLVI, 577-602 (Oct., 1949).

[POE, E. A.] Abel, Darrel. "Edgar Poe: A Centennial Estimate." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XVI, 77-96 (Winter, 1949).

Poe's best service as a critic was "his elucidation and judgment of the writing of his contemporaries"; the sum of his poetic accomplishments is not great; "his tales have steadily established themselves as that part of his work most likely to endure."

Anon. "An Unpublished Letter from Edgar Allan Poe." *Quarto*, Extra number to accompany No. 19 (Oct., 1949).

Poe's letter is dated July 4, 1836, and is addressed to Lewis Cass, from whom an article was solicited for the *Southern Literary Messenger*. (The *Quarto* is an irregularly published folder issued by The Clements Library Associates of the University of Michigan.)

Anon. "Israfel in the Laboratory." London *TLS*, No. 2488, 648 (Oct. 7, 1949).

Poetry, for Poe, was a branch of mechanics. There is never any calm and light, never any reflux of daily human affairs in his verse. Though there is not now "the large-orbed wonder" his writings once excited in America and Europe, his "music remains, and can move magically."

Arnavon, Cyrille. "Poe cent ans apres." *Langues Modernes*, 43^{ème} année, n° 5, pp. 28-39 (Sept.-Oct., 1949).

A critical survey of Poe biography and criticism followed by a personal appreciation of Poe's works and influence in France.

Béguin, Albert. "Grandeur d' Edgar Poe." *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, n° 1156, p. 5 (Oct. 27, 1949).

Chiefly on Poe and France.

Berti, Luigi. "Il Poe critico." *Inventario*, No. 2 (Summer, 1949).

Eliot, T. S. "From Poe to Valéry." *Hudson Rev.*, II, 327-343 (Autumn, 1949).

Criticizes certain weaknesses in Poe's poetry and considers the influence of Poe's poetic theory on Baudelaire, Mallarmé, and Valéry. Notes that the idea of composition as a conscious and deliberate process in which the poet observed himself influenced Valéry.

Gordan, John D. "Edgar Allan Poe. An Exhibition on the Centenary of His Death October 7, 1849. A Catalogue of the First Editions, Manuscripts, Autograph Letters from the Bert Collection." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, LIII, 471-491 (Oct., 1949).

Each entry contains an editorial comment.

Hughes, David. "The Influence of Poe." *Fortnightly*, n.s., No. CMLXIV, 342-343 (Nov., 1949).

A brief discussion of the reasons for Poe's continuing popularity in England.

Pasolini, Desideria. "Traduzione e Scelta dai Marginalia di E. A. Poe." *L'Immagine*, No. 12 (March-April, 1949).

Tate, Allen. "Our Cousin, Mr. Poe." *Partisan Rev.*, XVI, 1207-1219 (Dec., 1949).

Poe still has a massive impact upon readers even though the objects and the persons he writes about seem dead, and even though he himself seems to have been void of sensibility.

[WIMSATT, W. K., Jr.] "Mary Rogers, John Anderson, and Others." *AL*, XXI, 482-484 (Jan., 1950).

"Summary observations" on the evidence now available on the death of Mary Rogers (see *American Literature*, XX, 305-312, November, 1948).

[RUSSELL, JOHN] Flanagan, J. T. "John Russell of Bluffdale." *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XLII, 272-291 (Sept., 1949).

A biographical sketch of a minor Illinois literary figure.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Adams, Raymond. "'Civil Disobedience' Gets Printed." *Thoreau Soc. Bul.*, No. 28, 1-2 (July, 1949).

Combellback, C. R. B. "Two Critics of Society." *Pacific Spect.*, III, 440-445 (Autumn, 1949).

The critics are Thoreau and Marx.

Harding, Walter R. "Additions to the Thoreau Bibliography." *Thoreau Soc. Bul.*, No. 28, 4 (July, 1949).

Holmes, John H. "Thoreau's 'Civil Disobedience'." *Christian Century*, LXVI, 787-789 (June 29, 1949).

Wheeler, Jo Ann. "Duty of Civil Disobedience." *Money*, XIV, 5 (June, 1949).

[WHITECOTTON, Moses] Brewster, Paul. "Moses Whitecotton, Hoosier Balladist and Rhymester." *Hoosier Folklore*, VIII, 45-47 (June-Sept., 1949).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Altick, Richard D. "Dickens in America: Some Unpublished Letters." *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LXXIII, 326-336 (July, 1949).

Dana, Henry W., and Manning Hawthorne. "'The Maiden Aunt of the Whole Human Race': Fredrika Bremer's Friendship with Longfellow and Hawthorne." *Am.-Scand. Rev.*, XXXVII, 217-229 (Sept., 1949).

An account of the friendship of the Swedish novelist Fredrika Bremer with Longfellow, Hawthorne, and the Lowells. Her visits to America are outlined in detail.

Duncan, J. G. "Literary Content of a Pioneer Michigan Newspaper." *Michigan Hist.*, XXXIII, 195-209 (Sept., 1949).

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Niles *Republican* contained a wide variety of literary materials.

- Long, Orie W. "Goethe's American Visitors." *Am.-Ger. Rev.*, XV, 24-28 (Aug., 1949).

An account of Goethe's American visitors, including George Ticknor, Edward Everett, Joseph G. Cogswell, George Bancroft, and others of the early Goettingen group, who, "fascinated by contact with the Sage of Weimar, contributed not only to Goethe's further understanding of America but gave, by the dissemination of their impressions, a significant impulse to the promotion of American interest in the great poet."

- Robbins, J. Albert. "Fees Paid to Authors by Certain American Periodicals, 1840-1850." *Stud. in Bibl.: Papers of Bibl. Soc. Univ. Virginia*, II, 95-104 (1949-1950).

Details of remuneration in a decade significant to research in the economics of authorship.

- Stetson, Sarah P. "Mrs. Wirt and the Language of the Flowers." *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LVII, 376-389 (Oct., 1949).

Describes the mixture of stray botanical items, poetry, historical information and personal reactions in Elizabeth Gamble Wirt's *Flora's Dictionary* (1829) and discusses the habit of reading romantic sentiment into flowers of all kinds—a popular pastime of ladies from about 1825 to 1850.

- Tapley, Harriet S. "Elizabeth Peabody's Letters to Maria Chase of Salem, relating to Lafayette's Visit in 1824." *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, LXXXV, 360-368 (Oct., 1949).

Two letters containing an account of Lafayette's part in the cornerstone laying of Bunker Hill monument, and Webster's eloquent address.

- Wadepuhl, Walter. "Goethe's Interest in America." *Am.-Ger. Rev.*, XV, 29-32 (Aug., 1949).

"Goethe had an understanding knowledge of America, a deep insight into its problems, and a prophetic eye for its future greatness."

III. 1870-1900

- [CLEMENS, S. L.] Booth, Bradford. "Mark Twain's Comments on Holmes's *Autocrat*." *AL*, XXI, 456-463 (Jan., 1950).

Reproduces the marginalia in Twain's copy of *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*, which he used as a "courting book" in the winter and early spring of 1869.

- [DICKINSON, EMILY] Moseley, Edwin. "The Gambit of Emily Dickinson." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XVI, 11-19 (Autumn, 1949).

Speaking "from the farther room with the apartness and paleness and intensity that are the very essence of poetry," Emily Dickinson "treated of grand things: Nature and God, Immortality and Death, Desire and Love, and she pretended humility before them." She has left us "hundreds of excellent poems."

[HOWELLS, W. D.] Harlow, Virginia. "William Dean Howells and Thomas Sergeant Perry." *Boston Pub. Lib. Quar.*, I, 135-150 (Oct., 1949).

Perry's literary discussions with Howells extended from their first meeting in 1869 to Howells's death in 1920.

[JAMES, HENRY] Edel, Leon. "The Text of Henry James's Unpublished Plays." *Harvard Lib. Bul.*, III, 395-407 (Autumn, 1949).

Fleet, Simon. "The Nice American Gentleman." *Vogue* (Oct. 19, 1949), pp. 136, 138.

James is remembered in Sussex, not as a distinguished American author, but as the "very nice American gentleman" who lived in Lamb House.

Harlow, Virginia. "Thomas Sergeant Perry and Henry James." *Boston Pub. Lib. Quar.*, I, 43-60 (July, 1949).

Similarities in the critical attitudes of T. S. Perry and Henry James and their aspiration to "take refuge in the life of intelligence" combined to make their lifelong friendship "one of the fine examples of friendship between literary men."

Popkin, Henry. "Pretender to the Drama." *Theatre Arts*, XXXIII, 32-35, 91 (Dec., 1949).

A study of Henry James's failures in the drama and their effect on his fiction.

Raeth, Claire J. "Henry James's Rejection of 'The Sacred Fount.'" *ELH*, XVI, 308-324 (Dec., 1949).

Seznec, Jean. "Lettres de Tourguenoff à Henry James." *Compar. Lit.*, I, 193-209 (Summer, 1949).

Fifteen letters from Tourguenoff to James written between 1874 and 1882, showing that James got from Tourguenoff "*des préceptes de métier*" and found in him "un idéal d'homme et artiste qui répondait à ses exigences, et qui l'a aidé à définir le sien."

[JEWETT, S. O.] Weber, Carl J. "More Letters from Sarah Orne Jewett." *Colby Lib. Quar.*, Series II, 201-206 (Nov., 1949).

The text of six new letters, with annotations.

[LANIER, SIDNEY] Fletcher, John G. "Sidney Lanier." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XVI, 97-102 (Winter, 1949).

Modern critics, "with their theories that the primal impulses should

be intellectual rather than emotional," tend to underrate Lanier as a poet.

- [LAZARUS, EMMA] Schappes, Morris U. "The Letters of Emma Lazarus, 1868-1885." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, LIII, 315-334, 367-386, 419-446 (July, Aug., Sept., 1949).

Seventy-six letters and notes written by the poet Emma Lazarus, among them some hitherto unpublished letters to Emerson.

- [MITCHELL, S. W.] Hinsdale, Guy. "Recollections of Weir Mitchell." *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, I, 248-254 (Summer, 1948).

Treats of Mitchell in connection with medical matters.

- [NORTON, C. E.] Shaffer, Robert B. "Ruskin, Norton, and Memorial Hall." *Harvard Lib. Bul.*, III, 213-231 (Spring, 1949).

- [PERRY, T. S.] Harlow, Virginia. "Thomas Sergeant Perry and Henry James." *Boston Pub. Lib. Quar.*, I, 43-60 (July, 1949).

See JAMES, above.

- . "William Dean Howells and Thomas Sergeant Perry." *Boston Pub. Lib. Quar.*, I, 135-150 (Oct., 1949).

See HOWELLS, above.

- [WHITMAN, WALT] Spitzer, Leo. "'Explication de Texte' Applied to Whitman's 'Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking.'" *ELH*, XVI, 229-249 (Sept., 1949).

- [WOODWARD, H. W.] Maloney, Alice B. "Poet of the Oregon Backwoods: Henry W. Woodward." *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, I, 122-133 (June, 1949).

- [MISCELLANEOUS] Jones, H. M. "Literature and Orthodoxy in Boston after the Civil War." *Am. Quar.*, I, 149-165 (Summer, 1949).

- Wrage, Ernest J. "E. L. Godkin and the *Nation*." *So. Speech Jour.*, XV, 100-111 (Dec., 1949).

IV. 1900-1950

- [AUDEN, W. H.] McCoard, W. B. "An Interpretation of the Times: A Report of the Oral Interpretation of W. H. Auden's *Age of Anxiety*." *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XXXV, 489-495 (Dec., 1949).

- [CALDWELL, ERSKINE] Fiore, Ilario. "Caldwell è triste." *Fiera Letteraria*, No. 22 (May 29, 1949).

- [CATHER, WILLA] Hinz, John P. "The Real Alexander's Bridge." *AL*, XXI, 473-476 (Jan., 1950).

Alexander's Bridge is a weak novel because too much of it is not art but straight reporting based on accounts of the collapse of the Quebec Bridge over the St. Lawrence River on August 29, 1907.

- Seibel, George. "Willa Cather from Nebraska." *New Colophon*, II, 195-208 (Sept., 1949).

A memoir of Miss Cather by an intimate friend of her Pittsburgh years, with an account of her reading during this period, especially in French literature.

[CIARDI, JOHN] Ciardi, John. "Letter from Harvard." *Poetry*, LXXIV, 112-113 (May, 1949).

See MISCELLANEOUS, below.

Scott, Winfield T. "Three Books by John Ciardi." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XVI, 119-125 (Winter, 1949).

"An assemblage of notes on John Ciardi's poems."

[COZZENS, J. G.] Hicks, Granville. "The Reputation of John Gould Cozzens." *Engl. Jour.*, XXXIX, 1-6 (Jan., 1950).

[CRANE, HART] Ghiselin, Brewster. "Bridges into the Sea." *Partisan Rev.*, XVI, 679-686 (July, 1949).

Hart Crane's *The Bridge* is only partially successful because Crane did not recognize that new meaning is reached only by a temporary surrender of consciousness and order.

Shockley, Martin S. "Hart Crane's 'Lachrymae Christi.'" *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XVI, 31-36 (Autumn, 1949).

Finds in this poem "a related sequence of vivid and powerful images, expressing in lyrical intensity a related body of ideas."

Swallow, Alan. "Hart Crane." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XVI, 103-118 (Winter, 1949).

"Out of the intensity of experience and of language he left some very brilliant fragments and a few full passages of great poetry." His was "the greatest poetic talent ever seen in America."

[DOOLITTLE, HILDA] Williams, William Carlos. "Something for a Biography." *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, L, 211-213 (Summer, 1948).

See WILLIAMS, below.

[ELIOT, T. S.] Anceschi, Luciano. "T. S. Eliot o delle difficoltà del mondo!" *La Rassegna d'Italia*, No. 3 (March, 1949).

Astre, George A. "T. S. Eliot et la nostalgie de la 'culture'." *Critique*, V, 774-811 (Sept., 1949).

Discussion of Eliot's *Notes toward the Definition of Culture*.

Cowley, Malcolm. "T. S. Eliot's Ardent Critics." *N. Y. Herald Tribune Books*, XXV, 1-2 (March 13, 1949).

"His production is slender, but he keeps the scholars busy."

Eliot, T. S. "From Poe to Valéry." *Hudson Rev.*, II, 327-343 (Autumn, 1949).

See POE, above.

Kemp, Lysander. "Eliot's 'The Waste Land,' I, 49-50." *Expl.*, VII, 60 (June, 1949).

Kenner, Hugh. "Eliot's Moral Dialectic." *Hudson Rev.*, II, 421-449 (Autumn, 1949).

The spiritual states with which Eliot's poetry is concerned are conceived as a tug of opposites, represented both as poetic symbols and moral modes. These are resolved in terms of a more general or comprehensive symbol and "this reconciling symbol is ambivalent," not only in terms of the opposites it reconciles but also in terms of its meaning for the protagonist.

Lewis, A. O., Jr. "Eliot's *Four Quartets: Burnt Norton*, IV." *Expl.*, VIII, 9 (Nov., 1949).

Meyer, Christine. "Eliot's 'The Hippopotamus.'" *Expl.*, VIII, 6 (Oct., 1949).

Smith, Grover. "Eliot's 'Gerontion.'" *Expl.*, VII, 4 (Feb., 1949).

Stamm, Rudolf. "The Orestes Theme in Three Plays by Eugene O'Neill, T. S. Eliot and Jean-Paul Sartre." *Engl. Stud.*, Luedke Anniv. Number, 244-255 (1949).

A comparative study which tries to answer two questions: (1) What use have the three playwrights made of the Orestes theme? (2) What are their reasons for connecting their works with it?

[ENGLE, PAUL] Engle, Paul. "Five Years of Pulitzer Poets." *Engl. Jour.*, XXXVIII, 59-65 (Feb., 1949).

[ETHRIDGE, W. S.] Adams, Clara F. "Willie Snow Ethridge." *Holland's Mag.*, LXVIII, 12, 30 (Nov., 1949).

A chatty account (partially biographical) of the success of Willie Snow Ethridge as lecturer, writer, and world traveler.

[FARRELL, JAMES] Frohock, W. M. "James Farrell, the Precise Content." *Southw. Rev.*, XXXV, 39-48 (Winter, 1950).

Farrell, who should be judged as a documentary novelist (a stride or more behind people like Wolfe and Dos Passos), has made it clear that he intends in each of his novels to answer the same question: "What is the precise content of life in environments such as the environments described in this book? What does poverty mean in the intimate daily lives of those who must live in deprivation?"

[FAULKNER, WILLIAM] Kohler, Dayton. "William Faulkner and the Social Conscience." *Engl. Jour.*, XXXVIII, 545-552 (Dec., 1949).

Pivano, Fernanda. "Vita di Faulkner." *La Rassegna d'Italia*, No. 6 (June, 1949).

[FROST, ROBERT] Breit, Harvey. "Talk with Robert Frost." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.* (Nov. 27, 1949), p. 20.

Cook, Reginald L. "Frost as a Parablist." *Accent*, X, 33-41 (Autumn, 1949).

Frost "locates reality *inside* the everyday world, and this is at once the substance and meaning of his parables." His method is descriptive and literal, as opposed to the symbolic, and his imposition of form gives a sense of creative authority.

Mardenborough, Aimee. "Robert Frost: The Old and the New." *Catholic World*, CLXVIII, 232-236 (Dec., 1948).

"A study in the ugly degeneration of great poetic genius." According to this writer, Frost has left the beautiful simplicity of his early lyrics for "a ridiculous expression of sarcastic irreverence."

Viereck, Peter. "Parnassus Divided." *Att. Mo.*, CLXXXIV, 67-70 (Oct., 1949).

Frost's *Complete Poems* (1949) is "the year's best by any American poet, a year in poetry torn by the critical acrimony produced by the award of the Bollingen Prize to Ezra Pound."

[HEMINGWAY, ERNEST] Tedlock, E. W., Jr. "Hemingway's 'The Snows of Kilimanjaro.'" *Expl.*, VIII, 7 (Oct., 1949).

[HILLYER, ROBERT] Anon. "News Notes." *Poetry*, LXXIV, 308 (Aug., 1949).

"Robert Hillyer has been awarded the first \$1,000 grant from the Lyric Associates, Inc., Foundation for Traditional Poetry."

[HOWARD, SIDNEY] Clark, Barrett H. "His Voice Was American." *Theatre Arts*, XXXIII, 26-31 (April, 1949).

Memories of Sidney Howard.

[LAWRENCE, JOSEPHINE] Guilfoil, Kelsey. "Josephine Lawrence: The Voice of the People." *Engl. Jour.*, XXXVIII, 365-370 (Sept., 1949).

[LINDSAY, VACHEL] Avery, Emmett L. "Vachel Lindsay in Spokane." *Pacific Spect.*, III, 338-352 (Summer, 1949).

[LOWRY, ROBERT] Cantini, Roberto. "Robert Lowry, piccolo uomo." *Fiera Letteraria*, No. 10 (March 6, 1949).

[MACKAYE, PERCY] Wells, Henry W. "Percy Mackaye's Plays on *Hamlet*." *Shakes. Assoc. Bul.*, XXIV, 85-90 (April, 1949).

A critical study of Percy Mackaye's tetralogy, *The Mystery of Hamlet King of Denmark, or What We Will*.

[MASTERS, E. L.] Deaton, M. B. "Masters' 'The Lost Orchard.'" *Expl.*, VIII, 16 (Nov., 1949).

[McCULLERS, CARSON] Blanzat, Jean. "Frankie Adams de Carson McCullers." *Figaro Littéraire*, 4^{ème} Année, n° 190, p. 7 (Dec. 10, 1949).

A critical survey of Carson McCullers's works.

[MENCKEN, H. L.] Mencken, H. L. "Postscripts to *The American Language: The Life and Times of O. K.*" *New Yorker*, XXV, 56-60 (Oct. 1, 1949)

Articles on American Literature Appearing in Current Periodicals III

[MILLER, ARTHUR] Schneider, Daniel E. "Play of Dreams." *Theatre Arts*, XXXIII, 18-21 (Oct., 1949).

A psychiatrist's analysis of *The Death of a Salesman*.

Shea, Albert A. "Death of a Salesman." *Canadian Forum*, XXIX, 86-87 (July, 1949).

Arthur Miller's play is a powerful commentary on the scale of values of our society.

[MOORE, MARIANNE] Anon. "News Notes." *Poetry*, LXXIV, 308 (Aug., 1949).

"Marianne Moore has received the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters from Wilson College, Pennsylvania."

[O'NEILL, EUGENE] Stamm, Rudolf. "The Orestes Theme in Three Plays by Eugene O'Neill, T. S. Eliot, and Jean-Paul Sartre." *Engl. Stud.* Luedke Anniv. Number, 244-255 (1949).

See ELIOT, above.

[POUND, EZRA] Anon. "To Define True Madness." *Canadian Forum*, XXIX, 125 (Sept., 1949).

After first praising Pound's early poetry and his encouragement of his contemporaries, the author says that the later *Cantos* show that Pound is really mad, and that it is the problem of what drove him mad that should concern us.

Drummond, John. "Il caso di Ezra Pound." *Fiera Letteraria*, No. 16 (April 17, 1949).

Dudek, Louis. "Correspondence." *Canadian Forum*, XXIX, 185-186 (Nov., 1949).

A handwriting expert's comments on one of Pound's poems, the most important comment being: "This is a high level of human being."

Eberhart, Richard. "Pound's New *Cantos*." *Quar. Rev. of Lit.*, V, 174-191 (1949).

Lewis, Wyndham. "Ezra: The Portrait of a Personality." *Quar. Rev. of Lit.*, V, No. 2, 136-144 (1949).

Pound, Ezra. "Indiscretions, or Une Revue de Deux Mondes." *Quar. Rev. of Lit.*, V, No. 2, 105-135 (1949).

Various authors. "The Case against *The Saturday Review of Literature*." *Poetry* (special issue, first printing Oct., 1949).

—. "Ezra Pound Issue." *Quar. Rev. of Lit.*, V, No. 2, 103-200 (1949).

Watts, Harold H. "The Devices of Pound's *Cantos*." *Quar. Rev. of Lit.*, V, No. 2, 147-175 (1949).

West, R. B., Jr. "Pound and Contemporary Criticism." *Quar. Rev. of Lit.*, V, No. 2, 192-200 (1949).

Williams, William Carlos. "Something for a Biography." *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, L, 211-213 (Summer, 1948).

See WILLIAMS, below.

[PROKOSCH, FREDERICK] Tian, Enzo. "Prokosch o del viaggio." *Fiera Letteraria*, No. 4 (Jan. 23, 1949).

[RANSOM, J. C.] Mason, Ellsworth. "Ransom's 'Here Lies a Lady.'" *Expl.*, VIII, 1 (Oct., 1949).

Stocking, Fred H. "Ransom's 'Here Lies a Lady.'" *Expl.*, VIII, 1 (Oct., 1949).

[RICE, ELMER] Collins, Ralph L. "The Playwright and the Press: Elmer Rice and His Critics." *Theatre Annual*, VII, 35-58 (1948-1949).

A study of the reviews of Rice's plays with the purpose of discovering how much influence the press wields upon the success or failure of plays.

[ROBINSON, E. A.] Adams, Léonie. "The Ledoux Collection of Edwin Arlington Robinson." *Lib. Congress Quar. Jour. Current Acquisitions*, VII, 9-13 (Nov., 1949).

Description of the manuscripts of a number of Robinson's poems, plus a partial attempt to interpret from them his methods of composition.

Anon. "News Notes." *Poetry*, LXXIV, 122 (May, 1949).

The Library of Congress has acquired a collection of E. A. Robinson manuscripts from the estate of Louis Ledoux, who was a close friend of the poet for many years.

[SHAPIRO, KARL] Shockley, Martin Staples. "Shapiro's 'World.'" *AL*, XXI, 485 (Jan., 1950).

A typographical error has resulted in the substitution of "world" for "word" in line 17 of Shapiro's "Nostalgia."

[SINCLAIR, UPTON] Mordell, Albert. "Haldeman-Julius and Upton Sinclair." *Critic and Guide*, IV, 94-119 (Feb., 1950).

"The amazing record of a long collaboration."

[SPENCER, THEODORE] Viereck, Peter. "Tribute to Theodore Spencer." *Epoch*, II, 156 (Winter, 1949).

"This true humanist will some day be recognized as a poet of the tragic and the tender, the two values most needed in our callous and hedonistic culture."

[STEINBECK, JOHN] Nevius, Blake. "Steinbeck: One Aspect." *Pacific Spect.*, III, 302-310 (Summer, 1949).

[STEVENS, WALLACE] Cunningham, J. V. "The Poetry of Wallace Stevens." *Poetry*, LXXV, 149-165 (Dec., 1949).

Heringman, Bernard. "Wallace Stevens: The Use of Poetry." *ELH*, XVI, 325-336 (Dec., 1949).

[VIERECK, PETER] Viereck, Peter. "Parnassus Divided." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXXIV, 67-70 (Oct., 1949).

See Frost, above.

—. "Tribute to Theodore Spencer." *Epoch*, II, 156 (Winter, 1949).

[WILDER, THORNTON] Castello, G. C. "Wilder: aperta serenità." *Fiera Letteraria*, No. 8 (Feb. 20, 1949).

Peci, Enzo. "The Ides of March di Wilder." *La Rassegna d'Italia* (Feb., 1949).

Rebora, Roberto. "Wilder a Milano." *Fiera Letteraria*, No. 2 (Jan. 9, 1949).

[WILLIAMS, WILLIAM CARLOS] William, William Carlos. "Something for a Biography." *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, L, 211-213 (Summer, 1948).

Recollections of student days at the University of Pennsylvania and of meetings with Ezra Pound and Hilda Doolittle.

[WOLFE, THOMAS] Albrecht, W. P. "Time as Unity in Thomas Wolfe." *New Mexico Quar. Rev.*, XIX, 320-329 (Autumn, 1949).

Cargill, Oscar. "Gargantua Fills His Skin." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XVI, 20-30 (Autumn, 1949).

You Can't Go Home Again (1940) "magically transforms Thomas Wolfe from a wallowing adolescent into a mature and tragic figure."

Church, Margaret. "Thomas Wolfe: Dark Time." *PMLA*, LXIV, 629-638 (Sept., 1949).

"While outwardly the time concepts of Wolfe and of Proust seem somewhat alike, a closer examination reveals that these concepts are in many respects different."

Wolfe, Thomas. "Portrait of a Player." *Theatre Annual*, VI, 43-54 (1947).

A fictionalized sketch of Richard Mansfield, published in the *Atlantic Monthly* (June, 1939) as a short story. It later became the twenty-sixth chapter of *The Web and the Rock*.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Anon. "Backward Glance: 1929." *Theatre Arts*, XXXIII, 21-49 (Sept., 1949).

"A nostalgic review of the lively arts twenty years ago."

Atwood, E. Bagby, et al. "Bibliography [of Speech]." *Am. Speech*, XXIV, 64-71, 137-141, 216-224, 297-301 (Feb., April, Oct., Dec., 1949).

Berti, Luigi. "Critica del romanzo americano." *Fiera Letteraria*, No. 16 (April 17, 1949).

—. "Il Romanzo americano." *Fiera Letteraria*, No. 17 (April 24, 1949).

The American novel is deficient in characterization and in plot, and has no sense of tragedy.

Beyer, William. "The State of the Theatre: The Season Opens." *School and Society*, LXX, 360-364 (Dec. 3, 1949).

Criticism of recent Broadway productions of *Twelfth Night*, the London success *Yes, M'Lord*, *Death of a Salesman*, and *Detective Story*.

Boggs, R. S. "Folklore Bibliography in 1948." *So. Folklore Quar.*, XIII, 1-104 (Feb., 1949).

Brown, Milton W. "The Ash Can School." *Am. Quar.*, I, 127-134 (Summer, 1949).

Realism in modern American fiction and art.

Carruth, Hayden. "The Anti-Poet All Told." *Poetry*, LXXIV, 274-285 (Aug., 1949).

An answer to Robert Hillyer's articles in the *SRL*: The Bollingen Award to Pound has been made an excuse by the enemies of poetry to attack and condemn the poetic achievement of the whole period.

—. "The Bollingen Award: What Is It?" *Poetry*, LXXIV, 154-156 (June, 1949).

Carruth agrees with the judges who gave the award to Pound, but believes that the basis on which the award is made should be clarified.

Chester, Giraud. "In the Periodicals." *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XXXV, 547-556 (Dec., 1949).

A check list of articles on speech.

Ciardi, John. "Letter from Harvard." *Poetry*, LXXIV, 112-113 (May, 1949).

Comments on readings (from their own works) by Kenneth Rexroth, Marianne Moore, and Winfield Townsley Scott.

Cowley, Malcolm. "New Tendencies in the Novel: Pure Fiction." *New Republic*, CXXI, 32-35 (Nov. 28, 1949).

Reflections on notable novels from 1947-1949 seem to indicate that novelists are moving towards the same process of elimination used by the new poetry and criticism, reducing fiction to its primary function of setting characters in motion and "presenting the results in a self-contained pattern."

Cunz, Dieter. "Bibliography, Americana Germanica." *Am.-Ger. Rev.*, XV, 35-39 (April, 1949).

Davis, Robert G. "The New Criticism and the Democratic Tradition." *Am. Scholar*, XIX, 9-19 (Winter, 1949-1950).

- A study of the origins and development of the New Criticism.
- Dornbusch, C. E. "Stars and Stripes. Check List of the Several Editions." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, LIII, 335-338 (July, 1949).
- "Supplement to the List published in the *Bulletin* of July, 1948."
- Engle, Paul. "Five Years of Pulitzer Poets." *Engl. Jour.*, XXXVIII, 59-65 (Feb., 1949).
- Farrar, John. "The Condition of American Writing." *Engl. Jour.*, XXXVIII, 421-427 (Oct., 1949).
- Fellows in American Letters of the Library of Congress (and others). "The Case Against the *Saturday Review of Literature*." *Poetry* (special issue, first printing Oct., 1949).
- An answer to the recent attack on modern poets and critics, especially those connected with the award of the Bollingen prize to Ezra Pound.
- Fiore, Ilario. "L'America ha invaso l'Europa." *Fiera Letteratura*, No. 15 (March 27, 1949).
- On the vogue of American literature in Italy.
- Glicksberg, Charles I. "The Aberrations of Marxist Criticism." *Queen's Quar.*, LVI, 479-490 (Winter, 1949-1950).
- "Marxist criticism is actually a contradiction in terms."
- Goodman, Paul. "The Chance for Popular Culture." *Poetry*, LXXIV, 157-165 (June, 1949).
- When the control of the media of expression is removed from the hands of editors, impresarios, and others of "the tribe of intermediary bureaucrats," there will be a popular culture.
- Hartley, Lois T. "The *Midland*." *Iowa Jour. Hist.*, XLVII, 325-344 (Oct., 1949).
- The *Midland* was one of Iowa's important contributions to the culture of the Middle West and of the nation.
- Hersey, John. "The Novel of Contemporary History." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXXIV, 80-84 (Nov., 1949).
- "Among all the means of communication now available, imaginative literature comes closer than any other to being able to give an *impression* of the truth." The aim of a writer of a novel of contemporary history should be to make his readers able to meet life in their generation.
- Hoffman, Frederick J. "Philistine and Puritan in the 1920's." *Am. Quar.*, I, 247-263 (Fall, 1949).
- Johnson Walter, and others. "American-Scandinavian Bibliography for 1948." *Scand. Stud.*, XXI, 101-119 (May, 1949).

- Levin, Harry. "Some European Views of Contemporary American Literature." *Am. Quar.*, I, 264-279 (Fall, 1949).
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V. GENERAL

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SOME NOTICES AND REVIEWS OF MELVILLE'S NOVELS IN AMERICAN RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS, 1846-1849

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THAT MELVILLE'S strictures on missionary operations in Polynesia were generally resented by the orthodox religious press is well known to every student of the South Seas romancer. So far, however, the evidence has been limited to the testimony of a few reviewers, notably G. W. Peck and W. O. Bourne.¹ From the absence of further comment the conclusion has been drawn that the reception of Melville's works was far more favorable than had been thought.²

The scattered holdings of religious periodicals in American libraries make it unusually difficult to conduct any systematic study of the religious reaction to *Typee* and *Omoo*. Until someone, liberally endowed with a research grant, can make such a study, we must be content with accidental gleanings such as those presented here.³

¹ G. W. Peck, *American Review: A Whig Journal*, III, 415-424 (April, 1846); VI, 36-46 (July, 1847); W. O. Bourne, "Missionary Operations in Polynesia," *New Englander*, VI, 41-57 (Jan., 1848). These notices, though they appear in lay journals, have been regarded as representative of the outraged religious press. Charles R. Anderson has discussed them in "Contemporary American Opinions of *Typee* and *Omoo*," *American Literature*, IX, 1-25 (March, 1937). Other notices recorded by Melville scholars are those in *The Polynesian and The Friend*, by Daniel Aaron, "Melville and the Missionaries," *N. E. Q.*, VIII, 404-408 (Sept., 1935); in *The Evangelist* [New York], April 9, 1846, May 27, 1847, by Merrill R. Davis, "Herman Melville's *Mardi*," Yale University dissertation, 1947; in *United States Catholic Magazine and Monthly Review*, VI, 569-586 (Nov., 1847), by Anderson, *op. cit.*

² Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 19: "Apparently, a mere handful of adverse criticisms, as belligerent and vituperative as the first two [Peck and Bourne] quoted in this paper, were capable of raising a momentary sound and fury almost equal to the general chorus of praise which in actuality greeted Melville's debut as an author."

³ None of these has been noted by Anderson, Davis, or Hugh Hetherington ("The Reputation of Herman Melville in America," University of Michigan dissertation, 1933). "Typee: The Traducer of Missions," *Christian Parlor Magazine* [New York], III, 74-83 (July, 1846); "The Parlor Table," *ibid.*, p. 160 (Sept., 1846); "Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life," *Christian Observatory* [Boston], I, 230-234 (May, 1847); "Redburn," *Christian Union and Religious Memorial* [New York], II, 759-760 (Dec., 1849); "Typee," *Biblical Repository and Classical Review* [New York], V, 3rd Ser., 754 (Oct., 1849); "Catholic and Protestant Missions," *Christian Examiner* [Boston], XLIV, 416-441 (May, 1848); "Typee," *Universalist Review*, III, 326-327 (July, 1846).

As one would expect, religious opinion about Melville's views on the missionaries follows the lines of cleavage that marked the essential differences of the denominations on the subject of foreign missions. The orthodox evangelical churches had a heavy stake in missionary enterprise and complained bitterly against all criticism of missionary activity. The liberal churches, particularly the Unitarian, recommended more attention to home missionary endeavors. The Catholic church, ever on the alert for a chance to attack their Protestant enemies (whose hatred of popery developed into crude bigotry in the 1840's), welcomed all accounts of the perversion and failure of Protestant missions.⁴

Typical of the ultraconservative religious periodical was the *Christian Parlor Magazine*. Edited by the Reverend Darius Mead, ubiquitous religious journalist of the period,⁵ it catered to the sentiments and prejudices of the fundamentalist devout. Its monthly bill of fare was of the evangelical tract variety: cheap fiction demonstrating piety, holiness, temperance, and the life beautiful; sermonettes, and banal Christian poetry. Its book notices were usually of lives of divines, religious juveniles, and volumes of sermons. When *Typee* came into the office of the *Christian Parlor Magazine* in 1846, the editors saw that it was worth more attention than could be given it in "The Parlor Table," where books were ordinarily noticed. Nothing less than a review-article could express their antipathy. "Typee: the Traducer of Missions" began: "An apotheosis of barbarism! A panegyric on cannibal delights! An apostrophe to savage felicity! Such are the exclamations instinctively springing from our lips as we close a book entitled 'Typee: A Residence in the Marquesas.'"⁶

It was an especially dangerous book because it had been published in both New York and London by reputable publishing houses and had thus acquired respectability.

Although ordinarily we should not have regarded it as being worth an

⁴ The author of this article has a detailed study of Melville and the Missionary Problem about ready for publication. He welcomes any suggestions or queries that anyone may wish to direct to him.

⁵ Mead was also editor of the *Columbian Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine* in 1849—for the last two issues of its existence. Then it died. Assisting him in editing the *Christian Parlor Magazine* was a Reverend D. Clarke.

⁶ "Typee: The Traducer of Missions," *Christian Parlor Magazine*, III, 74 (July, 1846).

extended notice, we think the mode of its publication and the rank it holds, deserve a passing remark. In the first place it is dedicated to Hon. LEMUEL SHAW, *Chief Justice of Massachusetts*; it is published by WILEY & PUTNAM, in *New York* and *London*; and it is permanently lettered XIII and XIV in their *Library of American Books*. These considerations serve, then, to give the book a respectability and an influence which it could not have without them, and without which we should probably have passed it by.⁷

Claiming to dismiss all problems of fidelity and literary merit, which of course he did not, the reviewer proceeded to

canvass some of its statements, wherein the cause of MISSIONS is assailed, with a pertinacity of misrepresentation and degree of *hatred*, which can only entitle the perpetrator to the just claim of traducer. We know what we are saying when we use these terms; we have read this work word by word; we have studied it carefully with reference to these very points.⁸

The reviewer listed the charges he had to make against *Typee* in the following order:

1. It is filled with the most palpable and absurd contradictions; 2. These contradictions are so carelessly put together as to occur in consecutive paragraphs; 3. It is throughout laudatory of the innocence and freedom from care of the barbarians of the South Seas, particularly the Marquesans; 4. It compares their condition with civilized society as being the more desirable of the two; 5. It either excuses and wilfully palliates the cannibalism and savage vices of the Polynesians, or is guilty of as great a crime in such a writer, that of ignorance of his subject; and, 6. It is redundant with bitter charges against the missionaries, piles obloquy upon their labor and its results, and broadly accuses them of being the cause of the vice, misery, and destitution, and unhappiness of the Polynesians wherever they have penetrated.⁹

Then, quoting for two and a half columns from *Typee* (II, 249-254), the reviewer asked Melville whether he would consent to have the Polynesians return to their culture of a hundred years before. "If not, Mr. Melville deserves the scorn of an intelligent community." He called on his readers to check the validity of Melville's

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 75. See also pages 74 and 83 for similar comments. Little wonder Mr. Wiley developed a severe case of jitters at being made publicly responsible for a wicked book.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

"caricatures" of missionaries, particularly that of the "red faced paragon of humility," by reading Olmstead and Wilkes, and added, defensively:

We see no reason why public porters should not draw a hundredweight of humanity as well as a hundredweight of goods, if circumstances make it expedient. But why need our author go to the Pacific to find "evangelized draught-horses?" He may find them every day in front of nursery-wagons—even young girls dragging the children of their employers through the streets!¹⁰

No stranger to *argumentum ad hominem*, the reviewer recommended Wilkes also to "the author of *Typee*, where he will doubtless find a portrait photographed from life, which he will be able instantly to recognize [the licentious sailor]."¹¹ Of Melville's appendix to *Typee*, he remarked that it was "the refined essence of all that is mean and hateful," and he refuted the description therein of Dr. Judd and Hawaiian royalty with references to Wilkes, Byron, Darwin, and Jarves. He ridiculed Melville's judgment of the cannibals as "in other respects humane and virtuous" with references to the practice of infanticide and to the society of the Areoi, then snidely commented, "we would be curious to see his system of ethics."¹² He concluded:

But whether true or false, the real or pseudonymous author deserves a pointed and severe rebuke for his flagrant outrages against civilization, and particularly the missionary work. The abuse he heaps upon the latter belongs to the vagabonds, fugitives, convicts, and deserters of every grade—and there let it rest. We have meditated nothing in a spirit of harshness or "bigotry." We have sought only to present the other side of the case to the public, with the hope of rendering at least a little service to the cause of truth; while we regret that a book possessed of such high merit in other respects, should have been made the vehicle of so many prejudiced misstatements concerning missions.¹³

In view of the attitude set forth in the review, there was ample reason for the editors to rejoice when the expurgated version of

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 83. In Melville's praise, the reviewer had said, "The author seems to possess a cultivated taste and a fair education. . . . With a lively imagination and a good and often graceful description, together with a somewhat happy strain of narrative, he has written an attractive history of personal adventure and unwilling *abandon* among the happy and sequestered *Typees*" (p. 75).

Typee appeared later in the summer. "The most objectionable parts of the first edition, to which we took exception in a review in this magazine, are omitted in this—an evidence that, for some reason, the counsels of truth and decency have been regarded."¹⁴

The *Christian Observatory: A Religious and Literary Magazine* was edited by A. W. McClure, of Boston, for the orthodox Congregationalists. Whoever reviewed *Typee* must have read the earlier review in the *Christian Parlor Magazine*, because he used a similar apology for noticing it.

The intrinsic worth of this book would not procure for it a notice in these pages; but there are other reasons which induce us to give it a passing review. It is dedicated to Chief Justice Shaw; it is much read and admired by families in influential circumstances; and it ministers to the gratification of those who have low views of Christianity at home and mistaken apprehensions of the agencies employed for its diffusion abroad. The eulogies pronounced on the work by some may lead others, who have not read it, to suppose that it is possessed of literary merit, candor and truth. They will be astonished to find, on perusal, how meagre are its deserts in these respects.¹⁵

This reviewer was critical of Melville's style in *Typee*; it was "vivacious" to the point of clever calculation, and the attempts at wit were "far from pleasing to the chaste mind." For example, citing the description of cooked pork melting on the tongue like a soft smile from the lips of beauty, he charged that "the sort of taste which could render food thus-cooked exquisitely palatable, is a fair representation of the *taste* with which the literary execution of the work before us is marked."¹⁶

There were graver dangers in *Typee*, however: "It is evident from the entire spirit of the production, that he is setting the Typean system of morals and religion in contrast with Christianity judged by the fruits of both." Then followed a comparison of the two systems, which was capped by the reviewer's barbed ironic recommendations that the people of civilized nations should eat raw

¹⁴ "The Parlor Table," *Christian Parlor Magazine*, III, 160 (Sept., 1846). If it were worth the argument, the point could be made that Darius Mead was the author of the review, since he usually wrote "The Parlor Table." Was the "for some reason," publisher Wiley?

¹⁵ *Christian Observatory*, I, 230 (May, 1847).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

fish, have plural wives, practice tattooing, and consume a little human flesh now and then. Since Christianity has not achieved universal obedience to gospel principles, "therefore, let us laud and envy the man-eating and voluptuous Typee! It is certain that the man who reasons after this fashion has little knowledge of Christianity, and still less love for its doctrines and precepts."¹⁷

After a long defense of missionary activity, including the practice of requiring the natives to fetch, draw, and carry for the personnel of the missions, the reviewer remarked, sneeringly: "We are told that the writer of this book is well known, and from his character is entitled to belief. But to this we answer, that the missionaries are better known among us, *as men worthy of all respect and confidence.*"¹⁸ *Typee*, he declared, was an old story to the defenders of missions:

When the English missionaries first began their efforts to carry the gospel to those parts of the East where British avarice and ambition had already found their way, respectable literary journals poured upon the enterprise a stream of obloquy, marked by wit, learning, and rhetorical skill, to which the book before us can make no pretensions. Many read these attacks, because they were amusing and able, and thus drank in the poison of antipathy to the sacred cause. But mark the sequel: the cause has . . . completely triumphed over all such disingenuous vituperation. . . .¹⁹

Whether *Typee* could "make no pretensions" to wit, learning, or rhetorical skill, or not, the church folk were very glad that the revised versions (1846, 1849) omitted the offensive portions. The *Biblical Repository*, noticing the 1849 reprint of *Typee*, gleefully announced:

This work is too well known to need any remarks upon it. Mr. Melville is a very racy and entertaining writer. His picture of "Polynesian Life" is strongly drawn, and it is certainly a remarkable one, if true, though we suspect a deep romantic feeling and fertile imagination have given coloring, if not exaggeration, to the picture. We are glad to see that the good sense of the author has induced, and the moral sentiments of the world constrained him, in revising the work, to strike out those parts which related to missionary operations in Tahiti and the Sandwich

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

Islands, which contained assertions reckless, and charges gratuitous and false.²⁰

So, too, the Reverend Robert Baird's *Christian Union and Religious Memorial*, official organ of the American Evangelical Alliance, rejoiced, in a notice of *Redburn*, at Melville's change of heart:

If the sailor has so long been neglected as an object of physical and religious benefaction, it has not been because of any difficulty in awakening sympathy in his behalf. . . . No subject will more readily command attention and awaken interest, than the . . . hardships of a seafaring life. Mr. Melville's literary course has in some degree been founded on this fact, and his success as a writer is perhaps greatly owing to it. Certainly it was in no respect assisted by the anti-religious temper of his *Typee* and *Omoo*; and we are glad to see so few traces of it in this volume. *Redburn* possesses the merits of naturalness and simplicity; it will be read with interest and pleasure. The freshness of a youthful experience on the ocean is well preserved in the autobiography of its hero, whose moral principles and courage never fail him throughout his career.²¹

That the hero of *Redburn* had shown none of the typical "licentiousness" displayed by Tommo and Omoo in their island paradise was a source of gratification to the pious folk always on the alert for novels fit for youth to read.

At the peak of the Catholic-Protestant controversy over missions, made especially bitter by the conflict between the two parties in Hawaii, E. B. H., a Unitarian reviewer for the *Christian Examiner*, undertook an analysis of the problem in a long article entitled "Catholic and Protestant Missions."²² Among the works that he considered in his study were the "lighter productions of Melville." He had had to examine them because the Catholic faction used them to support its charge that the Protestant missions had failed in their purpose.

Their chief authority, so far as we learn, is Mr. Melville, in the two books to which we referred in the beginning,—"*Typee*" and "*Omoo*." . . . It is undeniable that Melville does favor this view of the matter. We have only glanced at his books, but have read enough, and find enough in the extracts before us, if fairly given, to be satisfied that he has made

²⁰ *Biblical Repository and Classical Review*, 3rd ser., V, 754 (Oct., 1849).

²¹ *Christian Union and Religious Memorial*, II, 759-760 (Dec., 1849).

²² *Christian Examiner*, XLIV, 417 (May, 1848). Though Professor Anderson searched the files of the *Examiner*, he overlooked this article.

assertions which ought either to be admitted or refuted. For ourselves, we place little reliance on these assertions; first, because the real design of the books that contain them is a matter of dispute; next, because the author himself has dropped them from the second edition of "Typee"; then, because the assertions do not all agree; and lastly, because they are unsustained, and contradicted, by other writers and eyewitnesses. Indeed, we doubt if Mr. Melville himself is not surprised that any one should form an opinion, or change an opinion, on this great subject, from his books alone; especially when it is seen, that, as we just implied, all his assertions are not against the missions, but some of them strongly in favor. . . . The passages in which he not only declares the beneficial effect of missions, but ascribes some of their failures to "disorders growing out of the proceedings of the French," are not quoted in the "Catholic Magazine."²³

Mild as these strictures were, they aroused the wrath of Mrs. Elizabeth Elkins Sanders, author of *Remarks on the "Tour Around Hawaii."* Her statements are interesting as they reflect what must have been a query in the minds of many liberals: Why did Melville withdraw the offending sections of *Typee*? They do not, however, answer the question. In an article written "for" the *Christian Examiner*, she said: "The writer in the *Christian Examiner* for May, attempts to disbelieve the account given by Melville, on the score of its having been omitted in a second edition; yet it should be ascertained in what way the omission was obtained, and why, if untrue, no denial of the fact was demanded. The great effort made to suppress the work, was evidence of guilt."²⁴ The hint here is melodramatic, to say the least. Was there a deep conspiracy, engineered by the mission party, to bring pressure on Melville, or Wiley, or both?

The Universalists, believing as they did in the salvation of all without the special agency of Jesus Christ, were not troubled by Melville's revelations of missionary shortcomings; perhaps Mr.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

²⁴ *Remarks on the "Tour Around Hawaii"* (Salem, 1848), p. 36. This article was not printed in the *Christian Examiner*. In an earlier article written "for" the *Christian Register*, but not printed, under date of Salem, Nov. 29, 1847, Mrs. Sanders had suggested the same coercion behind the expurgation: "The book written by Herman Melville, under the title of *Typee*, has received no other notice than a strenuous endeavor to suppress the work, and persuade the author to make another edition, leaving out the scandalous and wicked transactions related of the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands" (*ibid.*, p. 34). At the time this was written, however, the expurgated edition had already appeared.

Melville's own worldly standards had influenced his judgment of the missionaries. Only the far-fetched character of the narrative disturbed them.

We have found this book very interesting; and it would be very instructive, to us at least, laying open as it does the scenes of these far-off and almost unknown isles of the Pacific, were there not apparently a strong coloring of the romantic thrown over the descriptions, and an evident attempt at effect in the management of the narrative. We know not precisely what is to be relied upon as simple matter of fact, and what is to be set down to the account of imaginative recollection. Be this as it may, the pictures it presents, both of natural scenery, and of the voluptuous life of the natives, are vivid, and seem to bring the objects before our eyes.

The author's opinions of the results of the missionary labors on the character and condition of the Pacific islanders is unfavorable; but here, again, we do not know by what standard of moral and civil excellence he judges. In reading the work, we were at times led to suspect that the voluptuousness, which reigned in the valley of Typee, had somewhat affected his own taste; and if so, he would be apt to regard as evils many of those changes introduced by the missionaries, which would appear to others as improvements. Indeed, we must not look for unmixed advantages in any state of social progress. . . .²⁵

Censure of Melville's impiety and "voluptuousness" there certainly was in the religious press. That both he and publisher Wiley must have felt the hornet sting of the bigot is evident from the examples quoted here. Ranging from the vituperative to the mildly skeptical, these reviews show that Melville's course as a novelist was being closely watched by the keepers of America's conscience—and by the watchdogs of its morals.

²⁵ *Universalist Review*, III, 326-327 (July, 1846).

MELVILLE'S FINAL STAGE, IRONY: A RE-EXAMINATION OF BILLY BUDD CRITICISM

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THE AGED Melville, like the Dansker of *Billy Budd*, "never interferes in aught and never gives advice." Melville wrote *Billy Budd*, his last work, without interjecting moral pronouncements; for this reason the story is usually taken as Melville's "Testament of acceptance," or, in the latest and most extended criticism, as Melville's "Recognition of necessity." Most critics, by mistaking form for content, have missed the main importance of *Billy Budd*. Actually, Melville's latest tale shows no radical change in his thought. Change lies in his style. *Billy Budd* is a tale of irony, penned by a writer who preferred allegory and satire to straight narrative, and who, late in life, turned to irony for his final attack upon evil.¹

Billy Budd is a simple, naïve sailor removed from the merchant ship *Rights-of-Man* and impressed into service in His Majesty's Navy to fight the French revolutionists in the year 1797. Aboard H.M.S. *Indomitable*, he unhappily finds himself the object of unreasoning hatred by John Claggart, Master-at-Arms of the ship. Claggart denounces Billy to Captain Vere as a mutineer. Vere, aware that the charge is groundless, offers Billy the opportunity to face Claggart and make effective reply. But Billy, who stutters in moments of stress, cannot summon his speech organs to his defense. Exasperated in his inability to refute the lie, Billy strikes Claggart, who falls dead. Captain Vere, contemptuous of the dead

¹ The present writer owes his thanks to Professor Gay Wilson Allen for first suggesting that *Billy Budd* might best be understood as a work of irony.

F. Barron Freeman, in his long critical introduction to his own edition of *Billy Budd*, comes close to recognizing the vital role of irony in the tale when he observes: "outward events become submerged in inward delineations and sometimes make the impatient reader wish for more definite statements, more tangible proof, that what the personages and the tale seem to imply is what Melville intended." See F. Barron Freeman, *Melville's Billy Budd* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), p. 51. Freeman gives a good deal of evidence of irony in *Billy Budd*, but he twists it into conformity with "the Christian doctrine of resignation." His interpretation will be discussed later in this paper. Quotations from *Billy Budd* are from the Freeman text.

body of Claggart, exclaims, "Struck dead by an angel of God. Yet the angel must hang!" For this is a time of revolutions, and the English Navy has been racked with rebellion; an empire may be lost. Discipline must be maintained. "Forms, measured forms" are all. And so, Billy Budd, morally innocent, must die for striking and killing a petty officer of His Majesty's Navy. Billy, before going to his death, shouts aft, "God bless Captain Vere," honoring the author of his fate.

Billy's last words, "God bless Captain Vere," have been taken by almost all critics to be Melville's last words, words of accommodation, resignation, his last whispered "acceptance" of the realities of life. Mumford, for example, says: "At last he [Melville] was reconciled . . . [he found] the ultimate peace of resignation. . . . As Melville's own end approached, he cried out with Billy Budd: God bless Captain Vere!"²

The disillusioned of the world toasted Melville as a long-unclaimed member of their heartbroken family. Here indeed was a prize recruit—Melville, the rebel who had questioned "the inalienable right to property, the dogmas of democracy, the righteousness of imperialist wars and Christian missions . . . [who] dared to discuss in a voice louder than a whisper such horrific subjects as cannibalism, venereal disease and polygamy . . ."³ had, in the ripe wisdom of old age, uttered "God bless Captain Vere," thereby accepting authority. A prize catch indeed, if it were really so!

E. L. Grant Watson tips his hat to the Melville of *Billy Budd*:

Melville [he says] is no longer a rebel. It should be noted that Billy Budd has not, even under the severest provocation, any element of rebellion in him; he is too free a soul [this man with the rope around his neck] to need a quality which is a virtue only in slaves. . . . Billy Budd is marked by this supreme quality of acceptance. . . . [Melville's] philosophy in it has grown from that of rebellion to . . . acceptance. . . .⁴

Watson's bias towards a philosophy of acceptance is clear; he searches in Melville for confirmation of his own dogma.

Charles Weir, Jr., makes much of the "God Bless Captain Vere"

² Lewis Mumford, *Herman Melville* (New York, 1929), p. 357.

³ From Willard Thorp's Introduction to *Herman Melville, Representative Selections* (New York, 1938), p. xcvi.

⁴ E. L. Grant Watson, "Melville's Testament of Acceptance," *New England Quarterly*, VI, 319-327 (June, 1933) (italics mine).

scene, accepting it at face value. He says: "The paradox has been established: injustice [the hanging of Billy] may find its place within the pattern of a larger all-embracing divine righteousness."⁵ What this all-embracing divine righteousness may be is not specified. Is Vere God? Or is he, as he himself very clearly sets forth, the agent of the King? If the latter, then Billy is the unhappy pawn in a game he never understood, aristocratic England versus democratic France.

Both Watson and Weir warn the reader that Melville must be plumbbed and probed if he is to surrender his secrets. Watson says, "The critic's function is rather to hint at what lies beneath—hidden, sometimes, under the surface."⁶ Weir warns that, "in writing *Billy Budd* Melville had a deeper intent than that of simply telling a story."⁷ And yet Watson and Weir ignore their own good advice, for in propounding their theory of Melville's "acceptance," they do not probe beneath Billy's last words. They accept "God bless Captain Vere" as the denouement of the tale, its final judgment, as the ripe wisdom of a tired Melville come to terms with life.⁸

These critics, it seems to me, commit three basic mistakes in their attempt at divining Melville's final moments of thought in his story. First, they divorce *Billy Budd* from all of Melville's other works in the way that a man might search for roots in treetops. Second, they isolate Melville from the Gilded Age, the time in which Melville produced *Billy Budd*.⁹ Third, and most important, they accept at face value the words "God bless Captain Vere," forgetting that Melville is always something other than obvious. It is the purpose of this paper to examine Melville's final work along the lines suggested.

Little is known of Melville's last days, and this should be recog-

⁵ Charles Weir, Jr., "Malice Reconciled: A Note on Melville's *Billy Budd*," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, XIII, 276-285 (April, 1944).

⁶ Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

⁷ Weir, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

⁸ The fullest treatment of the theory of Melville's "acceptance" can be found in William Ellery Sedgwick, *Herman Melville: The Tragedy of Mind* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945), pp. 231-249. Thorp agrees with Sedgwick. He says: "With good reason, *Billy Budd* has been called 'Melville's testament of acceptance . . .'" (*Literary History of the United States*, New York, 1948, I, 460).

⁹ F. O. Matthiessen is the only critic to my knowledge who has attempted to place Melville in the context of the Gilded Age, that most disastrous of periods for the serious American writer. See Matthiessen, *American Renaissance* (New York, 1946), pp. 513-514.

nized as a handicap for those who wish to prove the theory of Melville's "acceptance" as well as for those who may hold contrasting views. But the few scraps that do remain of Melville's later life point to an unchanged Melville, the same Melville of *Moby-Dick* and *Pierre*.¹⁰ Mumford reports that in 1871 Melville studied Spinoza, marking a passage which read: "Happiness . . . consists in a man's being able to maintain his own being. . . ." Mumford goes on to observe significantly: "[This] described [Melville's] own effort. In a more fruitful age, his being would have been maintained in harmony with, not in opposition to, the community; but at all events his vital duty was to maintain it."¹¹ This is an unchanged Melville. Another scrap of information, from a letter to a British fan, indicates Melville's critical frame of mind in 1885. To James Billson he wrote: "It must have occurred to you, as it has to me, that the further our civilization advances *upon its present lines*, so much the cheaper sort of thing does 'fame' become, especially of the literary sort."¹²

These lines, written just three years before he began *Billy Budd*, sound remarkably like the Melville who more than thirty years before had said of *Pierre*: "The brightest success, now seemed intolerable to him, since he so plainly saw, that the brightest success could not be the sole offspring of Merit; but of Merit for the one thousandth part, and nine hundred and ninety-nine combining and dovetailing accidents for the rest. . . ."¹³

Matthiessen, in discussing the aging Melville and his *Billy Budd*, significantly speaks of the effects of the Gilded Age on the thinking of American writers. He refers to John Jay Chapman's "protesting against the conservative legalistic dryness that characterized our educated class," and Henry Adams, who "knew that it [the educated class] tended too much towards the analytic mind, that it lacked juices."¹⁴ Vere answers the description of an educated man characterized by legalistic dryness.

¹⁰ Freeman says of the aged Melville: "He was not embittered. He was polite, old, independent, and busy. He had not forgotten his works. He was still writing them" (*op. cit.*, p. 11).

¹¹ Mumford, *op. cit.*, p. 344. Despite this observation, Mumford, too, believes that Melville's post-Civil War days were "chastened" and "subdued" (p. 325).

¹² "Some Melville Letters," *Nation and Athenaeum*, XXIX, 712-713 (Aug. 13, 1921) (italics mine).

¹³ *Pierre* (New York, 1930), p. 377.

¹⁴ Matthiessen, *op. cit.*, p. 514.

In almost all respects, *Billy Budd* is typically Melvillian.¹⁵ It is a sea story, Melville's favorite genre. It deals with rebellion. It has reference to reforms, in this case impressment. It is rich in historical background, and concerns ordinary seamen. All those features of *Billy Budd* bear the stamp of the youthful Melville.

In one important respect, however, *Billy Budd* is different from almost all of Melville's other stories. It is written with a cool, detached pen, a seemingly impartial pen.¹⁶ This odd development for Melville has had much to do with launching the "acceptance" theory.

In his preface to *Billy Budd*, Melville speaks of the impact of the French Revolution upon the British Navy, and passes both favorable and unfavorable judgment as to its effects. But, in speaking of the sailors and their conditions of life—Melville's strongest interest—he says:

... it was something caught from the Revolutionary Spirit that at Spithead emboldened the man-of-war's men to rise against real abuses . . . the Great Mutiny [later at Nore], though by Englishmen naturally deemed monstrous at the time, doubtless gave the first latent prompting to most important reforms in the British Navy.

Thus the scene is set, and though Melville uses a cool pen, he is the Melville of old; his heart still beats quickly for the men in the heat and sweat of the hold.¹⁷

The main character of the piece, Billy Budd, is regarded judiciously by Melville. He is "at least in aspect" the "Handsome Sailor . . . a superior figure of [his] own class [accepting] the spontaneous homage of his shipmates . . . a nautical Murat" perhaps. He could be "Ashore . . . the champion; afloat the spokesman; on every suitable occasion always foremost." Billy Budd *could* be all these things, but he fails actually to become them. Physically he is well suited for the role, but he is found wanting mentally. Unperceptive, in fear of authority, extremely naïve, suffering the tragic fault of a

¹⁵ Mumford, *op. cit.*, p. 338, says: "Billy Budd contain[s] the earlier themes of . . . [Melville's] life, now transformed and resolved."

¹⁶ Melville had once before used a seemingly impartial pen. "*Benito Cereno*" is a tale of irony.

¹⁷ It is instructive to observe how Melville reworked his background source, *The Naval History of Great Britain*, by the British naval historian, William James, into a defense of the mutiny sailors at Spithead and Nore (Freeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40).

stammer in moments of stress, "Billy Budd cannot qualify as a *spokesman*. Melville lets us know this early in the story, and keeps reminding us that "welkin-eyed" Billy is nicknamed "Baby Budd," and is "young and tender" with a "lingering adolescent expression." He is "a novice in the complexities of factious life," so simple-minded that when asked by an officer about his place of birth, he replies, "Please, Sir, I don't know. . . . But I have heard that I was found in a pretty silk-lined basket hanging one morning from the knocker of a good man's door in Bristol." Melville warns us that Billy Budd "is not presented as a conventional hero."

Melville regards Billy fondly, admiringly in many respects, but critically. He reminds us of Billy's limitations throughout the tale, so when Billy utters those famous words, "God bless Captain Vere," the reader should be qualified to evaluate those words in the mouth of the speaker.

Billy is an ironic figure, as is Captain Vere. Scholarly, retiring, ill at ease with people, "Starry" Vere is in command of a ship at war. Painfully aware of the evil in Claggart, and pronouncing Billy's killing of him the blow of an "angel," Vere nevertheless forces through the death sentence against Billy. A student of philosophy, he ironically rules out all inquiry into the motives for Billy's act and insists that he be tried for striking and killing a petty officer, an approach that can only result in Billy's hanging under the naval code. At heart a kind man, Vere, strange to say, makes possible the depraved Claggart's wish—the destruction of Billy. "God bless Captain Vere!" Is this not piercing irony? As innocent Billy utters these words, does not the reader gag? The injustice of Billy's hanging is heightened by his ironic blessing of the ironic Vere.

Herein lies the literary importance of the tale. The aged Melville had developed a new weapon in his lifelong fight against injustice. Charles R. Anderson put it very well:

The earlier Melville would have railed against the "evil" of such a system [the hanging of Billy], and the "inhumanity" of Vere being willing to serve as a vehicle of it. . . . This is the wonder, the thing that makes *Billy Budd* significant, since Melville discovered so little along

this line—that irony is a subtler and finer device for the fiction writer than headlong attack on social abuses.¹⁸

Billy Budd gives us added proof of Melville's great capacity for growth as a writer. However, his development of a new tool had its ironic counterpart in Melville criticism; many critics mistook Melville's irony for a change in his thinking, rather than a richer development in his craft.

F. Barron Freeman, rejecting the "Testament of acceptance" theory, has substituted the "Recognition of necessity" theory. In an intensive study of the aged Melville's thought, Freeman finds "a calm acceptance of the necessity of earthly imperfection and original sin." In *Billy*, Freeman sees a "Christian hero" practicing resignation and achieving final, heavenly reward. To Freeman the "importance . . . in the tale of *Billy Budd* lies in the optimistic way in which it suggests an acceptance of Fate."¹⁹

Thus it becomes clear that Freeman's "Recognition of necessity" theory is not greatly different from the older "Testament of acceptance" theory. In both cases the rebellious Melville ends his days "chastened and subdued." Gone are the mad tossings of the *Pequod*, moored are the homesick soliloquies of Starbuck, in ashes are the beautiful wild fires of the "hot old man," Ahab. The aged Melville became reconciled. To Watson, Weir, Mumford, Sedgwick, and Thorp, it was achieved in bitterness. To Freeman it came happily in a rediscovery of traditional religious faith. In finally approving "the religious concept of earthly imperfection and heavenly goodness" the old sea dog had found his comfortable niche at the ancestral hearth. But Melville's complex tale offers a quite different theme for analysis as well.²⁰

¹⁸ From his critical comments upon reading this paper. Professor Anderson had begun approaching the irony in *Billy Budd* in his article, "The Genesis of *Billy Budd*," *American Literature*, XII, 329-346 (Nov., 1940).

¹⁹ Freeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-124.

²⁰ Since this paper was begun, one critic has attacked the "Testament of acceptance" theory, while another has attacked Freeman's "Recognition of necessity" theory. Richard Chase says: ". . . it is my impression that Melville made his definitive moral statement in *Moby Dick*, *The Confidence-Man*, and *Clarel*, and that the moral situation in *Billy Budd* is deeply equivocal." See his article, "Dissent on *Billy Budd*," *Partisan Review*, XV, 1212-1218 (Nov., 1948). Alfred Kazin, discussing Freeman's interpretation, says: "F. Barron Freeman . . . tries to blunt Melville's sharp edge. . . . did Melville make through Billy's rapturous death an affirmation of Christian belief? . . . In 'Billy Budd,' he [Melville] had obviously agreed to accept the whole mysterious creation at last, with the weariness of an old man for whom all questions of justice end in death. . . . But it does not follow from this that he forgave God for just possibly not existing." See his review, "Ishmael in His Academic Heaven," *New Yorker*, Feb. 12, 1949, 84-89.

Freeman sees in "the calm description of Billy's ascension" Melville's considered judgment of "hope and triumph in death. . . ."²¹ Again, style, tone, and form are mistaken for content. For Billy's triumph is not personal; it is social, and so of this world.

As Billy stands on deck with the rope around his neck, "A meek shy light appeared in the East, where stretched a diaphanous fleece of white furrowed vapor. That light slowly waxed. . . ." About to die, Billy, who could not conceive of malice or ill will, offers his humble benediction to Vere. And here the main point of Melville's ironic tale is revealed. The sailors, brought on deck to witness the hanging, echo Billy's words. "Without volition as it were, as if indeed the ship's populace were the vehicles of some vocal current electric, with one voice from a low to aloft, came a resonant sympathetic echo—'God bless Captain Vere.' " But this is not intended for Vere, for: "yet at that instant Billy alone must have been in their hearts, even as he was in their eyes." The men blessed Billy, not Vere, with the words "God bless Captain Vere." Though hanged as a criminal, Billy is lovingly remembered for his martyrdom. The bluejackets keep track of the spar from which Billy was suspended. "Knowledge followed it from ship to dock-yard and again from dock-yard to ship, still pursuing it even when at last reduced to a mere dock-yard boom. To them a chip of it was as a piece of the Cross." Billy dies in helpless defeat only to become ironically reincarnated as a living symbol for all sailors.

And finally Billy is immortalized in a ballad composed by his shipmates. It is a tender ballad, mournful and affectionate, and sings of identification of all sailors with Billy.

... Through the port comes the moon-shine astray!
... But 'twill die in the dawning of Billy's last day.
A jewel-block they'll make of me to-morrow,
... Like the ear-drop I gave to Bristol Molly—
... Sure, a messmate will reach me the last parting cup;
... Heaven knows who will have the running of me up!
... But Donald he has promised to stand by the plank;
So I'll shake a friendly hand ere I sink.
... Sentry, are you there?
Just ease these darbies at the wrist,
And roll me over fair.
I am sleepy, and the oozy weeds about me twist.

²¹ Freeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126.

Thus Billy becomes—under Melville's ironic pen—something he never intended becoming: a symbol to all bluejackets of their hardship and camaraderie. He stammered in life, but spoke clearly in death.

So ends Melville's last book, with the sailors singing "Billie in the Darbies," honoring him as one of their own. In this song Melville sings to bewildered Wellingsborough of *Redburn*; to Jack Chase, the Great Heart of *White-Jacket*; to Steelkilt of *Moby-Dick*, to all the breathing, bleeding characters he ever put on paper.

In *Billy Budd*, Melville presents a picture of depravity subduing virtue, but not silencing it. Billy is sacrificed, but his ballad-singing mates seize upon this as a symbol of their lives. They never accepted natural depravity as victor, and they lived to see the end of impressment.

Melville knew that. He wrote the story of mutinies in the British Navy almost a full century after they took place. He had the tremendous advantage of historical perspective, a fact almost all critics have overlooked. By 1888 one could correctly evaluate the events of 1797. Melville could appreciate the legacy of the impressed Billy Budds and their mates: "the Great Mutiny, though by Englishmen naturally deemed monstrous at the time, doubtless gave the first latent prompting to most important reforms in the British Navy."

Billy Budd, forcibly removed from the ship *Rights-of-Man*, helped bring the rights of man to the seamen of His Majesty's Navy. His shipmates aboard H.M.S. *Indomitable* made this possible, along with the generations of seafaring men who followed.

MELVILLE'S "STORY OF CHINA ASTER"

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I

THE NEGLECT American readers have shown toward Melville's last long novel, *The Confidence-Man* (1857), may be measured by the fact that only last year did it receive a second printing in its author's country.¹ Thanks to the recent efforts of Richard Chase, *The Confidence-Man* is at last beginning to gain recognition as Melville's "second-best book," as "a supreme achievement."² Chase has shown that its central character is a portmanteau figure whose traits are derived from several mythical heroes: the Prometheus, Orpheus, and Christ of the Western tradition, and the Yankee Peddler, Brother Jonathan, and Uncle Sam of the native lore. "Taken together, they embody the virtues which would ensure the success of the American venture. . . . this Melville implies by attributing to the confidence man the opposite characteristics of these figures."³

When the book is seen in these terms, it is not enough to say, as Sedgwick does, that its moral "is that goodness, kindness, trust, serve for nothing but sponges to catch woodcocks. They are the moral vacuum which human nature abhors, and will not suffer to exist."⁴ And Lewis Mumford's earlier reading—that the book "could scarcely be anything but Melville's own heavily laden soul, all its characters and incidents being part of that long soliloquy in which Melville struggled with a cantankerous mood that threatened to remove, not merely the clothes, but the epidermis, no, the very bowels of his fellow creatures"⁵—limits the objectivity of its satire and the force of its dramatic achievement.

The Confidence-Man reveals the bases and baseness of human

¹ Herman Melville, *The Confidence-Man: His Masquerade* (New York, 1949). The book was issued by the Grove Press to commemorate the 130th anniversary of Melville's birth.

² Richard Chase, *Herman Melville: A Critical Study* (New York, 1949), pp. 185, 206.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁴ William Ellery Sedgwick, *Herman Melville: The Tragedy of a Mind* (Cambridge, Mass., 1944), p. 189.

⁵ Lewis Mumford, *Herman Melville* (New York, 1929), p. 254.

behavior with a savage wit comparable to Swift's. In his dramatic use of native folk traditions Melville is equaled only by Mark Twain, and he is much more aware than Clemens was of the implications this folklore had for American life. In this book's impassioned attack upon the optimism of the developing business culture, Melville stands with Thoreau and the Whitman of *Democratic Vistas*.

This unique novel is a series of interrelated dialogues in which the confidence man approaches one after another of his fellow-passengers aboard the riverboat *Fidèle*, engages each in a conversation which soon becomes a controversy, and pours the soothing oils of confidence, trust, and irresolution over every moral dilemma which should trouble the conscience of an honest man. Often his deceptions are those traditional on the frontier, and may be anticipated by readers familiar with the cute tricks of Sam Slick, Simon Suggs, or the ante-bellum dealer in Erasive Soap cited by Professor Chase. However, unlike them, he trails a cloud of other glories as he comes. His first appearance is a parody of Christ's suffering among the thieves: he is a mute, whose "lamb-like figure" is clothed in "white placidity," and he bears a placard reading "Charity thinketh no evil."⁶ He is abused by a crowd which had patronized a hawker selling penny-dreadful pamphlets on the exploits of frontier desperadoes. The confidence man enters mimicking God, and will prey upon his devotees.

With the ease of thought he changes shape before our eyes. In each appearance he has a new scheme for ameliorating the needless hardships of life. Cruelly subverting the promises of Prometheus the civilizer, the salesman of confidence peddles an Omni-Balsamic Reinvigorator; a scheme for quickening the pulse of world charity by an infusion of the Wall Street spirit; and a mechanical chair for the comfort of invalids. He also represents the Seminole Widow and Orphan Asylum, a Philosophic Intelligence Office, and a bogus coal company. Always, confidence—plus a small payment in advance—will end all ills. The *Fidèle*, like the *Pequod*, is a floating microcosm; its passengers represent every significant type contributing to the aggregate national character. They, and America, are his victims.

⁶ Melville, *Works* (London, 1923), XII, 5. Subsequent references to *The Confidence-Man* will be to this edition.

Interspersed in the story are several anecdotes, some told by the confidence man, others by his interlocutors. In many ways the last of these, "The Story of China Aster," is the most mysterious chapter in the book. Thus far the incidents and characters have both been faithful to the Mississippi *décor*. The overtones from the Bible and classical mythology are there, but not at the expense of frontier folklore. Here, however, at almost the end of the book, an entirely new tone is introduced. Although placed by its narrator at Marietta, Ohio, "The Story of China Aster" is not in the frontier tradition at all. To Chase this odd interpolation seemed "a blemish in an otherwise fairly well planned book. . . . the story is unnecessary, and by failing to advance the movement of the book or to sharpen the moral point it strikes the reader as a piece of padding which the author ought to have left out."⁷

The change in tone certainly weakens the unity of the book; yet I find this cynical fable important in the development of ideas which gives *The Confidence-Man* its peculiar power. In this seemingly independent story Melville restates the chief theme of the entire novel. The chapter is also the climax of two subthemes which give the latter half of the book its unity. And despite its differences in setting and in tone, the tale throws out implications which make the final denouement inevitable. Why, then, did Melville choose to introduce these differences in a chapter which immediately precedes the climax of his novel?

If, as Professor Chase suggests, he had no good reason for doing so, "The Story of China Aster" still repays analysis. This novel was not written for serial publication, and Melville had no cause to include an imperfect chapter as padding. Melville wanted the story in the book; for him, apparently, it said things that *The Confidence-Man* without that chapter would not say as well.

Melville knew that the mythical antecedents of his confidence man might not be recognized by his readers. The identification of a swindler on a riverboat as an inversion of the Orphic-Promethean spirit demands an imaginative association the reader may be unprepared to make—an identification which had to wait ninety-one years for Chase to make explicit. In the mid-nineteenth century the native myths of the frontier were ignored by serious readers; per-

⁷ Chase, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

haps fearing that his moral tale might be dismissed as merely a sardonic tall story, Melville recast it as a short allegory in a more universal frame of reference. "The Story of China Aster," which recapitulates so much of *The Confidence-Man*, resembles a European folk-tale much more than it does the newly emerged American lore upon which the rest of the book is constructed. An understanding of "China Aster" illuminates the entire novel. To recognize its importance in the tightly spun dialectic of *The Confidence-Man* it is helpful to retrace briefly the events which lead to its telling.

II

In the second half of the book the ever-changing confidence man settles into one role. He appears as a "cosmopolitan," garbed in ill-matched fragments of the national costumes of many lands. This garish dress conquers all provincial prejudices and anticipates the easy optimism of those who would achieve One World through the wider distribution of confidence, the cosmopolitan's stock-in-trade. He now sets out upon a new and daring application of his usual principle: he will apply the touch to his fellow-men, this time not as an afterthought to a more general scheme for genializing the world, but as an act of pure friendship. In this way confidence may be demonstrated at its source, the love of man for man. Introducing himself as Francis Goodman—"But those who love me, call me Frank,"⁸—he meets one Charles Arnold Noble. Soon the good and the noble ones are tippling together, singing the praises of friendship and wine. However, Charlie abstains from the latter as discreetly as possible, as though to keep a clearer head than his friend. Frank draws him into a commentary on Shakespeare: Polonius's advice to Laertes is "false, fatal, and calumnious . . . monstrous."⁹ But when Frank advances his request for a loan of fifty dollars, Charlie explodes, "Go to the devil, sir! Beggar, impostor!—never so deceived in a man in my life."¹⁰

Charlie's place is taken by Mark Winsome, philosopher of pragmatism, who calls upon his disciple Egbert to converse in his stead. It is Egbert who tells the story of China Aster. He is asked by the cosmopolitan to demonstrate the principles of Winsome's philosophy by applying them to a practical situation. The case he proposes is for Egbert to assume the role of his childhood friend;

⁸ Melville, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

he himself, being in straitened circumstances, will approach Egbert for a loan. "For brevity, you shall call me Frank, and I will call you Charlie."¹¹

What ensues is a recapitulation between the hypothetical friends of the contention between the real ones, except that Frank doubles the ante to a hundred dollars, and the supposed "Charlie" is an even more slippery customer than his prototype. Egbert had been introduced by Winsome as "a practical poet in the West India trade";¹² his species of poetry includes the following strophe:

I give away money, but never loan it; and of course the man who calls himself my friend is above receiving alms. . . . I will transact no business with a friend. What a friend is, he is socially and intellectually; and I rate social and intellectual friendship too high to degrade it on either side into a pecuniary make-shift. . . . In brief, a true friend . . . should have a soul above loans.¹³

"Charlie" does not conceive of a loan without interest. Should he give a barrel of flour to a starving man in the expectation that he will receive a barrel and a half? To secure his investment he would have to "put [the borrower's] heart up at auction, and, as it is cruel to part families, throw in his wife's and children's." Frank asks, "Still, Charlie, was not the loan in the first place a friend's act?" and "Charlie" replies, "And the auction in the last place an enemy's act. Don't you see? The enmity lies crouched in friendship, just as the ruin is in the relief."¹⁴

This is precisely what the cosmopolitan does not see, since his professed philosophy does not admit the possibility of evil. In despair he cries that he would gladly extend a loan to "Charlie," were their positions reversed. "Charlie" will have none of it; he has been warned by the experience of China Aster. He prefacing his tale with a disclaimer: we are not to believe *him* "so maudlin as, in some parts, the story would seem to make its narrator."¹⁵ "But, to begin."

III

China Aster was a young candle-maker of Marietta, at the mouth of the Muskingum—one whose trade would seem a kind of subordinate branch of that parent craft and mystery of the hosts of heaven, to be the

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 266-267.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 269-270.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 264.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 268-269.

means, effective or otherwise, of shedding some light through the darkness of a planet benighted. But he made little money by the business.

Now, China Aster, it so happened, had a friend, Orchis, a shoemaker; one whose calling it is to defend the understandings of men from naked contact with the substance of things; a very useful vocation, and which, spite of all the wiseacres may prophesy, will hardly go out of fashion so long as rocks are hard and flints will gall.¹⁶

Orchis, by a sudden stroke of luck, wins a prize in a lottery. "A small nabob was the shoemaker now, and the understandings of men, let them shift of themselves."¹⁷ He calls upon his poor friend China Aster, and, in compassion for his poverty, makes this proposal: "This is poor business for you, friend China Aster; your capital is too small. You must drop this vile tallow and hold up pure spermaceti to the world. I tell you what it is, you shall have one thousand dollars to extend with. In fact, you must make money, China Aster."¹⁸ China Aster's discretion bids him decline the kind offer, but Orchis will not permit him. He leaves his cheque, saying that when China has run it up to ten thousand dollars he may repay it or not, "just as you please . . . for I shall never demand payment."¹⁹ However, Orchis does ask for a note—not to be made out on demand, since he'll never demand it, but, as a mere formality, for four years.

Two elderly friends then counsel China Aster to return the cheque. He runs after Orchis, who berates him for listening to "those two old asses that the boys nickname Old Plain Talk and Old Prudence."

"How can you speak so, friend Orchis, of those who were my father's friends?"

"Save me from my friends, if those old croakers were Old Honesty's friends. I call your father so, for everyone used to. Why did they let him go in his old age on the town? Why, China Aster, I've often heard from my mother, the chronicler, that those two old fellows, with Old Conscience—as the boys called the crabbed old quaker, that's dead now—they three used to go to the poorhouse when your father was there, and . . . With their everlasting croaking and reproaching they tormented poor Old Honesty, your father, to death. . . .

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 277-278.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

"Why don't you, China Aster, take a bright view of life?" . . . Then, gaily poking at him with his gold-headed cane, "Why don't you, then? Why don't you be bright and hopeful, like me? Why don't you have confidence, China Aster?"²⁰

As Orchis refuses to take back his cheque or return the note, China Aster has to keep the money. China's confidence is bolstered greatly by a recurring dream. He sees an angel called Bright Future shower him with a cornucopia of golden dollars. Ignoring the advice of Old Plain Talk and Old Prudence, he cashes the cheque and goes into the spermaceti business.

Although determined to pay semiannual interest on his loan, China Aster soon finds that he cannot keep up with his resolve. Spermaceti proves a disappointment; "not being of that skeptical spirit which refuses to trust customers," he was soon "through bad debts" in a grave plight.²¹ At this Old Plain Talk and Old Prudence had more advice to offer: China Aster should wind up his affairs, take employment as a journeyman, pay off his debts as best he could, and "give up, from that time henceforth, all thoughts of rising above being a paid subordinate to men more able than himself, for China Aster's career thus far plainly proved him the legitimate son of Old Honesty, who, as everyone knew, had never shown much business talent, so little, in fact, that many said of him that he had no business to be in business."²² Instead, however, China Aster heeded his recurring dream and looked about for a second loan to secure the first. Orchis was in Europe for his health (though he had scarcely been ill before his good fortune); so China had to turn to others. Because his reputation for honesty precluded any attempt on his part to squirm out of an obligation, he had no trouble finding a rich old farmer who obliged him with a loan for \$600, at the current usurer's rate of interest. As security he posted his wife's inheritance from her uncle. This was to have been the family's last bulwark against possible misfortune.

Orchis had formerly declared that "all he wanted to make him a perfectly happy, hilarious, and benignant man, was a voyage to Europe and a wife, with a free development of his inmost nature."²³ Upon Orchis's return, China Aster learned that he had

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 279-280.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 284.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

married and joined a religious sect, the Come-Outers. China looked forward to seeing his old friend, for he needed help. He could scarcely meet the interest on the second loan; the old usurer came after it riding a skinny white horse, and "All the neighbors said that surely Death himself on the pale horse was after poor China Aster now."²⁴ But instead of offering help, Orchis wrote to China requesting the unpaid interest on the original loan. When Orchis arrived in town, China found him strangely sallow and discontented. Since getting married and joining the sect, Orchis had "somehow got a bad dyspepsia, and lost considerable property through a breach of trust on the part of a factor in New York."²⁵ He now advised China to get back into tallow again.

To pay Orchis's interest China Aster had to use his children's gift money and pawn his family's best clothes. At the next interest day China could pay neither Orchis's interest nor the usurer's principle, which by then had fallen due. To keep up interest on the second loan China had taken a third, and mortgaged the chandlery; but now the old farmer took possession of his wife's inheritance. Worn out by worry and work, China Aster soon fell sick. Orchis's agent, meeting him on the following interest day, said that Orchis now demanded interest on the back interest. "To be sure, this was not the law; but, between friends who accommodate each other, it was the custom."²⁶ At this last blow China Aster fell senseless. He was carried home by his two old counselors, and soon expired.

As the chandlery was sold by the mortgagee, "Orchis never got a penny for his loan; . . . in the case of the poor widow, chastisement was tempered with mercy; for, though she was left penniless, she was not left childless."²⁷ Ungrateful for her blessings, she moaned her bitter lot until she followed China Aster to the grave. The town of Marietta showed its esteem for China's honesty by installing his children in their grandfather's former home.

Old Prudence and Old Plain Talk attended the funeral, and caused to be engraved upon China's tombstone an epitaph found in his "otherwise empty wallet." It reads, in part,

HE WAS RUINED BY ALLOWING HIMSELF TO BE PERSUADED
AGAINST HIS BETTER SENSE,
INTO THE FREE INDULGENCE OF CONFIDENCE

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

This inscription raised some talk in the town, and was rather severely criticised by the capitalist—one of a very cheerful turn—who had secured his loan to China Aster by the mortgage.

Old Plain Talk, however, added a postscript to the epitaph: "The root of all was a friendly loan."²⁸

IV

The implications of this fable link it to the rest of the novel in three ways. First is the obvious narrative content, which recapitulates and concludes the dialectic on borrowing money through pretensions of friendship. This had been the eventual subject of all discourse since Chapter XXVIII, in which Frank Goodman met the original Charlie Noble.

Second is its demonstration of Mark Winsome's philosophy. Of this seer we had been told that "he seemed a kind of cross between a Yankee peddler and a Tartar priest, though it seemed as if, at a pinch, the first would not in all probability play second fiddle to the last."²⁹ Egbert's tale gives us the ethics of Yankee cuteness *in extremis*, a morality for merchants which makes compassion and friendship mutually exclusive. If the doctrine of confidence is, at least in part, an attack upon Emersonian self-reliance, the Winsome-Egbert episode is a savage caricature of the Emersonian man. Shrewd, tough-minded, uncompromising, his heartlessness disgusts even the confidence man. At the conclusion of "The Story of China Aster," Frank gives up. Rather than press his plea for a loan any further, he gives Egbert a shilling instead, "to buy yourself a few chips to warm the frozen natures of you and your philosopher by."³⁰ According to Egbert's code, such a sullyng exchange of currency brings to an end the "social and intellectual" phase of their acquaintanceship.

The essentiality of this chapter lies, however, in its explication of the conflict between the two opposing forces which dominate the book: the Promethean-creative-civilizing impulse versus its opposite, the surrender of moral judgments and the perversion of the Promethean spirit to private ends at the expense of mankind. The first hint of this conflict here comes to us in the names of the two chief characters.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 291-293.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

China Aster is as delicate as the flower whose name he bears. A modest bloom of fringed, fragile petals, the china aster grubbs its living from the stony northern soil. The name has further associations too: "star" and "orient" hint at the candle-maker's idealism; also, they faintly suggest his distant kinship to the hero of another tale of sacrifice, whose birth was heralded by a star in the Eastern sky.

Orchis, too, is named for a flower, but one which is as different from the china aster in habitat as it is in appearance. While the aster endures the extremes of weather with which an uncaring deity afflicts the temperate zone, the orchis luxuriates in tropical forests. And of course the garish splendor of the orchis suggests the ostentation with which the ex-shoemaker twirls his gold-headed cane and takes his trip to Europe. We may already suspect that one cannot transplant an Ohio aster to the lush jungles of Brazil.

The China Aster of the story is a "subordinate" bringer of light. In his chosen craft and his ingenuous honesty he is a minor Prometheus, perhaps as nearly like that god as an ordinary man may be. Poor China is Old Honesty's child, born into a world where his father and Old Conscience are dead. Plain Talk and Prudence remain, but to those who, like Orchis, have confidence, they are only "A brace of spavined old croakers. . . . No better sport for a knowing spark like me than to hear Old Plain Talk wheeze out his sour old saws," says Orchis.³¹ No, China Aster is not for this world; just as his father "had no business to be in business," he had himself gained small reward for his labors in trying to shed "some light on the darkness of a planet benighted." He is lured into the darkness, and annihilated.

Orchis, however, had spent his life "defend[ing] the understandings of men from naked contact with the substance of things." He carried the torch of confidence with ease, ever willing to accept a desired appearance at the expense of an unpleasant reality. His name is derived from the Greek for "testicle"; significantly, his advice to China Aster is to "hold up the pure spermaceti to the world." The loan he refused to take back enables China Aster to follow this advice. What Orchis desires is that China, the Promethean creative spirit, should abandon the austeries which dedica-

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

tion to his craft demands, and dissipate his energies in gratification of the senses. Though China Aster finds no profit in the pure spermaceti, he has put himself into bondage from which there is no escape. Heeding the seductive gilded angel of his dream, he becomes an incompetent huckster instead of a dedicated craftsman. He can never recover his lost integrity and happiness.

China Aster is doomed by his inability to withstand temptation, a weakness which led to the fall of man. But in a world with which he is completely unfitted to cope, he is ruined by his virtues too. Because his honesty is beyond reproach, he becomes an easy mark for every sharper. His customers do not pay, his creditors hound him and pawn off bad livestock at exorbitant values as part of their loans. Thus poor China Aster, full of native honesty and good intentions and his acquired confidence, puts his neck into the usurer's noose. Obviously, honesty is irreconcilable with commercial success, while confidence is incompatible with the fulfilment of the Promethean mission.

Kindled in "the pure spermaceti," the false glare of confidence blinds China Aster to the virtues of living by candlelight; then at least one was aware of the great outer darkness. But what does confidence do for Orchis? Guiding his steps by its beckoning beam, Orchis stumbles from health into sickness, from friendship into penuriousness, from happiness to discontent. He soon discovers that all is vanity. He is twice betrayed, first by his trust in "a factor in New York," and then by his faith that China Aster would prosper. In the end Orchis "got not a penny by his loan," and so lost his money as well as his friend. Neither he nor China Aster could long live in the spurious light of confidence and remain what they had been. With China Aster confidence was assumed against the grain of his soul; as for Orchis, although he was by nature destined to interpose appearances between perception and reality, the easy faith of confidence destroys something in him too. It kills his humanity.

Who inherits confidence from China Aster? Appropriately, the heirs to his property—the usurer and the mortgagee. The first came riding after his interest like Death on a pale horse; the second would deny China's children the bitter comfort of reading the wisdom of experience upon their father's tomb. The man of confidence

propounds the sublime faith that all is well because there is no evil in Nature or in man. The moral of this fable and the book which contains it is that such a philosophy is unnatural and inhuman. Whoever reaps the benefits of such a faith must be an enemy to all that is creative in man and in Nature. Thus the ultimate confidence man is Death, who gains his creditors' lives as well as their goods. Like the real confidence man, Frank Goodman, the usurer-confidence man is not a human being but a mask. The features that lie behind that mask are yet another appearance of the Mute, the Man with the Weed, the Herb Doctor, the Orphanage Agent, and the Cosmopolitan.

With this realization we are prepared for Professor Chase's reading of the final chapters in the book. The cosmopolitan turns from the too-self-reliant Egbert, who can see through him and show him in "The Story of China Aster" the ugly truth of what he really is. This truth he refuses to admit, and so he leaves Egbert for easier game. Yet his easiest victim is his greatest triumph. Down in the cabin he finds an old man sitting under a single lamp, reading a Bible. Ranged in berths around him the other passengers are sleeping. The confidence man reads him a passage from the Apocrypha: "Believe not his many words—an enemy speaketh sweetly with his lips. . . . If thou be for his profit he will use thee; he will make thee bear, and will not be sorry for it."³² This the confidence man disputes, lulling the Old Man into agreement with his view, "that to distrust the creature, is a kind of distrusting the Creator."³³ They are interrupted by a gamin hawking wares: "All pointed and fluttering, the rags of the little fellow's red-flannel shirt, mixed with those of his yellow coat, flamed about him like the painted flames of the robes of a victim in *auto-da-fé*."³⁴

He warns the Old Man that he has sold many a child's rattle to bachelors, then offers him a door lock, a money belt, and a detector of counterfeit money. In his senility the Old Man buys these items. The cosmopolitan, however, has no use for such things. The boy Prometheus, wearing the garb of his ritual slaughter, is always sacrificed for his heresy of warning God that He is senile, that the world is not well, and for his cosmic impudence in trying to rouse the slumbering inhabitants of the planets to their peril. He recog-

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 322-323.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 325-326.

nizes the confidence man as his mortal enemy. The confidence man reassures the old God that door locks, money belts, and counterfeit detectors are unnecessary, that suspicion is itself suspect. Giving him a befouled portable water closet (His throne) to serve as a life preserver, he extinguishes the "solar lamp" and leads the senile old man down into the hold of the ship, where the confidence man had previously appeared as Orpheus descending into hell.³⁵

"The Story of China Aster" has prepared us for this apocalypse. Prometheus, who has appeared throughout the book in degraded form as the confidence man, is shown as he appears in man in the candle maker, and as the god that he really is in the boy peddler dressed for an *auto-da-fé*. The senile God, who is also Uncle Sam, turns a tired, deaf ear to the warnings of Prometheus and gropingly follows the supersalesman of ultimate peace. In this fable, indeed, throughout the book, the triumph of the bogus spirit is shown to corrode the humanity of mankind. In the final episode the false Prometheus leads God into darkness where not even the candles of China Aster flicker in the gloom. The satire and the tragedy reach their climax together as the Lord of the Cosmos swallows the sweet poison of Omni-Balsamic Reinvigoration. Man is unmanned, and his God is overthrown in this bitterest of satires on the American spirit of easy optimism and denial of responsibility for making moral choices. The peculiar power that "speaketh sweetly with his lips" is understood at last as appealing to the death-wish—the desire for peace, the retreat from the complex demands of living a moral life in the human community.

³⁵ See Chase, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-205.

A NOTE ON ASTORIA: IRVING'S USE OF THE ROBERT STUART MANUSCRIPT

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WASHINGTON IRVING began *Astoria* with the avowed intention of providing his readers with a picture of American enterprise as it was manifested in the fur trade. His subject was Colonel John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company, a venture that rose, flourished briefly, and died, a victim, as Astor thought, of public indifference, British competition, and geographical difficulties. Irving's purpose was explained in the following passage.

It occurred to me that a work of this kind might comprise a variety of those curious details, so interesting to me, illustrative of the fur trade; of its remote and adventurous enterprises, and of the various people, and tribes, and castes, and characters, civilized and savage, affected by its operations. The journals, and letters also, of the adventurers by sea and land employed by Mr. Astor in his comprehensive project, might throw light upon portions of our country quite out of the track of ordinary travel, and as yet but little known.¹

One of the journals alluded to by Irving was Robert Stuart's "Manuscript Journal of the Third Overland Expedition in the United States,"² the direct source of some fifty pages of *Astoria*.³ At the request of Colonel Astor, Stuart rewrote the relatively brief account he had kept during the journey so that Irving would have at his disposal the fullest possible description. The result of Stuart's revision was the "Manuscript Journal."

Irving's work with the "Journal" could be described as a retelling, but viewed as a twice-told tale it contains certain differences that are particularly interesting in the light of his avowed intention. Actually, Stuart had come closer to Irving's mark than did Irving himself. Much of Stuart's description of flora and fauna, terrain, and Indian life has been excluded by Irving, who seems to have been interested in the country chiefly as it provided background for

¹ Washington Irving, *Astoria*, p. 4. All references are to the Fulton Edition (1909).

² Yale University Library, Coe Collection, Item 168.

³ Pp. 263-313.

spectacular activity or opportunity for passages of description sometimes more the product of fancy than of anything discovered in the "Journal." For example, in one passage Irving states that a mountain range was volcanic in origin and that the party observed smoke rising from two of the peaks.⁴ Yet the "Journal" contains no reference to smoke from any source. Again, where Stuart devoted the first twenty-eight pages of the "Journal" to detailed description of the topography, the plant and animal life, and the Indian population and culture of the lower Columbia River, Irving saw fit to delete the entire section, beginning his account with the actual commencing of the journey.

No less than three incidents were essentially the products of invention. The first of these, the story of the "noble animal," concerns a horse that Stuart supposedly bought while supplying his party for the trip across the Rockies. According to Irving, the Indian who had sold the horse looked longingly at it after the exchange was completed. After several days' travel the party was joined by another Indian, who claimed to have been the original and rightful owner. The second Indian gained permission to travel with the party as a guide and, except for casting a wistful eye toward the horse now and then, behaved himself with perfect propriety for several days. However, the moral strain proved too great: several nights later he made off with the animal.⁵

In the story of the "noble animal" Irving added an element of fiction. The party had bought horses from the Walla Wallas, though the number was fifteen, rather than Irving's twenty. And one of the Indian guides, taking his own horse, did leave during the night. But the "Journal" contains no mention of an animal in any way out of the ordinary, nor does Stuart have anything to say about his mount.

The second of Irving's major inventions is more elaborate, introducing the reader to a fictitious character described as "a dark herculean fellow, full six feet four inches in height, with a mingled air of the ruffian and the rogue."⁶ This Indian chief, who was said by Irving to have carried on a protracted colloquy with Stuart that almost ended in a wrestling match, not only succeeded in running off the horses of the party but made a grievously insulting gesture

⁴ P. 289.

⁵ Pp. 268 ff.

⁶ Pp. 279.

at the time. At this point Irving inserted a dialogue between Stuart and Benjamin Jones, a hunter:

It was hard to restrain honest Ben, when the mark was so fair and the insult so foul. "Oh, Mr. Stuart," exclaimed he, "only let me have one crack at the infernal rascal, and you may keep all the pay that is due to me."

"By heaven, if you fire," cried Mr. Stuart, "I'll blow your brains out."⁷

By this time the "giant joker" and his men were safely out of reach, Benjamin Jones was prevented from committing a rash act, and the members of the party were free to contemplate the difficulties of their situation. The thunder of the dialogue fades into a rumble of indirect quotation, and the scene is over.

Irving imposed on the facts his own melodramatic fiction. In Stuart's account the loss of the horses constitutes one more battle in the war with the elements, a defeat more telling than most, but hardly more personal than the mountains he was trying to find his way through. As a matter of fact, Stuart was not even sure what tribe the marauders belonged to. From a few words overheard during the encounter he and his men conjectured that the Indians might have been Crows, a conclusion that fitted into the pattern of previous events. But they spoke without certainty.

The third major invention, Mr. Crook's meeting with the grizzly bear, is less spectacular than the saga of the giant chief.⁸ Irving's account states that Crooks wandered away from camp without his gun, a piece of carelessness described as "a rare circumstance." While standing on a hill he spotted objects that became visible as a grizzly and her two cubs. Mr. Crooks prudently lay down to conceal himself, watching the movements of the animals "with intense anxiety" and no doubt meditating on the folly of absent-mindedness. Fortunately the mother changed her course, and "Mr. Crooks made all haste back to the camp, rejoicing at his escape, and determining never to stir out again without his rifle."

This little anecdote is distinguishable from the stories of the "noble animal" and the "giant chief" on several accounts. First of all it may be wholly imaginary. No such account exists in Stuart's manuscript. Crooks was a member of Stuart's party, but that is the

⁷P. 283.

⁸P. 303.

only fact to be discovered in the incident. Second, this is the most plausible of the three stories, containing as it does an instance of human carelessness that goes unpunished. The account seems so little arranged that the reader of *Astoria* is likely to conclude that the passage was taken verbatim from Stuart's journal. Drama was rejected, leaving the reader to sense that a scene apparently so unmanipulated must have been shaped by circumstance rather than art. Finally, this little tale is adorned by a moral and should probably be read as a homily on the sin of carelessness. At least we may note that our hero is left shaken and repentant, the double victim of sin and undeserved delivery.

But this is artful artlessness. Apart from the gains noted above, it should be remembered that Irving avoided a major difficulty when he prevented an encounter between Crooks and the bear. Such a struggle could have terminated only in the death or maiming of Crooks, or in a miraculous escape of the type to be popularized in the works of Nick Carter. Since Crooks continued an active, prominent member of the party, his death or serious injury would have necessitated a considerable rewriting of the remainder of the account, a change in the factual structure greater than any that Irving actually made. Irving's method was to edit, to color, to retouch—but not to make drastic variations in the patterns of characters and events.

As the three incidents noted above imply, Irving was steadily at odds with his announced intention. If we read his words to mean that he proposed to give an accurate picture of the fur trade, then Stuart has outdone him. But in point of fact, Irving must have had no such intention. At any rate, what he actually did was to change a serious report into a tale of adventure. In Irving's hands, Stuart and his weary companions became enthusiastic amateurs,探者 of the wilderness inspired by a romantic interest in the unknown. The difficulties of travel are present in *Astoria*, but present as challenges rather than as sources of annoyance. When Indian hostilities threaten, the situation is conceived in military terms, the party transformed into soldiers: "The next day, before the commencement of the portage, the greatest precautions were taken to guard against lurking treachery, or open attack."¹⁹ But Stuart sees the matter in a

¹⁹ P. 265.

different light "altho' all the natives below assured us, of the certain hostility of those who reside in this neighborhood, still our determination was, to avoid everything like altercation, and to punish only where they were the wilful aggressors." Here the effort is to placate, to serve the ends of expediency rather than to conform to a preconceived standard of conduct. Stuart is concerned, not with what the ideal gentleman would do in a like situation, but with getting his party to St. Louis in the best possible order and the shortest possible time. If a peaceful bearing seems most likely to win him through, he does not hesitate to adopt circumspection, to placate by word and appearance. There is a job to be done, and in Stuart's eyes the job looms larger than conformity to standards of personal conduct.

But such an attitude does not make for gallantry, for adventure. In Stuart's account, the war between the individual and the forces of nature is subordinated: contests with Indians, grizzly bears, and torrential streams are seen as misfortunes rather than as challenges. Business opportunities are described at length, Indian tribes and their cultures are described with care, and the nature of the terrain is explained, sometimes in detail. Stuart seems to have been a businessman with an inquiring turn of mind. On one occasion he indulged in a philosophic reverie concerning the effect of the wilderness upon the ego of man, remarking on riches as a deterrent to piety, and referring to the West as the true home of liberty and equality, since each man there was dependent upon his innate abilities, even for his existence. But to Irving, this was of little interest. He wrote off the soliloquy in the following words: "he passed a sleepless night, revolving upon their dreary situation, and the desperate prospect before them."¹⁰

In addition to those noted on the preceding pages, Irving made a number of changes less directly motivated by his notion of art. Some, for example, appear to have been the result of carelessness: the name André Vallée he changed to Andri Vallar, and Doruin became Dornin.¹¹ In all, there are eight equally meaningless changes.

Others were editorial in nature, being designed to bring spellings or words into conformity with general usage and so make them

¹⁰ P. 294.

¹¹ P. 312.

more easily understood. For example, "Puncas" was changed to "Poncas," and "white bear," the mountain man's term, became the more conventional "grizzly."¹² Occasionally Irving completed the meaning of a passage for his reader by adding an explanation,¹³ but more often he made elisions or omissions calculated to tighten the narrative element by bringing into juxtaposition incidents that are chronologically related. Thus he often trimmed out description that intervenes between two consecutive actions, leaving them to be read one after another as they had occurred, and increasing the proportion of narrative. The result is a shorter, tighter account,¹⁴ one which implies a greater certainty of direction and a surer instinct in matters of conduct than is to be found in Stuart's account. In all, there are thirty-six of these editorial changes.

Quite as interesting as the foregoing are three changes that apparently stem from sensibility rather than a desire to sharpen the narrative. On one occasion Irving changes "wood-pile-creek" to Woodville Creek,¹⁵ discarding the homely though meaningful name for one that, without actually meaning anything, suggests a better regulated countryside than was to be found west of the Alleghenies. Again, Irving omits Stuart's description of the use of entrails by the Pawnees and Otoes in preparing certain meat dishes.¹⁶ Finally there is the incident of Leclaire, who, tortured by a thirst that he saw no prospect of relieving, drank his urine.¹⁷ Irving omitted the incident in its entirety.

No one can say whether Irving's rejection resulted from personal squeamishness or from his knowledge of what the reading public would take. However, he found no reason to draw back from a case of proposed cannibalism, and even reported it with enthusiasm:

"It was all in vain," he [Leclaire] said, "to attempt to proceed any farther without food. They had a barren plain before them, three or four days' journey in extent, on which nothing was to be procured. They must all perish before they could get to the end of it. It was better, therefore, that one should die to save the rest." He proposed, therefore, that they should cast lots; adding as an inducement for Mr. Stuart to assent to the proposition, that he as leader of the party, should be exempted.

Mr. Stuart shuddered at the horrible proposition, and endeavored to

¹² Pp. 290 and 291.

¹³ Pp. 263 f.

¹⁴ Irving's account is approximately 25,000 words in length; Stuart's is about 34,000.

¹⁵ P. 270.

¹⁶ P. 311.

¹⁷ P. 269.

reason with the man, but his words were unavailing. At length, snatching up his rifle, he threatened to shoot him on the spot if he persisted. The famished wretch dropped to his knees, begged pardon in the most abject terms, and promised never again to offend him with such a suggestion. . . .¹⁸

Moreover, Leclaire was not one of the gentlemen. Stuart, Crooks, and M'Clennan, all partners in the concern, were carefully set apart from Benjamin Jones and John Day (American hunters) as well as from André Vallée and François Leclaire (French-Canadian *engagés*). Irving's awareness of social distinctions was so sharp that at one point he changed Stuart's "Messrs. Crooks & Day" to read "Mr. Crooks and John Day."¹⁹ Again, where Stuart invariably wrote "Benjamin Jones" Irving just as invariably used the familiar form "Ben."²⁰ "Mr. Miller" became "Joseph Miller."²¹ With an irony that must have been unconscious, Irving insisted on maintaining the very distinctions that Stuart had found to be without meaning on the frontier, an area where worth was measured solely by the ability to do. Stuart's indifference was well-rooted, but Irving, noting only the fact of variation, corrected these social "errors" as casually as though they had been unorthodox usages in spelling or rhetoric.

But if the number of textual alterations is an indication, Irving's desire for the picturesque transcended his interest in placing individuals on their proper social levels. In eighteen instances he rewrote passages in order to provide sharper sense images for the reader. One of the most ingenuous of these is to be found in the description of the departure of the Stuart party. According to Irving's version the party was sent off with "three hearty cheers."²² Stuart took no such festive view of the event. For him and for the members of his party the moment was one for sad reflection. No one had ever crossed the continent from west to east before, and neither the traveling party nor those remaining were sure that it could be done. Furthermore, those who remained at Astoria were in some peril. With these matters in mind the two groups watched the departure and wondered whether they would see each other again. No one cheered.

¹⁸ P. 294.

²¹ P. 274.

¹⁹ P. 266.

²² P. 268.

²⁰ *Passim.*

However, there were occasions on which Irving used a different method to brighten the tale: in nine instances he heightened the picturesque or dramatic qualities of incidents by telling his reader not only what happened but how the persons of the story reacted. Often these reactions were calculated not only to add a sense of reality by equipping the characters with states of mind logical under the circumstances but also to impress the reader with the gravity of the events that had been described. For example, when portraying two captured Indians lying in the bottom of a canoe Irving added the statement that they expected to be put to death.²³ But since, according to Stuart's account, the Indians said nothing regarding their expectations, Irving's conception must be considered wholly fanciful.

Reference has already been made to the intention stated by Irving in the Introduction to *Astoria*. If the words are understood to mean that he desired to give a picture of the fur trade, he failed. The journal which was before him gives more careful, more detailed, and probably more accurate information regarding the nature of the country, the Indian peoples inhabiting it, the animal and plant life, and the prospects for trapping. As a matter of fact, these are the very passages that Irving most rigorously excluded. What he retained and sometimes embellished were those describing actions that were spectacular and therefore interesting in their own right. It is hard to believe that Mr. Crook's imaginary brush with the bear is any more "illustrative of the fur trade" than of mining or exploration. Such incidents were illustrative of the bright land of Irving's conception, but they described no occupation known to the actual world.

What Irving actually did (and presumably what he intended to do, whether aware of his intention or not) was to tell a tale of adventure, a purpose that he achieved partly by strengthening and consolidating the elements of narrative, and partly by standardizing his portrayals of character and descriptions of setting, so that action stands unchallenged as the major source of interest. In short, the artist in Irving was steadily triumphant over the geographer, the historian, or the biographer.

²³ P. 266.

NOTES AND QUERIES

SOME UNCOLLECTED LETTERS OF JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER TO GERRIT SMITH

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THE FOLLOWING unpublished letters¹ of John Greenleaf Whittier to Gerrit Smith, nineteenth-century philanthropist and reformer from Peterboro, New York, shed added, if not particularly new, light upon the activities of the militant Quaker of Amesbury during the year 1840. They neatly bridge the schism in Whittier's abolitionist activity, for it was in 1840 that he definitely left the ranks of the Garrisonians to ally himself with more kindred souls in the Liberty Party, the political arm of abolitionism which Smith helped form officially on April 1, 1840.

AMESBURY Ess. Co. 8th 3rd Mo 1840

MY DEAR FRIEND,

By the last number of the Union Herald² I regret to learn that thou art confined to thy house by ill-health.³ Being myself incapacitated for further public effort for the cause, so dear to us both, I have felt drawn to address thee a live expression of my sympathy with thee in thy bodily illness, and of my feelings on another topic, which is just now before my mind.

I see by the Liberator that thy remarks in reference to the meeting at West Bloomfield have given great offence to Bro Garrison, & in his usual manner, he has attributed them to improper motives & feelings on thy part.⁴ That we are all of us too much under the influence of evil feelings

¹ From the Gerrit Smith Papers of the Gerrit Smith Miller Collection in the Syracuse University Library.

² Published weekly in Cazenovia, N. Y., 1836-April 1842. According to the *Union List of Serials* (New York, 1943), this and other numbers of the *Union Herald* referred to by Whittier in this correspondence are not extant.

³ Smith, who shared the knowledge of his bodily ills at will with his correspondents, was at this time suffering from hemorrhoids.

⁴ This anti-slavery meeting was held in Feb., 1840. A letter, Smith to Henry C. Wright, March 14, 1840, in Gerrit Smith Letter Book No. 1, explains in part Smith's point of view in his controversy with Garrison concerning "independent nominations" in the forthcoming national elections. Smith wrote: "I am sorry, that he [Garrison] should think me an 'office seeker' . . . When I left home to attend the Western New York Conventions . . . I had not the most distant idea, that the subject of 'independent nomina-

is true—but for myself I dare not judge in this manner my fellow men. “Judge not that *ye be not judged*” has to me an awful import. Dust & ashes—blind & weak—shall I assume to myself the prerogatives of “Him to whom judgement belongeth”? Dear Gerrit, why is it that this sore evil—this bitter spirit of reproach—& crimination—this dividing & sundering spirit—has come among us? I sometimes think I can trace its origin 1st In our own vanity & pride—in our Pharisaical assumption of great moral superiority on the ground of our abolitionism. 2nd—Our feeling too prevalent, that abolitionism was the fulfilling of the *whole law*, & a consequent neglect of many important duties. 3rd An idea that in order to defend abolition it was necessary to acquiesce in everything said a[nd] done by a single individual.—making such acquiescence a *test* of love for the enslaved. 4th A tendency, early developed to look at Slavery itself & the two and a half million slaves as *abstractions*;—to forget that flesh & blood & immortal souls were involved—and to talk about the subject as if *we* were alone interested in the success of the cause. —5th A disposition to claim for ourselves the Divine favor in an especial manner—as if seeking the relief of the suffering were, on our part, a work of super[er]rogation—to make vehement appeals to Divine Goodness to do the work, while we have been all along neglecting the duties plainly before us—withdrawing ourselves from all the simple & practical means which God has afforded us for the overthrow of Slavery—and then asking Him to do our own proper work.

If this be so—then have we much to reproach ourselves with. Towards Bro. Garrison I am sure we have not been *honest*. We have—from mistaken motives of personal kindness and from an unwillingness to admit anything as true which the pro-slavery of the country asserted of him—confirmed and fixed the errors of a noble nature, until he has come to regard & cherish them as virtues. But we must cease from all this—duty to our own consciences & to the Slave—requires us to be faithful, frank, and honest with one another. And for one I feel that it is necessary for me to make frequent self-examinations—and to keep a double guard over my own feelings, lest personal unkindness on the part of an abolition brother, shall provoke a spirit of retaliation within me. I feel that to rule one’s spirit is better than to “take a city.” But I need not write this to thee, for thou hast doubtless little to fear on this point.

I have sent a note to our fr[ien]d Myrick of the Union Herald explaining my reasons for doubting the expediency of a nomination of

tions’ would be taken up in them. . . . I said not one word on it in the Bloomfield Convention, until just at its close. It is true that I strongly wished the Bloomfield Convention to adopt a policy of ‘independent nominations.’ But the vote did not disappoint me.” Smith’s resolution was defeated.

candidates for Pres. & V. Pres. of the U. S. as in a brief paragraph in his paper I find he has misrepresented me.⁵ My fears are that the non-resistance friends will in case a nomination is made, bend their entire energies, in conjunction with the multitudes who will still cling to the old parties, to embarrass[*s*], ridicule and as far as possible, cover, the friends of *practical* abolition with ignominy & defeat. The an[n]unciation of such a nomination w[oul]d be the signal for a warfare against it on the part of non-resistance, of utter extermination. But I still hope the Albany Convention⁶ will be well attended:—and that a strong appeal will go out from it in favor of distinct nominations whenever & wherever, the friends of the cause can be united upon them. The ground I should take would be this—that the want of harmony am[on]g abolitionists—& the probability that a nomination would only increase the disaffection—was a sufficient reason for postponing a measure, otherwise most expedient & proper.

Deeply do I regret at this juncture that I am unable to do or say anything for the cause. My health is bad—and I fear without remedy. But I am in the hands of a benevolent Being who can, if it be consistent with best wisdom restore me. I have some faint idea of going to England to the Convention,⁷ if the way shall open for it. In the hope that this letter will find thee on the recovery from thy illness, I am very truly & affectionately

Thy fr[ie]nd JNO G. WHITTIER

I do not wish to trespass on thy time—& convenience but should be happy to hear from thee.

J. G. W.

AMESBURY 12th of 8th Mo. 1840

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Thy kind letter I found awaiting me in the Post Office on my return from Portland Me. where I have been for the last three or four weeks with my brother. I thank thee most heartily for thy kind invitation: and it would give me pleasure to accept it:—but I am sick and my mother & sister are anxious that I should be with them. I have felt very desirous

⁵ On one occasion, Luther Myrick, editor of the *Union Herald*, was taken to task by Smith because of his reporting; and in a reply, dated May 12, 1841, Myrick stated that he was "sick, sick, sick" of the abolition squabble. However, the newspaper continued for eleven months more.

⁶ The Albany Convention met on April 1, 1840, with Alvan Stewart of Utica, N. Y., presiding. Only six northeastern states were represented. The name "Liberty Party" was adopted, and James G. Birney of New York and Thomas Earle of Pennsylvania were nominated presidential and vice-presidential candidates respectively.

⁷ The General Anti-Slavery Convention, called by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and held in London, June 12-23, 1840.

of seeing thee and others of our friends in Western N York⁸ but, whether I shall ever do so again, is known only to Him, who orders all things arightly. I am glad to learn that our friends in N. Y. are striving nobly against the evil spirit of party politics.⁹ I can promise little for Massachusetts—and still less for Maine & New Hampshire. It is awful to see this *rushing* of anti-slavery professors to the party standards. The most that I can do now is to stand a silent & sad spectator of this wide & fearful apostacy [sic]. I have not physical strength to speak out what I feel on this subject. I feel encouraged by reading the accounts of the proceedings of the Great Convention—it seems to me that all has been done there that the most sanguine could have anticipated: and I am sorry that Gar[r]ison *should have* persuaded himself that he could not sit in the meeting, after crossing the Atlantic to do so.¹⁰ I send thee with this a copy of nine lines written on the death of an esteemed minister & missionary of our society who died at New York two months ago.¹¹—I would be glad to hear from thee as often as possible. I fully sympathize with thee in thy trying position, & would rejoice to be able to stand by thy side, and aid in arresting the flood of party which threatens to sweep away all that is lovely and of good repute among us. The Lord help & strengthen you: and in all your trials with "false brethren," preserve you from an intolerant & uncharitable spirit*—and let your salutary truth be uttered in love. With kind remembrances to thy dear wife, I am affection[ate]ly & in all sincerity thy friend.

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

* I do not mean this to apply to thyself—but I feel in my own experiences a great difficulty in preserving a charitable spirit towards those professed abolition[is]ts, who in this time of trial are determined to *vote* for Slavery. Nothing, but a sorrowful remembrance of my own weakness & frailty, prevents me from taking upon my lips the curse of Meroz¹² & applying it to the recruit abolitionist who values his party more than his anti slavery principles.

⁸ Myron Holley of Rochester, the Reverend Beriah Green of Whitesboro, Henry Brewster Stanton of Seneca Falls, Josiah Andrews of Perry, Myron H. Adams of East Bloomfield, F. C. D. McKay of Warsaw, Henry Bradley of Penn Yan, and others.

⁹ That is, Whig and Democratic party politics.

¹⁰ Garrison refused to sit among the delegates when the women present were refused admission on grounds of sex to the convention floor. As a result, Garrison, withdrawing to the gallery with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lady Byron, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Fry, and others, did not participate in the proceedings of the convention. Both Whittier and Smith saw no need to ally the women's reform program with the greater cause of slavery.

¹¹ This piece is not in the collection.

¹² Judges 5:23. A place where the angel of Jehovah bade men curse the inhabitants thereof who failed to come "to the help of Jehovah against the mighty."

AMESBURY 30th 8th Mo 1840

MY DEARLY BELOVED FRIEND,

Thy kind letter would have been answered sooner, had I not been away from home, on a visit to my friends in Maine. I have been at home from this visit only a short time, and what with the lassitude, and debility, which I feel, & the want of any thing of an interesting & encouraging nature to communicate, I have delayed my answer, until the present moment. I was rejoiced to receive thy letter, & the kind invitation it contained, was grateful to my feelings, and could I feel at liberty to absent myself at this time from my mother & sister, I would undertake the journey, although I should be only such a companion, as a selfish invalid usual[ly] is.

I am glad of the result of your Syracuse meeting.¹³ I admire the noble stand of William Goodell,¹⁴—faithful & true-hearted ever. In this state I fear the large majority of professed abolitionists will vote with their proslavery parties: but there are some—nay many, who have not bowed the knee to the Baal of the South. For myself, since 1833 I have made abolitioni[s]m predominant in my citizen duties. I have endeavored to make my right of suffrage sacred to Freedom. If my life is spared, I shall vote for Jas. G. Birney & Thomas Earle at the coming election. All love & honor the former, who have hearts to appreciate true nobility of soul. Thomas Earle I have long known. I honor him as a man of sterling, invincible integrity—of cultivated intellect—and world-wide philanthropy. I doubted the expediency of the nomination in the outset: but it has been made, & I cannot for a moment hesitate to give it my support. This may be the last vote I shall ever have an opportunity of giving for a Presidential incumbent, & I cannot—I dare not, withhold it from the anti-Slavery candidates. Dimmer & dimmer in my eyes seem the pageantries & parades of profligate & unprincipled parties—their watchwords & countersigns & feirce [sic] summonings to strife, fall fainter & fainter on my ear. A voice deeper & stronger than all comes to the ear of my conscience—bidding me to be faithful to myself & my brother in bonds. God helping me I will be so—In Maine our friends will not form a electoral ticket:—New Hampshire is paralysed by non-resistance. Two years ago—before Rogers¹⁵ turned his lamentable &

¹³ The "Freeman's State Convention" which convened Aug. 1, 1840, to nominate Liberty party candidates for state offices. Smith was nominated candidate for governor.

¹⁴ Then editor of *Friend of Man*, published in Whitesboro and Utica, N. Y., who agreed with the principles of the Liberty party.

¹⁵ Nathaniel Peabody Rogers. See Samuel T. Pickard, *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier* (Boston and New York, 1894), I, 313, for information concerning the break between Rogers and Whittier.

most melancholy somerset—*two thousand* legal voters of that state broke away from their slavery ridden parties—and rallied under the free banner of an independent nomination. The noble stand of the Editor of the *Philanthropist*¹⁶ excites my admiration. Our brother C. L. Knapp¹⁷ too has broken off the Garrison collar—He has sacrificed his prospects in a worldly point of view on the altar of duty.

Leavitt¹⁸ still manfully holds up the true & *genuine* [sic] "Standard."—I wish it were in my power to add to the list of his paper.—With love to thy tried partner—the partaker of thy joy & trial—thy co-worker in the cause of Truth & Freedom, I am as ever thy affectionate fr[ien]d.

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

On the opposite page is a piece written a few weeks ago on hearing of the death of our aged friend Dan[ie]l Wheeler who for many years has devoted himself to the cause of the Redeemer in Europe & Asia & the Pacific.¹⁹—He was a "Friend" indeed.

Dear H. B: Stanton is doing nobly in England.²⁰ I am sorry to see Garrison manifest such a disposition to disparage the Convention, & nullify its good effects. *Cui bono?*—is the question he should ask himself.—

Hoping to hear from thee at thy earliest leisure, I am sincerely thine,

J. G. W.

ELLEN KEAN'S APPRAISAL OF AMERICAN PLAYGOERS

WILBUR D. DUNKEL
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IN THE SUMMER of 1845 Charles and Ellen Kean, three and one half years after their marriage, left England for America. Their sojourn in New York was so profitable that they remained for two years and also visited Boston and Philadelphia. With their Shakespearean repertoire they included George W. Lovell's untried

¹⁶ Dr. Gamaliel Bailey. The *Philanthropist* was established in Cincinnati in 1836 by James G. Birney, who the following year gave up the editorship to Bailey.

¹⁷ In Oct., 1844, Knapp, a Vermonter, went to Lowell, Mass., to assist Whittier in editing the *Middlesex Standard*.

¹⁸ Joshua Leavitt, then editor of the *Emancipator* and supporter of the principles of the political abolitionists.

¹⁹ Poem, "To the Memory of Daniel Wheeler," printed on p. 3 of this manuscript.

²⁰ Henry Brewster Stanton, then on his wedding journey, worked strongly on behalf of the political abolitionists although his bride of two months sympathized with the principles of the Garrison group. There are forty-seven letters, dated variously from 1834 to 1873, from Stanton to Smith in the Gerrit Smith Papers. A portion of this correspondence concerns Stanton's experience in England in 1840.

play *The Wife's Secret*.¹ My purpose is to present extracts from four unpublished letters² written by Mrs. Kean to Mr. Lovell about the reception of his play, for these letters reveal her appraisal of American playgoers and the state of the theater in 1846-1847.

The Wife's Secret provides a good touchstone with which to test the standards of American playgoers at this time. Allardyce Nicoll regards it as "certainly one of the best plays I have read in this period."³ Charles Kean's biographer calls it a "sterling play" and records its run of thirty-six nights, beginning January 17, 1848, at the Haymarket Theater in London.⁴ Professor Odell mentions its "success" in New York.⁵

Although the first of Ellen Kean's letters to George Lovell is undated and without indication of place, it appears to have been written from New York at the end of the first season, 1846, in May or June, and indicates her impressions of New York playgoers:

MY DEAR SIR.

I suppose you are beginning to wonder what has become of your "*Wife's Secret*" We found our attraction last out so brilliantly upon our old Plays that it was only throwing Novelty away to produce it. We are leaving New York now for a rest in the country and return to commence our engagements on the 30th of August. The city is then filled with Strangers and our old Plays again will do. In November the residents of New York return and you get quiet regular *New York public* and then we produce "*The Wife's Secret*." The Strangers form a noisy unintellectual audience and we arrange our Plays accordingly for them. . . . Now here is something for us all to look well into. There is no *international copyright law* in this country and the only protection we have is for Mr. Kean to make a nominal sale of the Play to the Manager who can then in his own name take out a copyright (which a Foreigner is not permitted by law to do). If this is not done—some person from the Pit will take down in short hand such a copy as they so make (which

¹ John William Cole, *The Life and Theatrical Times of Charles Kean, F.S.A.*, 2 vols. (London, 1860), I, 343-345. Cf. M. St. Clare Byrne, "Fifty Years of Shakespearian Production: 1898-1948" *Shakespeare Survey* 2, Allardyce Nicoll (Cambridge, England, 1949): "Kean's spectacles determined the main trend in English Shakespearian production for sixty years."

² In possession of the Library of the University of Rochester.

³ *A History of Early Nineteenth Century Drama 1800-1850*, 2 vols. (New York, 1930), I, 180.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 343.

⁵ George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York, 1931), V, 251.

has been done frequently here before) and it would be acted in all the Minor Theatres before a week has closed. Now it is equally necessary for you to take out a copyright in England otherwise they can send their spurious copy to England and get it presented and acted there.

It will be adviseable [*sic*] that you should keep a sharp look out or they may do it under some other name and you not recognize your own child. Charles announced this Play as in preparation and it was received with great enthusiasm.

On October 15, 1846, Mrs. Kean writes to Mr. Lovell:

MY DEAR SIR.

Good news!!! Your Play is completely successful. There is but one opinion. All say it is the sweetest They [have] seen for many years—and the best proof is that each night the attraction increases. . . .

Strange to say though you are here known and appreciated as an author[,] Your "Love's Sacrifice" a very favorite Play with them—though we had announced it in the best possible manner—Still there was not the least excitement about the first night and it was the worst Box'book we have ever had—So *provincial* are they with all their boasted independence of opinion. It had not the London stamp and they waited to hear what it was like. It has had to make its own reputation—and well it has done it. The second night Tuesday we had the greatest land storm that has been known for nine years. Trees opposite the Theatre were rooted up by the wind . . . but still we had a much better House—and last night Wednesday though the weather was still blowing and most uncomfortable we had a very good House. . . .

From Boston, November 1, 1846, Mrs. Kean writes to Mr. Lovell:

MY DEAR MR. LOVEL

Another Triumph for you. The Play has made just as great a hit here as in New York. All are charmed with it. The weary Musicians in the orchestra sit nightly rivetted through the entire performance. I send you some articles from the newspapers, one of proof sent me by the Editor but there is nothing worthy of your Play. They like it—but few know *why*. they like it—because they have had no *London criticisms* upon which to found their opinions. The men who could write unfortunately think it beneath their dignity to employ their time upon Dramatic Literature or Dramatic performances. Any political squabble is a worthier subject for their pen and those who do write are for the most part under bred men with neither education or refinement of soul. The Americans as a people are matter of fact calculating and selfish.

The women *especially selfish*—and few can understand the high integrity of the English Lady who would risk life and happiness rather than break the oath she had given her brother. Nor can they for one moment comprehend the confidence placed in Maud for—they say—"Lord Arden trusts Maud *without an oath*"—They *talk* big about *equality* here—but they look with great contempt on every grade below them. . . . There is no sympathy in this country between Servant and Master—and they know nothing of the devotion of the serving maid who would cut her tongue out rather than tell the secret her mistress chose to keep.

You will see by these little traits how the more delicate touches of character must be lost to the mass of such a people. Yet there are of course some few who can go deeply into and enjoy thoroughly. There is a charm about the "*Wife's Secret*" that holds them in spite of themselves in continuous interest that binds them to it. Such confidence have we in it that if ever again we act in London we should make it our opening Play. . . .

From Philadelphia, January 28, 1847, she writes to him:

MY DEAR SIR.

I enclose you a little notice of our producing the "*Wife's Secret*" at Philadelphia. It is a badly written article but it will serve to show you what an impression the Play has made. We shall (with tonights [sic] performance have done it seven times out of twelve nights engagement. There is everywhere but one universal cry—"It is the sweetest Play that was ever written." We return to England next June. . . .

These extracts from the letters of the brilliant actress to the author of *The Wife's Secret* show her low appraisal not only of the mass of playgoers but also of the critics in America. Even so, this play dramatizing sentiments and loyalties particularly English was remarkably successful in America, where it had to win its own way without benefit of a London première and London criticism.

MELVILLE ON HOMER

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I

THE WORKS of the great poets have never yet been read by mankind," Thoreau wrote, indulging in paradox and exaggeration to make a very good point; "for only great poets can

read them." Melville's reading of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* provides a unique illustration of at least the second half of that statement; and we are fortunate in being able to watch the process at work: the process, that is, by which a great book and a great reader can affect each other by mutual impact. Melville first looked into Chapman's Homer in November, 1858, when George Duyckinck sent him the two epics in four volumes; he had already read Pope's translation and found the earlier one incomparably better.¹ The line pencilings he made in those volumes indicate the most penetrating, thorough, and comprehensive reading of the poems; they are flashes illuminating the book and the reader and, more significantly, the human experience both were involved in. There is a measure of happy surprise in this for the student who remembers the temper of the age: since, to hear them talk, one might assume that Americans of creative strength had quite decided to abandon those old sources and to be nourished purely and simply by the immediate and actual and the national landscape. And yet even Emerson, who had the odd habit of announcing the break with the past by a hundred allusions to books that came out of it, had written in an essay called "Spiritual Laws":

We are always reasoning from the seen to the unseen. Hence the perfect intelligence that subsists between wise men of remote ages. A man cannot bury his meanings so deep in his book, but time and like-minded men will find them. Plato had a secret doctrine, had he? What secret can he conceal from the eyes of a Bacon? of Montaigne? of Kant? Therefore, Aristotle said of his works, "they are published and not published."

When he read that passage in 1862, Melville knew at once what Emerson was talking about: "Bully for Emerson," he wrote; "good." (He disagreed violently with other Emersonian effusions in the

¹ Chapman's version, Melville wrote Duyckinck in a letter of thanks, would send Pope's "off shrieking, like the bankrupt deities in Milton's hymn." He wrote in the margin Pope's translation of half a dozen passages, and underlined the sentences in the editor's (Richard Hooper's) introduction comparing the two versions—unfavorably to Pope.

Houghton Library at Harvard contains the Chapman volumes (London, 1857), along with Homer's *Batrachomyomachia, Hymns and Epigrams* (London, 1858), also by Chapman and also marked by Melville. A complete "Checklist of Books Owned and Borrowed by Melville," by Merton M. Sealts, Jr., began in the Spring, 1948, issue of the *Harvard Library Bulletin*. A slightly outdated list of "Books in the Harvard College Library Once Owned by Herman Melville" appears in the bibliography of F. Barron Freeman (ed.), *Melville's Billy Budd* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948).

same essay.) Homer's secret, if he had any, was not long concealed from Herman Melville.

But "secret" is probably not as apt a sign of what Melville discovered in the epics as "pattern" or "figure" (to make use of Henry James's term). The most rewarding aspect of Melville's markings, here as elsewhere in his editions of Shakespeare and Hawthorne, is that they do form patterns; rarely casual or isolated, they fall usually on the essential threads, forcing the poems to yield the figure woven within them. They are not of course the only figures we can trace in Homer; they have indeed, especially the *Odyssey*, a queer new look about them, for Melville was not a passive reader.² His response to great literature was often baffling. But the mystery about it is resolved when we accept the fact that poems like the *Iliad* and *King Lear* defy metaphysical laws; they are animate; they have souls of their own and are always growing. This growth is most conspicuous when they are confronted by an imagination as active and creative as Melville's.

It is the "figures" which Melville's markings bring sharply into the foreground that I wish particularly to consider here. Occasionally he marked details for their mere vividness: in the *Iliad* (III, 232), he was struck by the observation that, though the son of Atreus was the tallest member of the Greek council when it stood, "Yet set, Ulysses did exceed, and bred more reverence." Images caught his fancy, and a careful exploration of them would heighten our perception of the tone and rhythm of Melville's style.³ But the great majority of the passages Melville checked or underlined have thematic interrelations; they are worth examining.⁴

² Since "The Poet" was the essay of Emerson he most heavily annotated, Melville probably shared the conception elaborated there of the dynamic interrelation of poet, poem, reader, and object: all working together, co-operating in the creation of newer and higher forms.

³ E.g., the description of Thetis appearing to comfort the weeping Achilles (I, 360): "Up from the grey sea like a cloud." This reminded Melville of one of the most effective similes in *Paradise Lost*. He wrote: "Exhalation. Milton—'rose like an exhalation—the Pandemonium Palace."

⁴ I am not concerned with "literary influence." However, the relation between the Homeric epics and *Moby-Dick* ought perhaps to be sketched here. The reading of Chapman is irrelevant, since it followed *Moby-Dick* by at least seven years; the problem turns on the date of Melville's reading of the Pope translation. The facts, as I quote them from a letter recently received from Merton M. Sealts, Jr., seem to be as follows: "On 19 March 1848, HM was charged with '1 Classical Library, 37 v. (\$12.23)' . . . This is Harper's series . . . and Pope's Homer constitutes three of the volumes, nos. 32-34, containing a biographical sketch plus the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. . . . No one knows what's become

II

The *Iliad*, under Melville's inspection, emerges as a tragedy: a dark portrait of a world at war, a world in which lonely, grieving men are caught up in vast, indefinable forces and move without hope to meet the violence and death that awaits them, under the rule of implacable divinities. If this appears to be a somewhat conventional view of the poem, we should recall the peculiar comment of Emerson only a year or two before: "True bards have ever been noted for their firm and cheerful temper. Homer lies in the sunshine; Chaucer is glad and erect." Emerson's reading was almost exclusively an index to his own mind; as he thought it ought to be: "Nature and books belong to the eyes that see them." But in Melville, discovery and projection intermingled, and he could discover little sunshine penetrating the clouds which lay thickly over the siege of Troy. The atmosphere he sensed emanated rather from passages he underlined like the following:

Evermore worst matters put down best. (I, 557)
because his power is most,

He will destroy most. (II, 101)

But Jove hath order'd I should grieve, and to that end hath
cast

My life into debates past end. (II, 330)

Death—sudden, violent, irresistible—is the identifying feature of human experience in such a world. Melville rarely failed to mark the moments of abrupt collision, the language imaging the swift and utter finality of the clanging blow, the instant plunge into Hades. The effect of so-to-speak italicizing these passages (e.g., IV, 556; V, 63, 83; 161; VI, 13) is to draw the outlines of a crowded and compressed world animated chiefly by pure force. A tragic awareness by the warriors through whom the deadly current flowed did not escape Melville: his marking of the crash of heroes extended to the clear and disturbingly passionless comments of their killers (e.g., Diomede, Achilles) on the inevitability of the stroke of death in human life as they had learned to suffer it.

of any of these books. . . . Also at some time after 1856 . . . he acquired The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope, with a Life, by Rev. Alexander Dyco, Boston, Little, Brown, 1856. 3 v." The apparently Homeric overtones to some of the language and incidents in *Moby-Dick* were touched on by F. O. Matthiessen in *American Renaissance* (pp. 460-463).

But as the last quotation above suggests, Melville saw in the *Iliad* an ambiguity of power, an obscurity affecting and affected by the relation between man and the gods. He brought to the passages about the gods the imagination which had spoken in *Moby-Dick* seven years earlier: "There can be no hearts above the snow-line. Oh! ye frozen heavens!" This becomes the spirit of the *Iliad* too, as Melville's pencil bears down on comparable passages in it, slighting a little certain others which might have softened the pervasive grimness. An active reader tends to select and order in a novel way. Melville selected passages like these:

He pray'd; Jove heard him not, but made more plentiful the birth

Of his sad toils. (II, 366)

The race of Gods is far above men creeping here below. (IV, 426)

The pattern which forms under these markings and literally dozens more like them is almost Puritan in its contours. The bustling intrusion of the gods on either side of the battle is largely forgotten, and we are left with a remote and hostile race, quick to anger, harshly indifferent to the fate of man, interfering only to blast his tenuous hopes. Human will and freedom count for little; an impression rises from the marked pages of men accomplishing their own destruction in the midst of forces they can neither identify nor control. Melville found no cause for complaint against Homer, if the epic vision was ultimately obscure. He recognized a mystery, and in the mystery he felt he had probed to the meaning. Chapman's comment, in the discussion following Book XIV, was heavily underlined; he spoke of the "plebeian opinion that a man is bound to write to every vulgar reader's understanding." Homer, Chapman said, wrote "darkly." The author of *Pierre* knew about that.

One source of relief could yet be found amid so much darkness and pain: love of family, love of friends. An intense preoccupation with the value and need of friendship had allowed Melville to trace a compelling theme even in so slight a performance as *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*; in the *Iliad*, he could pause over Diomede's plea for a companion on the secret mission in Book X (ll. 196 *et seq.*): "Two may together see," Diomede explained. But the most

sustained marking in the entire poem occurs in Book VI, from line 440 to the end: the parting of Hector from his wife and child. The framework of Melville's other patterns (violent death, hostile deities) lends a peculiar sense of compassion to this long passage. It has something of the effect produced on a smaller scale by the friendship of Queequeg and Ishmael in *Moby-Dick*: "I felt a melting in me. No more my splintered heart and maddened hand were turned against the wolfish world." The heroes of the *Iliad*, and especially Achilles, appear in Melville's edition as terribly alone; Melville found a portion of what he brought to the book, the sense of isolation which had gone into the projection of Ahab. Fighting alone after the death of Patroclus, Achilles has only his magic armor to sustain him; as Ahab, cut off from human companionship, has only the great harpoon. The making of the armor (XVIII, 422-501), a turning-point so comparable in significance and power to the forging of the harpoon, is marked over nearly a hundred lines.

III

The impact of Melville on the *Odyssey* led it to take the form of a *Bildungsroman* in which the relation between the characters and the sequence of the events stands for growth of insight into the heart of reality. The metaphysical term is intended since, to judge from the markings, Melville read the *Odyssey* on a more symbolic level than he did the *Iliad*. In the latter, his pencil was attracted principally to actions and to the forces which directed them; he stayed with the concrete embodiment; his reading was dramatic. But the passages he noted in the *Odyssey* (which he apparently read somewhere in the Pacific in 1860) move in the direction of interpretation. There are signs of immense enjoyment in the adventures themselves—the Lotophagi, the Laestrygonians, the visit to Hades, the conquest of Ithaca, and the slaying of the wooers—but Melville was primarily interested in meaning.

The meaning he seems to have found borrows much of its force from the unusual emphasis Melville laid on the sorrows and hardships of Ulysses and the generalizations about human evil which they gave rise to: to the point where a rich and spacious poem looks surprisingly gloomier than we have normally regarded it. There are undoubtedly sorrows enough in the *Odyssey*; but they stand

forward in a new way under Melville's gaze; for that itself showed a tendency towards gloom in those days. Melville noted the recurring description of Ulysses and his dwindling crew sailing on stricken at heart after some frightful encounter; and he made much of Ulysses's somewhat artful sigh to Nausicaä, that he was the victim of "a cruel habit of calamity" (VI, 257). The author of *The Confidence-Man* may have taken a bitter personal relish in the disclaimer of Telemachus which he marked:

Not by any means
If Hope should prompt me or *blind confidence*
(*The God of fools*) or ever deity
Should will it, for 'tis past my destiny. (III, 309)

The gods have become no more benevolent than they had been in the *Iliad*. Both of Nestor's remarks (III) are checked:

Not with ease
The eternal Gods are turned from what they please.
I know God studied misery
To hurl against us.

Passages touching the power of the gods are regularly scored (e.g., V, 222; VI, 283). The grief of the central characters and the severity of the gods join to develop the perception of a wolfish world, when marked passages like the following are added: the reaction of Telemachus to the dishonor shown his father:

No more let any sceptre-bearing man
Benevolent, or mild, or human be,
Nor in his mind form acts of piety,
But ever feed on blood. (II, 348)

I am deliberately trying to indicate the special nature of Melville's response to the *Odyssey*, for if you put together lines and passages like those quoted (and they are typical of thirty-odd more) you begin to create a vision of terror and evil which casts a deep shadow over the beauty and fluid grace which the poem could otherwise be seen to reflect, and its sustained sense of impending triumph. But the passages are there, integral parts of the poem as it stands, invented by Homer and Chapman and not by Melville; and I can never read the *Odyssey* again without being sharply conscious of

their presence. The *Odyssey* moves perceptibly, shifts and re-forms, as Melville's imagination engages it (as it does under the impact of Joyce's legend of Leopold Bloom). For if he dims some of the brightness in the poem, he does so by unfolding a pattern whose theme is education, the motion of the human spirit from appearance to reality; a painful process in Melville's and very likely in Homer's view. It is a reading which brings the *Odyssey* effectively close to *Moby-Dick*.

A sign of Melville's attitude is the particular value he apparently attached to the Telemachiad, the first four books. Melville's consistent fascination with the subject of children may have been personal and domestic, but it was not unique in the age. Emerson found "a certain tenderness" towards children the symbol of the period, when he looked back at it in 1867; Thoreau reverted again and again to the theme of children as natural poets whose imaginations might yet be spared the deadening effects of characteristic adulthood. Melville missed hardly a single allusion to any aspect of childhood in the plays of Shakespeare; and a continuing preoccupation is suggested by his double-check in the *Odyssey* of such relatively trivial remarks as the one comparing the ages of Telemachus and the son of Nestor: "His years seem short of yours" (III, 71). The historic impulse to most of this was probably the prevailing concern with a fresh awakening of consciousness emerging from the contemporary tension between tradition and freedom. The transition from youth to manhood could serve both as image and illustration; and this Melville could find in the *Odyssey*.

The departure of Telemachus for sandy Pylos assumes an inescapably symbolic quality when Melville's pencil relates passages like these:

It fits not you so young
To suffer so much by the aged seas
And err in such a wayless wilderness.
(Eurycleia to Telemachus) (II, 545)
Why left my son his mother? Why refused
His wit the solid shore to try the seas
And put in ships the trust of his distress
That are at sea to man unbridled horse,
And run past rule? (Penelope) (IV, 942)

The enterprise of going to sea as an image of the growing-up process in its varied dimensions had long been central for Melville; he even marked a particularly fine use of it by Hawthorne in *The House of the Seven Gables*. In the first of the pair of quotations above, Melville underlined the adjectives whose contrast deepens the significance of the entire passage: young and aged. It is tempting indeed, contemplating the two passages together, to find a proto-Jungian interpretation in Melville's mind; for the crucial motion towards the archaic unconscious which Jung elaborated was reflected everywhere (he believed) in the twin images of shore-and-sea and horse-and-rider—images combined in the question of Penelope.

But we do not need to go so far afield to follow Melville's notion of the education-theme in the *Odyssey*. Going to sea was a way of doing what Thoreau could do by settling down along a tiny lake: he went, Thoreau said, in order "to front . . . the essential facts of life." For Melville this was fundamentally an intellectual, indeed a metaphysical, venture; and if not more difficult, it was a good deal more harrowing than it had been for Thoreau, since malice and evil were among the facts to be fronted. Both the nature and the peril of the undertaking were suggested in the advice Proteus gave Menelaus, along the margin of which Melville ran a strong penciled line:

Cease

To ask so far. It fits thee not to be
 So cunning in thine own calamity.
 Nor seek to learn what learned thou shouldest forget.
 Men's knowledges have proper limits set
 And should not pease into the mind of God. (IV, 657)

The echo of Eurykleia's admonition carried by the impersonal verb ("it fits not") must have been intended; for the old nurse and the old man of the sea are saying very much the same thing. Both are remarking on the danger, the rashness, the inappropriateness of attempting to probe too deeply into what Melville called elsewhere "the very axis of reality." All of Melville's heroes, like Telemachus and Ulysses, aware of their rashness, take the plunge nevertheless. Melville noted some of the results, as Ulysses (to whom his interest

of course shifts, along with Homer's) struggles ashore on the island of Nausicaä:

The sea had soak'd his heart through. (V, 612)

The hard pass

He had at sea stuck by him. (VI, 198)

Both lines are underscored.

If the poem is some sort of allegory describing the quest of the mind for truth, a prying beyond natural limits into the mind of God, what answer does it offer? What can be learned by braving the sea, by meeting the challenge of the sea-god—who, as Melville noted in I, 33, "divine Ulysses ever did envy?"⁵ What is gained in exchange for the buffets, the soaking, the hard pass that stays by one? Ulysses's experience is contained in the tales he told the court of Antinoüs, the incidents of which Melville marked heavily. But all that the wanderer will ever tell are adventure stories embodying human suffering; and most of them will be lies. He knew it would be fatal to do otherwise. One of the heaviest markings in the poem, three emphatic lines in the margin, greets the action of Ulysses when he arrives in Ithaca:

Therefore he bestowed
A veil on truth; for evermore did wind
About his bosom a most crafty mind. (XIII, 370)

That scene, in which Ulysses's impromptu fabrications are affectionately exposed by Athena, can be read as high comedy; a cheerful temperament will normally read it so. But in the framework Melville had built it deepens the tragic tone; it has the quality of the fool's speech in the tragedy of Lear: "Truth's a dog must to kennel." When he marked that in 1850 Melville still felt the possibility as well as the compulsion to speak forth what he saw and knew: the sermon he wrote for Father Mapple in *Moby-Dick* concluded with the injunction to "preach the Truth to the face of Falsehood." But the response to his books convinced him of the impossibility of writing this way; and write the other way, he could not, as he told Hawthorne. By the time he read the *Odyssey* in the Pacific Ocean

⁵ "Envy" carried the connotation of "malice" for Melville; he so used it in *Billy Budd*, and he noted the footnote to his edition of *Julius Caesar* which explained the proximity of the nouns for the Elizabethan.

he had himself "bestowed a veil on truth"; he had withdrawn into that privacy which none of his biographers has ever fully invaded.⁶

Athena's response to the elaborate lie of Ulysses is a wondering exclamation:

Not secure thy state
Without these wiles, though on thy native shore
Thou settest safe footing?

Triple-checking and underlining those lines, Melville may have felt he knew the answer, knew it was negative. Ulysses had suffered too much at sea; he had discovered the abundance of evil in the heart of reality. However Homer resolved his narrative, in Melville's *Odyssey* the education of the hero ends in fables or silence.

A SOURCE FOR THE FLOGGING INCIDENT IN WHITE-JACKET

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IN ONE EPISODE in Herman Melville's *White-Jacket* the seaman hero is erroneously charged with absence from his station during an important maneuver. When Captain Claret unjustly sentences him to a flogging as punishment, White Jacket, the seaman, becomes so emotionally overwrought that he actually considers rushing Claret overboard in a combined act of murder and suicide. Fortunately for both White Jacket and Claret, friends intercede for the former, and the captain remits the sentence. Professor C. R. Anderson has shown that Melville did not base this episode upon any actual occurrence on board the *United States*, the vessel in which Melville had served during his tour of duty in the United States Navy. Finding no literary analogues, Professor Anderson therefore concludes that Melville simply invented the whole scene.¹ It is quite possible, however, that the episode came, not from Melville's imagination, but from William Leggett's naval story "Brought to the Gangway."

⁶ F. Barron Freeman (*op. cit.*) may be an exception; his careful and sensible account of Melville's last years and the writing of *Billy Budd* can help modify opinions like my own. However, even Freeman finds the following quotation from Arnold, underlined by Melville, the most apt summary of Melville's final attitude: "There is more power and beauty in the well-kept secret of one's self and one's thoughts than in the display of a whole heaven that one may have inside one" ("Maurice de Guerin").

¹ *Melville in the South Seas* (New York, 1939), pp. 409-412.

Leggett's short tale embodies the same basic situation. Seaward, a gentleman who has shipped as a common sailor in a United States man-of-war, is unjustly accused by the sadistic Lieutenant Parral of being asleep on watch. Seaward objects to the charge, but after some altercation Parral brings the sailor before the captain of the ship. The brutal captain, completely swayed by Parral, does not even listen to Seaward. Instead, he has the man brought to the gangway and flogged with a cat-o-nine-tails. Seaward retaliates later in the day by grappling with Parral and carrying him overboard. They both drown. The hero in Melville's book does not carry out his intention. Indeed, if he had, Melville would have been forced to end the book. Yet the parallels between *White-Jacket* and "Brought to the Gangway" are quite apparent: the same naval setting, the same genteel hero, the same unjust accusation, the same sentence, and the same deadly plunge overboard.

As is well known, *White-Jacket* was in part propaganda against harsh naval discipline. In this connection Melville often distorted borrowed incidents to emphasize the tyranny of the officer caste.² In Leggett's story, however, Melville had his material ready-made with no need for distortion, for "Brought to the Gangway" was itself such a piece of propaganda. Leggett's own career in the Navy had ended in 1826 because of his quarrel with a tyrannical captain, and his journalistic attacks in 1835 on naval disciplinary methods created a national sensation. He wrote "Brought to the Gangway" as another expression of his antipathy, and the story is the strongest literary indictment of the tyranny of naval officers between *Roderick Random* and *White-Jacket*.

Leggett's story appeared in the *New York Mirror* in April, 1834,³ and also in his collected *Naval Stories*, a volume published in New York in 1834 and again in 1835. Although this volume was apparently not in Duyckinck's library, one of Melville's favorite haunts, Leggett's sea tales were very popular, and *Naval Stories* could easily be found in New York. It seems unlikely that Melville could have missed a volume as well-known as Leggett's. It is quite probable that Leggett's "Brought to the Gangway" was the source for the flogging incident in *White-Jacket*.

² See, for example, Keith Huntress, "Melville's Use of a Source for *White-Jacket*," *American Literature*, XVII, 66-74 (March, 1945).

³ *New York Mirror*, XI, 329-331 (April 19, 1834).

DID MELVILLE WRITE "OCTOBER MOUNTAIN"?

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IN CHALLENGING the "legend" that Melville reviewed *The Scarlet Letter* in 1850, Willard Thorp has fixed responsibility for originating the error, repeated by later writers, upon Melville's friend and early biographer, J. E. A. Smith of Pittsfield.¹ Although Smith's various accounts of Melville have been of great value to scholars, his accuracy is frequently open to serious question. Another of his statements that deserves critical examination is his repeated assertion that Melville wrote a sketch entitled "October Mountain," first mentioned in a description of Arrowhead given in Smith's *History of Pittsfield* (1876). The passage begins with the erroneous statement that Melville purchased his Berkshire farm in 1852 rather than in 1850; it continues as follows:

Mr. Melville named it Arrow-Head, from the Indian relics found on the estate, and made it a house of many stories; writing in it, besides *Moby Dick*, and other romances of the sea, the Piazza tales, which took their name from a piazza built by the author upon the north end of the house, which commands a bold and striking view of Greylock and the intervening valley. "My Chimney and I [sic]," a quaintly humorous essay, . . . was also written here, as well as "October Mountain," a sketch of mingled philosophy and word-painted landscape, which found its inspiration in the massy and brilliant autumnal tints presented by a prominent and thickly-wooded spur of the Hoosac mountains, as seen from the south-eastern windows, at Arrow-Head, on a fine day after the early frosts.²

A few years later Smith incorporated this same material, with slight changes, into his *Taghconic; the Romance and Beauty of the Hills*: "I and My Chimney" is again mentioned as "My Chimney and I"; "October Mountain" is described as "a sketch of mingled philosophy and word-painting, which found its inspiration in the massy and brilliant tints presented by a prominent and thickly-wooded projection of Washington Mountain, as seen from the south-eastern windows at Arrow-Head, on a fine day after the early frosts."³

¹ "Did Melville Review *The Scarlet Letter*?" *American Literature*, XIV, 302-305 (Nov., 1942). R. E. Watters, "Melville's 'Isolatoes,'" *PMLA*, LX, 1138 n. (Dec., 1945), declares that the "legend" has been "thoroughly refuted" by Thorp.

² *The History of Pittsfield, 1800-1876* (Springfield, Mass., 1876), pp. 7-8.

³ *Taghconic; the Romance and Beauty of the Hills* (Boston, 1879), p. 199. There is no reference to "October Mountain" in Smith's earlier *Taghconic; or Letters and Legends about Our Summer Home* (Boston, 1852).

Following Melville's death in 1891, when Smith composed a biographical sketch of him first published serially in the Pittsfield *Evening Journal*, the original wording of the *History* was repeated almost exactly in another reference to "October Mountain."⁴

From one or more of Smith's rather vague allusions to the sketch came further references by other writers on the Berkshires or on Melville. That A. M. Turner was using a secondary source, Smith's *Taghconic* (1879), can be clearly shown by comparing Smith's original phrasing with that of Turner's article on "Literary Berkshire" written for the New York *Home Journal* in 1886:

Herman Melville, the now almost forgotten author of "Typee and Omoo [sic]," lived near Dr. Holmes, and here he wrote "October Mountain," "My Chimney and I" and other tales. Retiring to Pittsfield at his first success in literature, he greatly admired Berkshire scenery, and was fond of excursions among its hills and valleys. It is said that he and Hawthorne were made friends on a picnic by a fortunate thunderstorm which drove them both into the same cave in Monument Mountain, and that an enforced conversation resulted in an intimate acquaintance.⁵

Theodore F. Wolfe's *Literary Shrines* combined similar though acknowledged gleanings from Smith with first-hand knowledge of Arrowhead and of Melville's writings in its discussion of Hawthorne's residence in the Berkshires. Wolfe describes Arrowhead, quotes "I and My Chimney," and then mentions "the window-view of Melville's 'October Mountain,'—beloved of Longfellow,—whose autumn glories inspired that superb word-picture and metaphysical sketch."⁶ As there are no quotations from "October Mountain"

⁴ "Herman Melville," Pittsfield *Evening Journal*, Dec. 19, 1891, p. 6, col. 2: "a sketch of mingled philosophy and word-painted landscape, which found its inspiration in the mossy and brilliant autumnal tints presented by a prominent and thickly wooded spur of the Hoosac mountains, as seen from Arrowhead on a fine day after the early frosts." The passage was retained when Smith's sketch was reprinted in part by Mrs. Melville as a pamphlet, privately distributed in 1897; the only change was from "word-painted" to "word painted" (p. 14).

⁵ *Home Journal*, Dec. 15, 1886, p. 6, col. 3. (A clipping is preserved in the two-volume "Scrapbook of Miscellaneous Berkshire Clippings compiled by E. Brittain," p. 323, in the Berkshire Athenaeum at Pittsfield.) On the same page of *Taghconic* as the reference to "My Chimney and I" and "October Mountain" Smith had similarly stated that Melville was led, "in the first flush of his literary success, to retire to Pittsfield," that he "was almost a zealot in his love of Berkshire scenery," and that "there was no more ardent and indefatigable excursionist among its hills and valleys" (italics mine); Smith's description of the initial meeting of Melville and Hawthorne (*Taghconic*, p. 318) was the source for Turner's account of their "enforced conversation."

⁶ *Literary Shrines: The Haunts of Some Famous American Authors* (Philadelphia, 1805), p. 192.

despite the praise and the knowing allusion to Longfellow, it may be inferred that Smith's "sketch of mingled philosophy and word-painting" was the sole authority for Wolfe's "word-picture and metaphysical sketch." In all these references "October Mountain" is mentioned as a sketch or tale, but in a more recent and obviously unreliable newspaper story of 1938 the piece becomes a poem!

From his piazza he [Melville] could almost touch another mountain, and he wrote a poem: "October Mountain." He called his book of short stories: "Piazza Tales." "I and My Chimney" is a delightful collection of essays [!]. The poem considered his best, was inspired by Lake Pontoosuc in Pittsfield; it was published in the collection called "Weeds and Wildings". . . .⁷

Most interesting of all the allusions to "October Mountain" since those of Smith himself is Arthur Stedman's statement in the introduction to a new edition of *Typee* in 1892, for as the introduction was prepared with some assistance from Melville's widow, it possesses a degree of authority lacking in the other accounts cited: "An article in *Putnam's Monthly* entitled 'I and My Chimney,' another called 'October Mountain,' and the introduction to the 'Piazza Tales,' present faithful pictures of Arrow Head and its surroundings."⁸ But in considering Stedman's remarks a number of facts which weaken the case for "October Mountain" should be noted. First, "I and My Chimney" is more properly a sketch than an "article," although the nomenclature is unimportant save as a possible indication that Stedman too had not read all the material to which he referred. Second, if he intended to imply that both "I and My Chimney" and "October Mountain" appeared in *Putnam's Monthly*—the wording is somewhat ambiguous with respect to the second title—he was in error, for no contribution under such a heading appeared in the magazine. Except for the added mention of *Putnam's*, Stedman also seems to have followed Smith in the passage quoted; on the following page, in his discussion of the first meeting between Melville and Hawthorne, the indebted-

⁷ Mary Carey McAvoy, "Melville's 'Fair Piazza' Where He Wrote 'Moby-Dick' Will Be Preserved in New Jersey," Springfield, Mass., *Sunday Union and Republican*, Jan. 30, 1938, Section E, p. 3. "Weeds and Wildings," it may be noted, was left in manuscript at Melville's death and remained unpublished until its inclusion in the Constable edition in 1924 as a section of the volume of Melville's poems.

⁸ Introduction to Melville's *Typee* (New York, 1892), p. xxi.

ness to Smith's "volume on the Berkshire Hills" is pointedly acknowledged. In Smith's account of that occasion⁹ the supposed shyness of the two authors toward one another was said to be due partly to Hawthorne's knowledge that Melville had reviewed *The Scarlet Letter*—the "legend" refuted by Thorp. Stedman, however, silently changed the reference to a review of *Mosses from an Old Manse* (i.e., Melville's "Hawthorne and His Mosses," 1850). His authority for the change was evidently one of several penciled corrections in Mrs. Melville's copy of *Taghconic*, now in the Harvard College Library.¹⁰ Similarly, in writing the passage quoted above, he was probably guided by her alteration of Smith's inaccurate "My Chimney and I" to "I and My Chimney."

That Mrs. Melville had corrected the title of "I and My Chimney" as given in *Taghconic* without pausing over the reference in the same passage to "October Mountain" seems at first to support Smith's attribution of the latter piece to her husband; it should likewise be noted that in reprinting Smith's newspaper sketch of Melville in pamphlet form (1897) she also allowed the corresponding passage to be included with no significant alteration. But an examination of her copy of the 1892 *Typee* (also in the Harvard College Library) discloses several corrections in her hand of statements in Stedman's introduction—possibly for a new edition—which had evidently escaped her notice before that volume went to press but which afterwards caught her attention. Among these changes is the deletion from the passage quoted above, without comment, of the phrase "another called October Mountain"—a significant bit of evidence against Melville's authorship of such a piece. And though she carefully preserved her husband's manuscripts and other papers, no copy of "October Mountain" in any form is among them; nor is the title included in her various listings of Melville's works, which mention contributions to periodicals as well as book-length publications. Despite intensive search in nineteenth-century newspapers and magazines for "October Mountain," the sketch remains unlocated; in the light of such evidence as has just been examined, any expectation of its eventual discovery seems ill-founded.

⁹ *Taghconic* (1879), p. 318.

¹⁰ Books belonging to Mrs. Melville and now in the Harvard College Library are used here with permission of the Committee on Higher Degrees in the History of American Civilization, Harvard University.

But if "October Mountain" is thus to be dismissed from the Melville canon as merely another "legend" originated by J. E. A. Smith, the problem nevertheless remains of accounting for Smith's error. His confusion, many years after its composition, of Melville's "Hawthorne and His Mosses" with another man's review of *The Scarlet Letter* is quite understandable; perhaps Smith had in mind some other sketch with a different title when he referred to "October Mountain." "The Piazza," Melville's opening sketch written for *Piazza Tales* (1856), has in fact been suggested as the work of which he was thinking.¹¹ But the case for identifying "October Mountain" with "The Piazza" is weakened by re-examination of Smith's own statements: Smith distinguishes both "I and My Chimney" and the questionable "October Mountain" as separate from *Piazza Tales*, and he emphasizes the view of the mountain itself as seen from "the south-eastern windows" of Arrowhead rather than from the celebrated north piazza, which overlooked Mount Greylock.¹² Among the "faithful pictures" of the region around Arrowhead to be found in Melville's writings, however, there is another sketch in which he specifically mentions "a densely-wooded mountain . . . (which I call October Mountain, on account of its bannered aspect in that month)." This is "Cock-A-Doodle-Doo!" (1853),¹³ which like "I and My Chimney" was not included in *Piazza Tales*. Smith's imperfect recollection of this passage and the title "Cock-A-Doodle-Doo!" may have been the source for his phrase "brilliant autumnal tints" and for the title of his second legendary addition to the Melville canon. As references to such a piece by other writers derive from Smith's original error, and as Mrs. Melville herself rejected Arthur Stedman's mention of "October Mountain," it seems reasonably certain that Melville never composed a story, sketch, or poem of that title.

¹¹ Egbert S. Oliver, ed., *The Piazza Tales* (New York, 1948), p. 227, n. 1.4: "The 'October Mountain' sketch as here described [in Smith's *History of Pittsfield*] is probably this opening sketch, 'The Piazza.' "

¹² Compare also the review of *Piazza Tales* in the *Berkshire County Eagle*, May 30, 1856 (reprinted by Oliver, p. xii), which as Oliver notes was probably written by Smith: "The title is derived from the piazza on the north side of the author's residence and the introduction [i. e., 'The Piazza'] will be especially interesting to Pittsfield readers for its description of familiar scenery." That Smith would think of "The Piazza" as "October Mountain" after writing in this vein seems particularly unlikely.

¹³ Published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, VIII, 77-86 (Dec., 1853). The quotation appears on p. 83 of the magazine text.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association has authorized through the year 1950 a joint-subscription rate of \$8.80 for *PMLA* and *American Literature*. All checks and orders are to be addressed to Professor Lyman R. Bradley, Treasurer, 100 Washington Square East, New York, N. Y.

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A Critical Biography of Timothy Shay Arthur. Keith J. Fennimore (Michigan State).

Characterization in Cooper's Tales of the Sea and Forest. Katherine T. Gill (Illinois).

A Concordance of Emily Dickinson's Poems. Louise Kline Kelley (Pennsylvania State).

The Humor of Herman Melville. Edward H. Rosenberg (Pennsylvania).

Prometheanism and the Concept of Individuality in the Work of Herman Melville. Merlin Bowen (Chicago).

The Social and Political Ideas of Augustus Thomas. Lucy Scott Bynum (North Carolina).

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Folk Elements in the Nineteenth-Century American Novel. Benjamin A. Sokoloff (Illinois).

Kentuckians as Pictured by American Novelists. George Grise (Peabody).

III. DISSERTATION COMPLETED:

Jack London and the Era of Social Protest. Thomas D. Young (Vanderbilt, 1950).

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BOOK REVIEWS

A HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS IN AMERICA. By W. H. Werkmeister.
New York: The Ronald Press Company. 1949. xvi, 599 pp. \$5.00.

EVOLUTION AND THE FOUNDERS OF PRAGMATISM. By Philip P. Wiener.
With a Foreword by John Dewey. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1949. xiv, 288 pp. \$5.00.

It is increasingly apparent that American philosophy has had its classical period, roughly 1867-1939, corresponding to the Greek classical period from Democritus through Aristotle, the medieval Christian from Abelard through Aquinas and Duns Scotus, the British from Bacon through Hume, and the German from Kant through Hegel.

Professor Werkmeister supports this conception of our intellectual history by dividing his book into two unequal parts. Part I, "The Cultural Background of American Philosophy," takes only 67 pages to cover the two and a half centuries from our colonial beginnings through the War of Secession. Part II, "The New Philosophy," takes 475 pages to provide the fullest account so far published of the seventy years of our classical period. An epilogue of 18 pages on "Current Tendencies"—logical empiricism, naturalism, humanism—gives the perhaps unintended impression not only of a "failure of nerve" such as Gilbert Murray found in postclassical Greek philosophy but of a failure even of relevance to contemporary life, its institutions, and their conflicts.

Professor Werkmeister's method is that of analytic summary of selected documents, both books and major articles, largely in the authors' own words, with a minimum of interpretation beyond that involved in attempting to exhibit the unity of the work of each philosopher considered, and with almost no criticism, but with a good deal of careful reporting of contemporary criticism. As he himself recognizes, his method is most successful in the two chapters on neo-realism and critical realism, which may be taken as definitive. The book is hard to read consecutively, but will be useful as a work of reference, and perhaps as a textbook.

If any group of thinkers in our classical period may be singled out as at once more original and more characteristically American than the rest, it is the group listed by C. S. Peirce as members of "The Metaphysical Club" which met at Cambridge in the early 1870's. Professor Wiener has published several articles, based on extensive fresh research in relatively inaccessible sources, on the leading members of this group,

Nicholas St. John Green, Chauncey Wright, and Peirce himself. These, much revised and supplemented by chapters on other members—William James, O. W. Holmes, Jr., and John Fiske—are now brought together in book form, with an introductory chapter on the intellectual background and a concluding chapter on the philosophical legacy of these founders of pragmatism, and a series of useful appendices, one of which is devoted to a minor member of the group, Joseph B. Warner. The remaining member, or rather visitor, F. E. Abbot, receives no separate consideration but appears prominently in the chapter on Wright and in the appendix on Warner.

In spite of the wide range of temperament in the Club, and the increasing divergence of the survivors' interests and opinions in later life, Professor Wiener, by sometimes stretching the term "evolution" to cover historical development in general, reveals the unity of a theme and variations in their thinking. His book, rich in unfamiliar detail and incidental insight, thus not only tells the story of an important group of thinkers but sheds fresh light on the role in American thought of the leading idea of the age. It will be read with interest and profit by all serious students of our intellectual history.¹

Since Professor Wiener's book will probably stand as the definitive account of the Metaphysical Club, I venture to add a few observations, not on his connecting theme, but on the Club itself, based for the most part on fragments in the immense collection of Peirce papers in the Harvard Archives which have happened to escape his notice and to catch mine.

Wiener is exercised more than others have been by the fact that, though Peirce makes so much of the Club, there is no reference to it by name in the writings of any of its other members; and he offers an explanation that seems adequate. He does not, however, give sufficient prominence to what are surely references to the Club without the name. He cites uncertainly (p. 130; cf. p. 250 n. 13) James's reminiscence of a meeting of the Club (identified by listing all its regular members but Holmes as present) to discuss Fiske's *Cosmic Philosophy* in the fall of 1874.² And he fails to cite James's briefer mention of a more important

¹ A few clerical errors should be noted. There is a confusion of chronology on pages 20-21. In the last sentence on page 81, "in other reaction" should be "in the other direction." At the middle of page 105, for "Thomas Hodgson" read "Shadworth Hodgson." The quotation from Fiske at the middle of page 143 is sadly mangled. At the middle of page 162, should not "merging" be "emerging"? At the middle of page 173, for "I have never read Voltaire" read "I never have read much of Voltaire."

² Joseph B. Warner, who was present, wrote the review of Fiske's book in the *Atlantic Monthly*, XXV, 616-619 (1875). Its criticisms, which probably echo those voiced at the meeting, resemble those which Chauncey Wright had made of Fiske's master, Herbert Spencer, a decade earlier (*North American Review*, C, 436, 1865).

session in the fall of 1872 at which Peirce "read us an admirable introductory chapter to his book on logic," though it was presumably this meeting at which "the name and doctrine of pragmatism saw the light," and though this seems to be the only contemporary record of the Club. It must have been a still earlier meeting, perhaps in the spring of 1871, at which Peirce expounded his form of realism. He says, in a manuscript not cited by Wiener (I.B. 2. box 11. §2, draft begun 8 April 1909), that this was the only meeting Abbot attended, and he suggests that Abbot may have owed to this meeting the realism of the introduction to his *Scientific Theism* (1885).

Wiener seems (p. 251 n. 15) to chide Paul Weiss for "flatly" saying that it was a fortnightly club. Weiss was relying, I think, on a long autobiographical sketch (I. B. 2. box 11. §2, draft begun 25 March 1909) in which Peirce gives as Article First of the Club's Constitution: "Every fortnight the Metaphysical Club shall be invited by some member to meet in his study. . . ."

In the account most frequently quoted (p. 19), Peirce says: "Nicholas St. John Green . . . often urged the importance of applying Bain's definition of belief, as 'that upon which a man is prepared to act.' From this definition, pragmatism is scarce more than a corollary; so that I am disposed to think of him as the grandfather of pragmatism." R. B. Perry took this to mean that Bain was the grandfather and Green the father. Others assume that Peirce acknowledged paternity, but they differ as to whether he meant to make Green or Bain the grandfather. Wiener (on p. 68 and in his index) votes for Bain. It is not like Peirce to be so ambiguous. Two earlier drafts of the manuscript (drafts d and e in I. B. 1. box 2) show how the ambiguity arose. In the first the passage reads: "Nicholas St. John Green, a profound lawyer, a student of Bentham, had a penetrating mind, wonderfully strong in separating the formalistic chaff of abstract formulae from their wholesome wheat. He was the grandfather of pragmatism. . . ." In the second it originally read: "Nicholas St. John Green . . . was possessed of an extraordinary power of disrobing warm and breathing truth of the draperies of too long worn formulas. I am disposed to think of him as the grandfather of pragmatism." The words "I am disposed to think" were then crossed out and the following substituted: "He eloquently urged the importance of Bain's definition of belief as that upon which a man is prepared to act, from which pragmatism is scarce more than a corollary, so that I am disposed to think &c." It is clear that the reference to Bain was an afterthought, and that Peirce meant to grandfather pragmatism on Green.

Perhaps the greatest single service of Wiener's book is in the excellent

chapter and appendix in which he establishes Green's position of leadership in the group. The only important document he has overlooked is the obituary notice of Green in the *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* (XII, 289-291), which quotes a long letter by "one who was familiar with his modes of thought." I believe this was Peirce. Wiener says (p. 232) that Green appears to have written some book reviews for the *Nation*, but that they have not been identified. One of the *Nation's* account books now in the New York Public Library shows, however, that the notice of Holmes's "Primitive Notions in Modern Law" in the *Nation* for June 8, 1876 (XXII, 367) is by Green. It contains the characteristic judgment that Bentham had done "more for the philosophy of law than all other English writers combined."

Wiener is properly impressed (p. 157) by the "ten closely packed pages of erudite historical references to Aristotle and his scholastic commentators" in Green's 1870 essay on "Proximate and Remote Cause." On the strength of this essay I once suggested that Green may have introduced Peirce to the schoolmen, since published evidence of Peirce's serious study of them dates from his review of Fraser's edition of Berkeley in the *North American Review* in October, 1871, nearly two years after Green's article. More recently, however, I have had occasion to study the collection of books which Peirce sold to the Johns Hopkins Library in 1881, and I find among them nearly all the rare texts which Green cites, most of them with records of purchase by Peirce in 1866-1869 and many with other annotations in his hand going back to those years. It appears, therefore, that it was Peirce who introduced Green to the schoolmen, and Peirce's library that furnished Green's erudition. This is confirmed indirectly by an unpublished fragment in the Houghton Library:

Another member of the Metaphysical Club who directly influenced the present essay, much more directly than Wright, was a profound lawyer . . . Nicholas St. John Green. He made no pretensions as a student of philosophy but attacked the empty scholastic distinctions upon which men's interests were at that time made by the courts to turn. . . . Green did not offer any general formula, but his practical life-concerning interpretation of the Law of Contributory Negligence made a profound impression upon me—more than it would have done if I had not myself devoted some years to the study of the scholastic doctors in the effort to disentangle the wheat from the chaff of their thought.

It is worth noting that when Peirce became Lecturer in Logic at Hopkins, the club he organized there was called, not the Logic, but the Metaphysical Club, and that in some of the topics discussed as well as in

name it echoed the Metaphysical Club he had led at Cambridge earlier in the decade. This second incarnation, if less brilliant, was perhaps even more fertile, and left a full contemporary record of itself. But that is another story.

University of Illinois.

MAX H. FISCH.

COSMIC OPTIMISM: A Study of the Interpretation of Evolution by American Poets from Emerson to Robinson. By Frederick William Conner. Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press. 1949. 458 pp. \$6.00.

Since even the new collaborative *Literary History of the United States* has been censured because in its treatment of the nineteenth century "American science drops almost completely out of the picture" (*Isis*, XL, 303-304), there is surely a great need for studies of the influence of science on our literature. Richard Hofstadter's *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915* (1944), sponsored by the American Historical Association, treats the latter part of the century brilliantly and is invaluable for backgrounds; but Mr. Hofstadter has "not attempted" to treat fiction, which he admits "was one of the most important vehicles by which Darwinism was interpreted to the public," and he devotes himself to sociological writers such as W. G. Sumner and Lester Ward and Dewey who are not usually much stressed in belletristic literature. F. W. Conner's *Cosmic Optimism* supplements the study by Hofstadter, and so far as he goes Mr. Conner writes with very rare incisiveness. Mr. Hofstadter uses the many-sided Dewey "functional" approach which helps us to understand motivation and why people thought as they did in relation to social and economic history; Mr. Conner pays homage to Josiah Royce and A. O. Lovejoy and excels in close logic and precise philosophical distinctions so far as he goes.

Cosmic Optimism is composed of four parts: the first deals with the period "Before Darwin," treating Emerson, Poe's *Eureka*, and Whitman; the second, "After Darwin: Question and Compromise," deals with minor poets, with Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell, Taylor, Lanier, and Holmes; the third, after outlining the "persistence of Teleology" surveys Sill, Stedman, Gilder, Cawein, Hovey, Lodge, and Moody; and the fourth part, "The Twilight of Cosmic Optimism," centers on Robinson. In the various parts, however, Mr. Conner treats a considerable number of minor poets such as J. T. Trowbridge, C. P. Cranch, Jones Very, Boker, Harte, Melville, J. W. Chadwick, Ella W. Wilcox, Boyesen, William Leighton, Charles DeKay, Aldrich, Edgar Fawcett, and Starr Hoyt

Nichols, although he modestly makes "no pretense of completeness" and says that "the number of poets touched upon has been much too small to be thoroughly representative." Indeed, the attempt to study the history of ideas within the limits of one genre such as the poem presents difficulties from the standpoint of what is representative of the complete trend of American thought, and it would be interesting to ascertain to what extent Mr. Conner's findings regarding the poets square with findings in other forms such as the novel or the essay. He concludes that "the poets showed a large measure of agreement," and that "their debt to science appeared to be very slight, limited largely to vocabulary, imagery, and the bare fact that certain evolutions had occurred" (p. vii). While Mr. Conner entitles his Whitman chapter (probably his best) as representing the "High Tide" of his subject, he concludes that "notwithstanding his extravagant and persistent praise of science, its influence upon him was never more than skin deep" (p. 95) and that neither Emerson nor Whitman "owed anything of consequence to Darwin" (p. 131).

The question should be raised, perhaps, whether unconsciously Mr. Conner, in reaching these somewhat negative conclusions, has not been led to "slant" his work a bit because of his idealistic presuppositions drawn from Royce and other idealists or logicians. He says he took his title from the words of an authority on seventeenth-century Puritans who argues that "if the creation is ruled by God's will, and His will is itself the norm of justice and equity, the universe must be essentially good. They may be described as cosmic optimists." Hence, Mr. Conner adds, "The theme of the present work may thus be said to be the interpretation of evolution as a progress that is inevitable because in some sense it is divinely motivated" (p. viii). However adequate the interpretation of seventeenth-century Puritanism may be, it would seem to the present reviewer that it would be important to distinguish more sharply between the terms as used in that century and as used two centuries later, for isn't there quite a difference between Edwards's "angry God" and Emerson's depersonalized benevolent God? And do not justice and equity change radically in meaning from Edwards to Holmes, as the latter's fiery essay on Edwards suggests? Possibly a bit more prefatory attention to broad movements such as Scientific Deism, Unitarianism, Transcendentalism, Realism, and Naturalism would have helped to place the study in better perspective.

The chapter on Poe, brilliant as far as it goes, is practically limited to *Eureka*, mainly ignoring his poems and the way in which Newtonian and related ideas carried over to Poe's literary theory and practice (artistry);

but of course Miss Margaret Alterton and Mr. Hardin Craig can be used to supplement Mr. Conner on this matter. Indeed, the book as a whole seems to suffer considerably from delimitation, from not following out the implications of evolution and the way in which it provided major premises for many logical deductions. Perhaps in treating poets alone one should not expect too much of science as related to political and economic theory (Spencerian sanction for unrestricted or ruthless competition), determinism, etc., but it would seem a pity that Mr. Conner did not make the most of the evidence regarding the influence of science on purely literary or aesthetic theory and form in the case of such figures as Holmes ("Physiology of Versification") and Lanier, not to mention Sill. The reader would also welcome more evidence regarding the actual means by which Americans came to know British and Continental scientists; the American reviews of the successive books by men such as Spencer would be illuminating, especially if one tried to explain why the reviewers reacted as they did. The *Popular Science Monthly*, for example, is not mentioned either in the bibliography or index nor is Malthus, to whom Darwin admitted his indebtedness and who had considerable American vogue. Finally, granting that Mr. Conner's topic is "Optimism," it would seem that he tends to underestimate the countermovement of pessimism in relation to Darwinism, and to let "soft" or idealistic evolution overshadow "hard" evolution of the sort represented by Jack London, not mentioned in the index. Indeed, Mr. Conner remarks, "In the absence of an influential school of naturalistic and positivistic thought like that which included Huxley, Tyndall, Spencer, Harrison, and Lewes in England, it was easy to reject evolution in whole or in part, as Bryant and Lanier did, or to ignore it like Longfellow, or, under the promptings of Fiske, Drummond, the Beechers, and others, to accept it in a modified form compatible with the theistic view" (p. 165). Is it really true that America had no "influential school of naturalistic or positivistic thought" up to that time?

It seems to me that if the book were oriented in a balanced way, the findings regarding the poets might appear more clearly as only a part of the total picture. For much more might have been done as background with writers such as Lester Ward, W. G. Sumner, Ingersoll, the later Mark Twain, F. E. Abbot (and the spokesmen of "Free Religion" whom Stow Persons has chronicled so ably), Henry Adams, Harold Frederic, Crane, Norris, London, the earlier Dreiser, and Herrick and others who questioned whether the creation was the expression of a benevolently divine "justice and equity," and who (not poets any more

than Mr. Conner's Harrison and Lewes) might be considered as constituting the kind of "school" of nonoptimistic evolutionists which he thinks our poets lacked. The books on American freethought by Albert Post and Sidney Warren will of course add greatly to this list. But if Mr. Conner is not quite up to his usual high level in accounting for the decline of cosmic optimism, his later chapters contain a good deal of important evidence from poems showing that the harsher aspects of the struggle for existence were increasingly recognized. Perhaps he has not been quite fair to his own good work in summarizing his thesis in the preface.

But putting aside questions of bias and balanced orientation, Mr. Conner deserves commendation for assembling such a wealth of fresh evidence, especially from little-known poems. His fifty-six pages of notes testify to his precision and honest willingness to lay his cards on the table. It is to be hoped that his work will inspire a counterstudy, a history of American theories of the cause and cure of evil, balancing theories of pessimism against optimism, and studies of the influence of evolution on other genres such as fiction and the drama and the critical essay. His style is crisp and pleasing, and the book is attractive in format.

University of Wisconsin.

HARRY HAYDEN CLARK.

IMAGES OR SHADOWS OF DIVINE THINGS. By Jonathan Edwards. Edited by Perry Miller. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1948. 151 pp. \$2.75.

Once more Professor Perry Miller takes the palm for interpretative originality. Whereas former scholars saw in Edwards's itemized notes on *Images or Shadows* only typical Puritan moralizations on commonplace events, he cast a perceptive eye on them and came to the arresting conclusion that they represent Edwards's bold venture "to work out a new sense of the divinity of nature and the naturalness of divinity." Accordingly, he whom others have dubbed a staunch Calvinist should really be called "the first American empiricist."

So runs this new view. What is the evidence for it? According to Professor Miller, Edwards was disturbed by the fact that the classical Puritan notions of the "plain style" in sacred rhetoric had become seriously corrupted by a homiletical method that "spiritualized" ordinary objects and events merely to excite the ear of the flagging pew.

A good sample may be found in Cotton Mather's *Agricola, or the Religious Husbandman* (1727), which was admittedly patterned after John Flavel's *Husbandry Spiritualized* (1669). Mather points out some famil-

iar trade, event, or object, calls attention to its ordinary functions and values, and then extracts from it a more or less trite moral. Thus one finds moralizations on the tradesman, the carpenter, the kitchen kettle, the fire, the seasons. "In all the literature," says Professor Miller, "there is nothing more tedious than this 'spiritualizing.' "

Revolting against such moralistic dribble, with its strained and irresponsible tropes, Edwards sought a rhetorical style that would more effectively translate Christian truth. In *Image* 174, he warned of the "danger" of "giving way to fancy" and of seeing in the "confused appearances" of fire or of clouds "images of men and beasts." His art required a closer correspondence between concept and reality, between the image and the object. In other words, while he did not exclude the use of lively rhetorical figures, he contended that they should be carefully chosen so as to convey the inner meaning of the spiritual life.

These *Images* thus indicate that Edwards hoped to find in a purified "typology" a means of renovating current sacred rhetoric. Typology, incidentally, was being generally revived in New England at this time. In fact, interest in the method of "spiritualization" and in that of typology ran parallel with each other in New England. Actually, they not only ran parallel with each other; they sometimes were allied.

Now typology was already an ancient form of interpreting the rhetoric of the Scriptures; it extended at least to Origen's time. According to it, a Biblical event is a "type" of a basic spiritual event, or "antitype." Thus, Jonah in the whale's belly typifies Christ's burial; manna in the wilderness, Christ the Bread of Life; the Mosaic tabernacle, the Gospel tabernacle.

Edwards observed in *Image* 45 that "the type is only the representation or shadow of the thing, but the antitype is the very substance and is the true thing." Nevertheless, for Edwards, there is such a close analogy between the natural and the spiritual world that the type truly prefigures, or even adumbrates, the antitype. Commenting on *Image* 203, he says that "External things are intended to be images of things spiritual, moral, and divine."

This brings us to what Professor Miller thinks is Edwards's chief contribution to typological method. By employing Newtonian and Lockean insights, Edwards boldly extended the method to the whole universe. To him, "There is an harmony between the methods of God's providence in the natural and religious world." Hence, logically, the "type" and the "antitype" involve each other in such intimacy that revelation cannot be confined to the Bible. Indeed, Miller concludes that Edwards carried his theory to the place where he really subordinated

Scripture to a direct perception of God through natural images. One may, according to Edwards, listen to God's spoken word in the Bible, but, better still, one may "see Him in images." This, says Miller, "is Edwards' peculiar and inspired conception."

From this perspective, Edwards is regarded as "moving with the times." Far from being a Calvinist, he is in truth a transitional thinker whose logic pointed in the direction of "Emersonian naturalism." Paradoxically, therefore, he who formally scorned the new naturalism became in effect its forerunner.

There is room here only to remark that if this new thesis holds water, all previous interpretations of Edwards are in for a drastic overhauling. In order to reach a decisive conclusion, much more is needed, however, than the facts brought to light in this manuscript on *Images or Shadows of Divine Things*. While a few of these *Images* do indeed contain elements that give some support to Professor Miller's unconventional claims, they seem quite insufficient to lead one assuredly to believe that Edwards ever intended to subordinate Biblical revelation to the authority of natural reason.

But however that may be, the reviewer is deeply grateful for the mental stimulus of Professor Miller's brilliant introductory essay. It is a model in precision, coherence, and clarity. The Yale Press, true to form, has issued a volume worthy of its contents.

Duke University.

H. SHELTON SMITH.

ISAIAH THOMAS: *Printer, Patriot and Philanthropist, 1749-1831*. By Clifford K. Shipton. Rochester, New York: The Printing House of Leo Hart. 1948. xii, 94 pp. \$5.00.

This latest biography of Isaiah Thomas was not designed to supplant popular biographies like Annie Russell Marble's *From 'Prentice to Patron* but rather to provide in brief compass an account of his career for those interested in the history of printing and bookmaking. Mr. Shipton, through his work as librarian of the American Antiquarian Society and writer of the biographical sketches of early Harvard graduates, has acquired an enviable knowledge of the manuscript and printed holdings of New England libraries. Readers should not be surprised at his statement, therefore, that he has added one-third new material to what has been published, or at his frank admission that much digging remains to be done before the definitive biography of Thomas is written.

Mr. Shipton gives a straightforward and very readable account of the various stages in the rise of Thomas from poor apprentice to wealthy

printer and publisher. No attempt is made to gloss over Thomas's very human frailties, or, on the other hand, to underestimate the real contributions he made. His *History of Printing* still remains the best single source for the study of early American printing, and the American Antiquarian Society, which he founded, continues its work as one of the great research libraries of the country. Unfortunately, the source material for certain important periods in Thomas's early years is thin. We should like to know more about his difficulties in Halifax, his stay in the Southern colonies, and his printing activities in Boston just prior to the outbreak of the Revolution. It might be pointed out here that the author errs on the side of brevity in his treatment of the John Mein incident (p. 17). It was the publication by the latter of manifests of imports into Boston, showing that many Boston merchants were violating the nonimportation agreements they had signed, that led to the action against him.

While Thomas was a good printer judged by the standards of his day, it was as a publisher that he was to make his greatest contribution. He early established the practice of setting up his apprentices as partners in branch establishments, and from their presses there issued a steady stream of almanacs, children's books, schoolbooks, and musical and religious works. He also made various attempts to publish literary magazines, the most notable venture, the *Massachusetts Magazine*, lasting from 1788 until 1796. It is estimated that Thomas and his partners issued over nine hundred imprints, exceeding by a good margin the number claimed for Franklin and his partners. The author has good reason for saying that "Thomas was the most important American printer and publisher of his generation" (p. 52).

The reviewer has noticed two minor slips in the study: Jeremiah Belknap is better known by the name Jeremy Belknap (p. 48), and Jedidiah Morse's first name is misspelled (p. 55). The volume is attractively printed, contains excellent illustrations, and is in every way a worthy addition to the series "The Printers' Valhalla."

Massachusetts Historical Society.

STEPHEN T. RILEY.

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER. By James Grossman. "American Men of Letters Series." New York: William Sloane Associates. 1949. x, 273 pp. \$3.50.

This volume of the new "American Men of Letters Series" contains, as every biography should, the main facts of the author's life. Cooper had a varied, colorful career, with boyhood years in the frontier village of Cooperstown, a few years of education in Albany and New Haven,

training for the U. S. Navy in sailing ships, marriage into the wealthy DeLancey family of Westchester County, experiences as a gentleman farmer, the writing of early successful tales, seven years of traveling and authorship in Europe, and final years of writing and controversy in Cooperstown. Mr. Grossman has narrated these facts in as much detail as a short biography permits.

In his thirty years as a man of letters Cooper published over fifty books, also many articles for magazines and newspapers. With much labor and considerable literary skill Mr. Grossman has summarized the plots of all these works, and has compiled a most useful reference guide for readers and students. He usually adds a personal criticism of each book. The good books are praised, and the poorer books are condemned. Liking the Leather-Stocking Tales, he summarizes the action of each in the series, and adds personal, critical comments. "*The Pioneers* is a varied and unhurried unfolding of all the aspects of life through the four seasons of the year in a raw frontier settlement like Cooperstown in 1793. . . . The reader responds with an embarrassed enthusiasm to the simplest materials: the cold of winter, the warmth of household fires, Christmas cheer in the tavern, the congregation in the unfinished Academy that serves as a church, night-fishing on the lake, the morning spent in shooting the endless flock of pigeons returning northward in the spring." He finds that the interrelated stories of Natty Bumppo, Chingachgook, Judge Temple, and Elizabeth Temple form "one of the most profitable and interesting of Cooper's novels." "*The Last of the Mohicans*, Cooper's most famous and most widely read work, is his first great adventure story of Indian fighting and perhaps his best. . . . The doom of the Indians . . . was later to become a true theme with Cooper." He finds merit in Cooper's characterization of Leather-Stocking in *The Prairie* as "a very old man living alone on the Great Plains, surrounded by fierce Indian tribes," who "has become almost a formal philosopher of the 'natural' life and of the true equality of all men." In *The Pathfinder* Cooper "combined his two best subjects, a ship and Indian fighting," and gave to "his greatest character . . . a new role, that of a lover." In *The Deerslayer* "The unspoiled beauty of Otsego Lake . . . dominates the story and gives it a tone of deep and lovely unreality." "Leather-Stocking is a sophisticated being . . . who has judiciously tempered the methods of warfare learned from the Delawares with Christian doctrine learned from the Moravian missionaries. In the Leather-Stocking Tales, therefore, "Natty in keeping clear of civilization's responsibilities and errors has held on to its higher and also its pleasanter values. The primitive forest in which he lives in his youth and the naked

plains on which he dies are scenes of horror and violence because of the deeds of the other white characters in the story, but for Natty they are always the great good places. . . . Natty turns the wilderness into a salon and indulges with every newcomer the passion for endless talk."

Like Joseph Conrad, Mr. Grossman has read with pleasure some of Cooper's sea tales, finding *Homeward Bound* "one of Cooper's freshest novels and for a landsman, one of his finest sea tales." *Afloat and Ashore*, with its sequel *Miles Wallingford*, forms "a splendid collection of exciting adventures in which action and commentary interrupt each other to their mutual advantage so that we never tire of either."

His discussion of the Anti-Rent novels, *Satanstoe*, *The Chainbearer*, and *The Redskins*, is excellent, for here he uses his legal knowledge of the struggle between the patroon landlords and their tenants. He concludes: "A judiciary that took decades to say the last word could not preserve a system daily attacked by an urgent popular movement. Before Cooper died [1851], many of the landlords gave up and sold out. Some of their land was bought by speculators who kept up a bitter and losing struggle for years to collect rent, managing in the end to ruin only themselves and some of the more determined farmers who opposed them." Cooper wrote the Anti-Rent novels to plead the legal rights of inherited property, and to exalt "the social value of the relation of landlord and tenant, by allowing each landlord to show himself as a civilized and civilizing character." Cooper, however, by overlooking these "strenuous ideas" wrote a "charming book" in *Satanstoe*, with its hero, Cornelius Littlepage, who enjoys the social life of New York and Albany, in the more serene days before the Revolution. A poorer book is *The Chainbearer*, whose hero is Mordaunt Littlepage, the son of Cornelius, living in the unsettled years after the Revolution. A still poorer book is *The Redskins*, whose hero is Hugh Littlepage, the grandson of Mordaunt, "a gay absentee landlord" who is forced to sneak into his own house, "disguised as a wandering alien." Mr. Grossman, concerned with Cooper's questionable propaganda, finds these to be poor books, but they reveal their author's power in character portrayal, and his vigor in caricature and satire.

Mr. Grossman analyzes briefly, but not inaccurately, Cooper's non-fiction, especially *A Letter to His Countrymen*, *Notions of the Americans*, the five travel books, *The Chronicles of Cooperstown*, *The American Democrat*, and the *Naval History*. Writing for possible readers of 1949, he does not convey much enthusiasm for them; but advanced students, investigating the political and social history of the Jackson-Van Buren period, will find that they contain primary source material.

With his knowledge of libel laws and suits, Mr. Grossman might have aided the readers of Cooper's books in an estimate of the suits against the Whig newspaper editors. Such biographers as Lounsbury, Boynton, and Spiller have given the history of these suits. Miss Ethel R. Outland has written a defense of the publishers in *The "Effingham" Labels on Cooper*, and Dr. Dorothy Waples has approved of Cooper's legal action in *The Whig Myth of Fenimore Cooper*. Somewhere between the positions of these extremists lies the right one. A comparison might be made of the New York libel laws of 1949 with those of a hundred years ago. Perhaps Cooper did valuable service to the authors of the past hundred years in gaining victories in the courts. Certainly the suits cannot be brushed aside by calling Cooper a "crusty curmudgeon."

Since Mr. Grossman is a discerning appraiser of Cooper's character and writings in their entirety, it may be well to quote some of his able, thoughtful statements.

Cooper's literary career, beginning haphazardly without conscious preparation or plan and advancing rapidly to world fame, in its apparently eccentric course from the time of the European experience onward touches on almost every situation that can confront the American writer or that criticism insists on confronting him with. The questions so often argued since are thoroughly argued in Cooper's work and in contemporary criticism of it: whether an American writer expatriates himself and loses touch with his own country by living abroad; whether it is dangerous for his development to write on "foreign" subjects; the extent to which he should be influenced by popular opinion and, conversely, should try to influence it; his role in American civilization, and his duty both to represent and to create it.

His creative energy burst forth amid his fiercest quarrels with the press. . . . While he seems perversely bent on taking stand against time itself, [he has] sudden tragic glimpses that every present moment of living is in some form a treachery to the past. . . . He never found a wholly adequate symbol in which to concentrate his tragic vision, perhaps because in the depths of his nature his heart was cheerful, and the bitterness was on the surface. . . . The vision remains scattered and fragmentary, distributed among his best and his poorest works. . . . But to know his best and to enjoy it fully, his other work, his very failures, must also be taken into the reckoning.

The University of North Carolina.

GREGORY L. PAINE.

THE HISTRIONIC MR. POE. By N. Bryllion Fagin. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1949. xi, 289 pp. \$4.00.

The expected deluge of Poe books in the centennial year of his death did not materialize. One is led to speculate on this phenomenon: Has

the Poe legend finally run its course? Have the revaluations of Poe's literary merits convinced American readers that Poe is more significant as a myth and as a seminal source than as a creative genius in his own right? Have Hollywood sentimentalities and H-bomb horrors so far outdistanced the master as to leave no room in our thoughts for him?

Professor Fagin has, as he disarmingly admits, written another book about the "riddle of Poe's personality" which he hopes will fall into place as part of "the figure in the carpet." Poe, he says, "has himself become literature—myth, romance, poetry. To try to understand the nature of this myth, the personality of this romance, the texture of this poetry, seems to me an aim which needs no other justification." If one admits the fundamental assumptions here—that a literary personality is comparable to a picture puzzle, and that a literary figure may become more interesting as a personality than as an artist—the justification is sufficient. However, Professor Fagin is not content to write about Poe within these limits. "In the end," he concludes, "it is only as a creator that Poe endures and is real. All else is of minor importance." Proceeding on the assumption that Poe's work is great, he shows us how skilfully Poe achieved his ends through the disciplines of the dramatist, stage designer, actor, and director.

The Histrionic Mr. Poe springs from Poe's frequent use of the phrase "literary histrio" in his critical writing. In six well-documented chapters Professor Fagin assembles critical and biographical evidence to prove that Poe entrenched himself securely behind a proscenium; felt "vicarious experience as though it were his own . . . and his own experience as though it were vicarious"; was the "playwright, actor, *regisseur*, scene-designer, and, to a large extent, audience" of his poems and stories. Out of this kinship, conscious and unconscious, with the arts of the theater, this mastery of theatrical contrivance, this elaboration of parts revealing the many facets of his complex personality, Professor Fagin argues, came the world of Poe: "strange and weird, fitfully lighted, and peopled with dim figures that move fantastically and speak a haunting, cadenced language." In the midst of this world stands Poe, the black-cloaked wizard, with a pleased smile on his face, answering the curtain calls that the "bravos" of a pleased public command.

It has long been known that Poe was a clever fellow when it came to making the most of the slender stock of abilities he possessed. The evidence piled up here substantiates that fact: Poe the frustrated actor, Poe the unsuccessful playwright, Poe the elocutionist, Poe the limelighter, Poe the sound-effects man, Poe the egoist. But Professor Fagin wants us to accept Poe's creations as well as their creator. His subtle hints are

ever present: "Poetry, too, has many mansions. In them many distinctive voices have spoken: those of Shakespeare, Donne, Pope,—and Poe." "Poe had the faculty of subjecting himself . . . to the discipline of his artistry. In this he was, of course, not different from other creative spirits. Who can tell where Melville disappears in Ahab or Dostoievsky in Raskolnikov?" Or Poe in Roderick Usher! When the curtain has rung down for the last time on Poe the creator, the black-cloaked wizard, what does the audience remember? An Ahab, a Raskolnikov, a Hamlet, or a compass? Not at all. It remembers Poe, the master of legerdemain and, Henry James to the contrary, art is not legerdemain.

Poe wrote that "most writers . . . would positively shudder at letting the public take a peep behind the scenes, at . . . the cock's feathers, the red paint and the black patches, which in ninety-nine cases out of the hundred, constitute the properties of the literary *histrio*." Indeed, all of us may well shudder at being taken behind the scenes. For all his histrionic skill, his "orchestration" of the parts into an "artistic unity" Poe remains the artificer who could only wish that he might sing so wildly well as the angel Israfel. Professor Fagin's study has not shown that creations of red paint and black patches truly endure.

Illinois Institute of Technology.

MENTOR L. WILLIAMS.

LOWELL: *Essays, Poems and Letters*. Selected and Edited by William Smith Clark II. New York: The Odyssey Press. 1948. \$2.50.

Since the valuable new collaborative *Literary History of the United States* (I, 603) concludes that Lowell's career was a "failure," I suppose we owe a debt to anyone who tries to advance the understanding of Lowell. For whether we like it or not, Lowell as poet, editor, familiar essayist, political commentator, literary critic, nature writer, humorist, professor, and ambassador did actually have enormous influence on American civilization which it behooves us all to understand before we indulge in subjective value-judgments.

Lowell: Essays, Poems, and Letters, edited and selected by Professor William S. Clark II, should be useful and has some distinctive features. The thirty-five-page documented introduction is appreciative and sympathetic, and is divided into six sections: "The Elmwood Squire," "The Romantic and the Mystic," "Hypochondriac and Wit," "The Yankee Poet," "The Humane Critic," and "A Fixed Star in the New England Galaxy." Mr. Clark tends to subordinate Lowell's political and aesthetic-critical ideas to his stress on indigenous and regional writings and his whimsies. Eight essays are included, from "A Moosehead Journal"

(1853) through "Don Quixote" (*ca.* 1882-1884), and fifteen poems. Nearly a third of the book is devoted to fifty-nine letters, three and a half of which (if not very important) have been hitherto unpublished. Mr. Clark says that his is "the first extensive annotation of Lowell's writings," overlooking the excellent annotations in the anthology by H. M. Jones and E. E. Leisy.

However, if an anthologist is supposed to include those writings of an author which by common critical agreement are regarded as best and most representative, this book does seem to have some shortcomings. Lowell himself confessed that "Rousseau and the Sentimentalists" (which Mr. Clark includes) "is not one of my best," and it seems unfortunate to omit the central essays on Dante, Shakespeare, and Wordsworth. It seems as if there should be a brief selection, at least, from "My Garden Acquaintance" (representing his relish for nature) and the "Harvard Anniversary Address" (representing his educational ideals). It seems even more difficult to justify the omission of Lowell's meaty "Washers of the Shroud," "Three Memorial Poems," "Agassiz," and the "Ode Recited at the Harvard Commemoration." Why include "Eleanor Makes Macaroons" and omit such civic or "public verse"—a type which modernists such as Archibald MacLeish have been exalting? On the other hand, the many teachers who wish to trace an author's steady development from earliest youth, may well deplore the omission of all poems or essays before 1848. (The bibliography not only omits G. W. Cooke's indispensable *Bibliography*, with its leads to a multitude of uncollected writings, but two whole volumes of basic writings of Lowell himself—*Conversations on Some Old Poets* (1845), and *The Round Table* (1913)—not to mention interpretative studies by Walter Blair, Jeannette Tandy, Marie Killheffer, and Russel Nye, the use of which would have aided greatly in illuminating Mr. Clark's own particular stress on the indigenous, the dialectical, and the regional. Mr. Clark's most striking innovation is to include and praise "Fitz Adams's Story," a ten-page rather pointless dialect poem about a deacon who tries to cheat in measuring loads of brimstone in Hell; but think what good poems had to be omitted to get this one in! The book as a whole will hardly enable one to refute those who, like Vernon Parrington, consider that Lowell was weak in ideas and had an "inveterate unwillingness to think." On the whole, granted the good features mentioned, the book seems to me inadequate as a means of giving an advanced student an idea of the *development* of Lowell's mind and art and an idea of his *versatility* and range, not to mention what major critics have considered his very *best* work. But Mr. Clark's

appealing revelation on a "delightful personality" may serve to stimulate students to explore more serious aspects of Lowell's thought and artistry.

University of Wisconsin.

HARRY HAYDEN CLARK.

MARK TWAIN TO MRS. FAIRBANKS. Edited by Dixon Wecter. San Marino, California: The Huntington Library. 1949. xxx, 286 pp. \$5.00.

Of all the friendships Mark Twain formed on the *Quaker City Excursion*, that with Mary Mason ("Mother") Fairbanks was the warmest and the most enduring. One month after his return from the Holy Land in 1867, he wrote to her, beginning a correspondence that lasted until her death in 1898. Most of Clemens's letters have been preserved, but have heretofore been known to students only in manuscript or through the brief but enticing extracts included in the works of Wagenknecht, Ferguson, and others. Available generally, then, for the first time are some one hundred letters from Mark Twain to the woman, nine years his senior, who during the greater part of his career acted as his literary adviser, confidante, and friend.

Mr. Dixon Wecter has done an admirable job of presenting these letters. Though never cumbersome, his editorial apparatus is quite extensive. In addition to providing a full introduction and copious annotations, he has prefaced most of the letters with introductory headnotes that serve as running commentary. Perhaps his most notable editorial device is to include generous portions of supplementary letters (some published here for the first time) that bear upon Clemens and upon his relationship with Mrs. Fairbanks. Among these are: (1) letters from Mark Twain to his mother and sister (originals in the possession of Mr. Samuel C. Webster); (2) letters from Mark Twain to the Solon Severances of Cleveland (reproduced from the privately printed *Journal Letters of Emily A. Severance*); (3) a few especially interesting letters from Mrs. Fairbanks to Mark Twain (originals in the Mark Twain Papers); (4) letters from Mark Twain to Jervis Langdon (originals in the Jervis Langdon Papers, Elmira); (5) letters from Olivia Langdon and her mother to Mrs. Fairbanks (originals in the possession of Mr. Thomas Nast Fairbanks, grandson of Mark Twain's friend); and (6) letters from Mark Twain to Olivia Langdon (originals in the possession of Clara Clemens Samossoud).

The value of this editorial equipment is considerable. It clarifies allusions and supplies the necessary historical setting. It also corroborates a number of Mark Twain's statements, which, thus verified, add to our knowledge of Twain biography. Anyone wishing, for instance, to re-

trace Clemens's steps on one of his lecture tours would benefit from the specific places and dates here revealed, several of which correct statements of earlier biographers. Finally, the supplementary letters, by revealing Clemens from several angles, tend to add a dimension to his portrait.

In the later years the letters to Mrs. Fairbanks thin out, both in number and in substance. Clemens devotes much space to feigned scoldings of his friend for her failure to visit at Hartford; and the usual banter—much of it on the "mother-son" theme—inevitably becomes forced. It is in the early years of their friendship that the letters are most important. For it was at this time that Clemens, in what the editor calls his "*Drang nach Osten*," was most subject to her influence. A conventional woman, Mrs. Fairbanks sought to refine Mark Twain by inducing him to purify his language and abandon his wilder literary habits. There is no question that in part she succeeded, but the editor warns against believing the transformation to be sudden or due solely to her. She merely hastened a process already under way, says Mr. Wecter. And although he does not care to reopen the question of the female-dominated Clemens, it is clear that he believes Mrs. Fairbanks's influence to have been for the best, as it probably was.

The letters suggest a tendency of Mrs. Fairbanks to exploit Mark Twain. By her own admission she took pride—both maternal and professional—in his rise, and seems fully to have enjoyed her role of mentor. But although he may at times have resented her office—as, for example, when she urged the use of his influence to get her son Charles a post under President Garfield; or when she reproved him for turning against his old friend Dan Slote—he always placed a high value on their friendship.

"To women," says the editor, "he sometimes disclosed an aspect of his character and sensibility rarely suspected by the average reader of Clemens' books." He did so to Mrs. Fairbanks, and we are fortunate now to have the record of that revelation.

Editorial errors are few: for "you" (p. 21, l. 8) and for "Alta" (p. 23, letter of March 10, l. 1) read "you" and "Alta" respectively; for "wait" (p. 19, l. 4) read "await"; for "title" (p. 85, l. 4) read "tittle [sic]"; as on p. 44, l. 2; for "proofs," (p. 87, l. 7) read "proofs.;" for "to get it out (p. 40, l. 22) read "& get it out"; for "pity enough" (p. xiii, n. 3) read "piety enough"; and for "pledged" (p. 87, l. 14) read "fledged." The errors are minor ones. On the whole the book is edited with care and understanding.

University of Missouri.

LEON T. DICKINSON.

THE CROOKED CORRIDOR: *A Study of Henry James*. By Elizabeth Stevenson. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1949. 172 pp. \$2.75.

Believing "the proper study of Henry James is the study of his fiction," Miss Stevenson limits herself in *The Crooked Corridor* to presenting conclusions she has reached from the reading of his fiction. Part One quickly surveys the main facts of James's life "only in its bearing upon the fiction." Part Two surveys the subject matter of the fiction and states James's scope as "his equation of the individual plus society equaling story" (p. 39). Expanding this generalization and reinforcing it with minor generalizations in Parts Three and Four, Miss Stevenson sees every story and novel of James as illustrating in some way her main thesis, "James shows how society makes and unmakes the man, and also how, at the same time, man makes and unmakes himself." This, baldly stated on p. 74, is the point to which Miss Stevenson returns again and again as she surveys James's fiction. The reader of James agrees with the generalization which is broad enough to allow for variation in practice—and which, incidentally, was the theme of Turgenev and George Eliot, of Shakespeare and Goethe, and of many, many other great writers—but longs for James's more kindly phrasing of the problem of the individual versus the world or the universe (terms James preferred to "society"). The struggle of the individual in James's fiction, while no less real, is, however, more shaded, more subtle, more normally conceived and more sympathetically presented, than it seems to be when scrutinized and presented by Miss Stevenson.

Perhaps this is because Miss Stevenson has overlooked or slighted much of the self-revelatory writing of Henry James. She claims to have made "full use" of his reviews, formal critical essays, travel sketches; she refers occasionally to the essay, "The Art of Fiction," and to some of the Prefaces, but she ignores the very illuminating disclosures of the recently published *Notebooks*, and she does not include in her list of books consulted James's three early collections of essays—*French Poets and Novelists*, *Partial Portraits*, *Essays in London and Elsewhere*—nor does she seem to have used Phillips's indispensable *Bibliography* as a guide to the uncollected reviews. She thus misses many clues to understanding James from his remarks on other novelists, and she fails to see what is most significant with James—his development from imitative, traditional beginnings to highly individual and distinctly new techniques, new approaches, and new attitudes in his later fiction. In fact, all fiction from the pen of James appears to the reader of Miss Stevenson's book to be of equal importance; critical discrimination and evaluation are want-

ing. Nor is there detailed or sustained criticism of individual works; Miss Stevenson touches upon aspects of the novels or stories only as they illustrate her conclusions.

A somewhat angular, disjointed style complicates rather than clarifies Miss Stevenson's presentation. A tendency to constant modification and rephrasing of her remarks, frequent and successive use of "but" and "yet" as she labors to fit reluctant evidence to her generalizations make for difficulty in grasping her points. She seems thus to have been influenced adversely by James's style—where his meaning becomes clearer with each modification or ramification, her meaning becomes less clear. Such contradictions as occur on page 39, "The fact that he was the last great novelist of the twentieth century who could assume a stable society is an important fact" and five sentences later "James in his own life was certain that the world was collapsible" confuse the reader. To consider Verena Tarrant of *The Bostonians* a "real *jeune fille*" (p. 71); to speak of her as standing to James for art and its refinements (p. 96); to think that Mme de Mauves became a Carmelite nun (p. 36); to claim that James's house in Rye (whither he moved in 1897) was very likely the model for Mr. Carteret's house in *The Tragic Muse*, published seven years before; to follow a generalization about characters who "have room to commit sins upon a large scale" (p. 44), with an instancing of Roderick Hudson and Isabel Archer who are more sinned against than sinning; such misrepresentations and others point to a too hasty reading of James and a too rushed writing of this interpretation.

Such haste is unfortunate, for there are indeed some excellent and valuable pages in Miss Stevenson's book. Her analysis of James's humor, as part of her discussion in Part Five: Attitudes; her analysis of his melodrama; her presentation of his use of point of view in Part Six: Means—these are, in each case, brief, pointed, illuminating, suggestive. They reveal a growing mastery of the material as the book progresses, an ability to analyze. One regrets that Miss Stevenson did not devote a few more years and a more extensive search to the tremendous task of evaluating the fiction of Henry James as it deserves to be evaluated.

University of Illinois.

CORNELIA PULSIFER KELLEY.

THE COMPLETE PLAYS OF HENRY JAMES. Edited by Leon Edel. Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1949. 846 pp.
\$10.00.

This book makes it possible for the first time to see the extent of James's interest in the drama, the quality of his plays, and their relation

to his total production. Mr. Edel has brought to definitive conclusion the work he began many years ago in his doctoral thesis, *Henry James: Les Années Dramatiques* (1931). Here are eleven full-length plays, with eight shorter pieces and variants, the texts based on study of all available copies. Of the plays only five (six, if we include the privately printed *Guy Domville*) have previously been accessible to the public. A general introduction of fifty pages traces James's interest in the drama from his boyhood, recorded in *A Small Boy and Others*, nearly to the end of his life: the sprightly monologue for Miss Ruth Draper was written as late as 1913. For each of the nineteen texts a circumstantial introduction is given, based on many unpublished sources, and upon interviews with stage people of the nineties who survived into the period of Mr. Edel's studies. Noteworthy among these special introductions is the one on the ill-fated *Guy Domville*. Known to us chiefly through scattered anecdotes, the whole affair is now put into proper perspective. The anecdotes have been sifted, the press notices carefully analyzed, and a genuinely moving narrative of the first night emerges. *Guy Domville*, of course, remains a failure, but not such an abject one as has sometimes been thought. For *The Saloon*, James's dramatization of the story "Owen Wingrave," Mr. Edel also does much. Included in his introduction are two letters of G. B. Shaw, urging James to change the ending of the play so that Owen would emerge victorious over the family ghost; in this way Shaw thought the play would be more suitable for the Stage Society, which contemplated producing it. Shaw's two letters, and James's long replies, appreciative of Shaw's interest but unconvinced by his logic, are characteristic of the two men. Shaw seems always to have taken Henry James seriously as a dramatist. The present collection of the plays gives us the opportunity to do so.

Are the plays, then, of real merit? Mr. Edel says merely that "They are more than literary curiosities," and that "They can be read—some of them—for intrinsic merit. . . ." In view of his unmatched familiarity with the plays, one wishes he had taken a few pages to elaborate this judgment, especially since the reader who begins at the beginning will doubt its soundness. The three early playlets are surely no more than "literary curiosities," of interest only because James wrote them. And few readers will consider as improvements the happy endings supplied for the dramatizations of *Daisy Miller* and *The American*. The four plays published by James in his two volumes of *Theatricals* have, it is true, some good scenes and characters, but as plays they seem slight and "dated"—though less so than *Guy Domville*. It is the late plays, those of 1907 to 1909, when James was in his sixties, that have most vitality. Of

these, *The Saloon* and *The High Bid*, a comedy about a young M.P. who is heir to a heavily mortgaged estate, and his rescue by an American widow, had moderate stage success. *The Outcry*, a play on the raids of American art collectors, was highly esteemed by Granville-Barker and was seriously considered for production. *The Other House*, James's only murder story, is so intense an experience for a reader that it is hard to see why it was never produced, or why it is not attempted now. The murder of a widower's child by the jealous girl who hopes to ruin her rival has a violence which James beautifully points up against the familiar English gentility of the setting. Reading all of James's dramas, like reading extensively in his fiction, convinces one that James, far more than most writers, had tremendous vitality, tremendous capacity to work, to learn, and to grow.

Why, then, was James not more successful as a dramatist? It is easy to say that he came to the theater too late, but as Mr. Edel shows, this is only partly true. Like Shaw, James had served his time profitably as drama critic. In fact, Edel suggests: "His plays became the prisoners of his theories." On the other hand, like other literate contemporaries, James was contemptuous of the English theater of his day. Part of his failure lay in the general resistance to raising the standards. This volume makes abundantly clear that though no one play by James enjoyed decisive popular success, his continued efforts gave encouragement to all who hoped to revitalize English drama. James's negotiations with leading producers, actors, and critics are strong evidence that he was far more closely linked to the practical concerns of his day—especially in the later years—than has usually been thought. There is still much interest in a dramatist whose plays drew the serious attention of such diverse figures as Sir George Alexander, William Archer, Sir James M. Barrie, Max Beerbohm, Augustin Daly, the Forbes-Robertsons, H. Granville-Barker, G. B. Shaw, Ellen Terry, A. B. Walkley, and H. M. Walbrook.

University of Southern California.

B. R. McELDERRY, Jr.

ALL OUR YEARS. By Robert Morss Lovett. New York: Viking Press.
1948. 373 pp. \$3.75.

The autobiography of Robert Morss Lovett, for thirty-seven years, 1893-1930, Professor of English in the University of Chicago, is a noteworthy volume. He was one of the pioneer group beginning with William Vaughn Moody and Robert Herrick who dared to break from the security of Harvard and venture their futures in what President Eliot

termed "the uncertain fortunes of the new university and the horrors of life in Chicago." The first measure of the man is furnished by his reasons for making the break from the ancient university and "the quality of Boston": "I was getting soft, a parasite, dependent on the teachers who had been my intellectual hosts." He wanted freedom. This in the new frontier college he certainly found. No danger of growing soft there. He was where history was being made as well as studied. Moody, utterly depressed by the city's "materialism, cruelty, and clownishness" considered himself an exile in a modern Babylon, and after six years escaped into an ivory tower of his own making. Herrick threw the city into fiction, describing it with picturesque realism in volumes like *The Web*, and flourished. Lovett grew vigorous in the new atmosphere of freedom and hospitality and hatred of the East, and soon was tuning his teaching to the ideals and needs of the new world beyond the great divide. Everywhere newness, freedom, rebellion. Before his door passed "Coxey's army of unemployed struggling north to seek shelter and food in the city." In one of his classes he had young Ickes, later termed "The Curmudgeon," who arose stormily in class and demanded printed examination papers and the class seconded the demand. The new West was in his classrooms, and it delighted him. "As President Eliot represented the temper of New England raised to a higher power so did Dr. Harper that of the Middle West," and heartily Lovett was with him. After his first Chicago year Eliot invited him back to Harvard, offering terms most favorable, but Lovett refused to return. Nevertheless, he was dissatisfied with his work. To Herrick he wrote, "I haven't the least scrap of enthusiasm left for the teaching of literature." He returned from a year in Germany convinced that history was his proper field. The result was his greatest achievement as a teacher: he taught literature as history, or as he expressed it, "the teaching of literature *as such* seems to me far less profitable or necessary than promoting the comprehension of the life from which that literature sprang."

But judging from the amount of space given in his autobiography to his teaching life in Chicago, the university was only a home base from which he could do what really was his lifework. All but fifty of his 373 pages are devoted to extracurricular activities. He was in the Chicago of Altgeld, of bloody strikes, of Clarence Darrow. As a result, as he has expressed it, "I was drawn from academic seclusion and a passive attitude of good will into activities which I had hitherto avoided, preferring the aloofness of cynicism and the seat of the scorner." He left the editorship of the Chicago *Dial* to become Associate Editor of the *New Republic*. Soon he was a fighting socialist, a protester, a member of The

League for Industrial Democracy, a resident of Hull House, a humanitarian after the pattern of Jane Addams, an active member of A League against War, a fighting partisan in the trial of the Sacco-Vanzetti case. At least half of the book is the social history of a turbulent half century told from a standpoint on the extreme left. In 1939 through the influence of Ickes he was appointed Government Secretary of the Virgin Islands, a post he held until 1944. In many ways the best part of the autobiography is the intimate and graphic series of sketches of leading personalities of the period, one on nearly every page. The book unquestionably supplies a need.

Winter Park, Florida.

FRED LEWIS PATTEE.

ROMANTICISM AND NATIONALISM IN THE OLD SOUTH. By Rollin G. Osterweis. Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany XLIX. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1949. x, 275 pp. \$3.75.

The social historians have done a valuable job of examining the traditions and thought of the Old South, demonstrating that the old generalizations rest upon too complex a set of social and economic attitudes to be accepted. But they have largely ignored Southern literature, except for travel records, diaries, and political argument. The writing of the history of ideas in the Old South is the task which Dr. Osterweis has set himself. That he has done an incomplete and, one fears, hasty job should be regretted by both the literary and the social historian.

The study rests upon oversimplifications and generalizations: Southern romanticism is primarily the result of Scott's influence finding expression in a "cult of chivalry," a cult that held the formative position in the development of Southern nationalism. In an excellent appendix, Dr. Osterweis discusses the diversitarian nature of romanticisms; yet he employs the term to describe a unified attitude in the South which he believes to be uniquely distinct from an equally unified romanticism in New England. The South, he believes, established an intellectual blockade that prevented the main streams of romantic thought from touching its literature and life.

Dr. Osterweis relies primarily upon secondary sources. He consults the *Southern Literary Messenger*, the *Southern Quarterly Review*, and *De Bow's Review* for periodical literature. Except for Timrod and a few Confederate war songs, he ignores the poetry of the Old South. Of prose literary works, only Baldwin's *Flush Times*, Kennedy's *Swallow Barn* (treated almost exclusively as an imitation of Scott), Hilliard's *De Vane*, and Crockett's *Autobiography* appear to have received first-

hand examination. The absence of Longstreet and Simms is surprising. Although Dr. Osterweis has consulted an impressive array of social and economic historians, his knowledge of literary history appears to be limited. Davidson's *Living Writers of the South* is his principal reference work, and he calls it "the most valuable work in this category [literary history]" (p. 253). He makes much of Carlyle's influence on Southern thought but ignores the powerful impact he had on New England romanticism, perhaps because he read only *Past and Present* (p. 245). He assumes that the small portion of Scott's work represented by books like *Ivanhoe* was the only part to make an impress on Southern thought, and thus fails to realize that Scott's influence was apparent, not only in a cult of chivalry but also in realistic pictures of lowly life. A sounder knowledge of literary history would have made him aware that the influence of Scott and Byron was not confined to the South; that New England romanticism by no means expressed itself exclusively in terms of social questions (e.g., Hawthorne and Longfellow); that Southern poets, although they disapproved of the Transcendentalists, wrote poetry on transcendental ideas (e.g., Simms); that the Southern intellectual blockade did not shut off literature and the arts to the extent which he suggests (e.g., Hoole's *The Ante-Bellum Charleston Theatre*, which reveals the rich dramatic offerings); and that there was an Elizabethan as well as a Scotch influence on Southern thought.

Instead of revealing the complexity of Southern ante-bellum thought, Mr. Osterweis presents material (little of which is new and some of which is unreliable) to support the old traditions. It is strange for a student of Southern life and thought to be forced again to defend Scott from Mark Twain's accusation that he caused the Civil War, but that is almost the position in which this study places him.

University of North Carolina.

HUGH HOLMAN.

THE JOURNAL OF BENJAMIN MORAN: 1857-1865. Edited by Sarah Agnes Wallace and Frances Elma Gillespie. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1949. Vol. I, xxxiv, 812 pp. \$12.50. Vol. II, xx, 813-1489 pp. \$12.50.

As secretary of the United States legation in London from 1857 to 1875, Benjamin Moran filled forty-one notebooks with private day-to-day comment upon the men and affairs that crowded his office in a critical period of Anglo-American history. Since 1915, when they were discovered by Worthington C. Ford and purchased for the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, these notebooks have been accessible

to scholars, but now fourteen of the forty-one are for the first time available to the public in the two volumes which cover the period from January, 1857, to May, 1865, embracing the mission of George M. Dallas and the first part of that of Charles Francis Adams. They are admirably edited, with competent introductions and footnotes.

The record is of particular usefulness to the historian who observes in Moran's detailed entries the maneuvering of diplomatic struggle, as interpreted by a zealous and loyal assistant, but the student of American literature will also be attentive to the odd half-lights thrown infrequently upon American authors who called at the legation during their London visits. Benjamin Moran was himself something of a littérateur. Before undertaking his secretarial assignment, he had written poems and travel sketches; and in 1859 he contributed to the second edition of *Trübner's Guide to American Literature* a sixty-seven page essay, "Contributions towards a History of American Literature," which was a serviceable and pedestrian survey of respectable thoroughness. In his *Journal* we see brief glimpses of Nathaniel Hawthorne, William Dean Howells, Bayard Taylor, Buchanan Read, John Lothrop Motley, Jared Sparks, Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, George L. Duyckinck, and Elihu Burritt, among others—some of them surprisingly characterized. Howells seemed, in Moran's eyes, "a sleek, insipid sort of a fellow"; Duyckinck a man of "pinched forehead, of no capacity," and Bayard Taylor "gross and unpoetic."

Moran's literary judgments were conventional, and his personal judgments untrustworthy, marred by the bias of an envious nature. In the light of his *Journal*, Henry Adams's remark that he was industrious but socially useless seems justified. Yet Moran could write well, and often did so, as instanced, among many entries, by his graphic report upon the debate in the House of Commons, July 18, 1862, over the motion for the recognition of the Confederacy.

Union College.

HAROLD BLODGETT.

FOLK LAUGHTER ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER. By Mody C. Boatright. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1949. vi, 182 pp. \$3.00.

This excellent work accomplishes two purposes. It presents the texts of a good many popular anecdotes and tall tales traditional on the frontier (especially in the Southwest), and it explains their function in frontier society. The analyses are shrewd and evidently the product of long consideration; some will alter the existing interpretations. The author affirms that the tall tale represents considerable folk artistry and

not mere crude exaggeration; that the anecdote of backwoods stump, bench, and pulpit provided a useful idiom for professional men when talking to frontiersmen, and a keen weapon with which to satirize Eastern pretensions; that frontier humor expresses a liberal optimism of spirit and not the laughter of despair. In part this humor arises as a deliberate acceptance and solemn burlesquing of the myths about the frontier constructed by arrogant outsiders. "The frontier suspected not education but educated men." Yet it expresses a protest as well as a hoax, against class snobbery and the humbug of empty forms and manners.

Although recent collections and studies have dealt at length with frontier humor, Mr. Boatright offers plenty of fresh and original matter. Unlike his predecessors, he uses both oral and literary sources, and gets closer to folk tradition. His very choice of subject, however, continues an emphasis that now needs some correcting, namely that tall-tale and anecdotal humor is primarily American and primarily frontier. But this humor has a much wider currency than is generally recognized.

Michigan State College.

RICHARD M. DORSON.

THE AMERICAN IMAGINATION AT WORK: *Tall Tales and Folk Tales.*

Edited by Ben C. Clough. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. xix, 707 pp. \$6.00.

Ben C. Clough (who is head of the Greek and Latin Department of Brown University and something of a raconteur) here brings together from a variety of oral, newspaper, "historical," and literary sources over two hundred tall tales, folk tales, anecdotes, and yarns illustrating aspects of the American story-telling and myth-making imagination at work upon the materials of the American experience. What these diversified and divergent types of narrative have in common is the "love of the marvelous" and the "free play of fancy" that, shuttling back and forth between fact and fiction, unwritten and written tradition, have produced the "great American liar." Phases of artistic and authentic lying have previously concerned such students of oral and mock-oral literature and American humor as Blair, Boatright, Chittick, DeVoto, Dobie, Dorson, Hudson, Loomis, Masterson, Meine, Rourke, and Harold W. Thompson (most of whom are cited here). But Mr. Clough performs the notable service of putting side by side heightened stories of adventure and the supernatural as well as comic exaggeration, on various naïve and sophisticated levels, and classifying them according to stages and types of literary invention and fantasy.

In dealing with (1) the relation of history to legend and myth and

(2) the relation of oral to written tradition, and allowing for inevitable overlapping, the editor breaks down the former into (1) pseudo-history (Book I), unnatural natural history (Book II), and hero legend and myth (Book VI), and the latter into (1) stories of adventure (Book III), (2) stories of the supernatural (Book IV), (3) tall tales (Book V), and (4) hoaxes (Book VII). To give unity to his miscellany he develops the central theme that tall-story-telling in America has reached a high state of perfection and has its specialized technique, with its own laws of creation and criteria of appreciation.

Because his own roots are in New England, Mr. Clough makes out a good case for the New England tall tale of wonder-working providence, "satanic mischief," and journalistic hoaxing, taking Constance Rourke gently to task for insisting on Western and Southwestern pre-eminence in tall tales. For the folklorist insufficiently mindful of literature and the literary historian insufficiently mindful of folklore, the book succeeds in proving that in our literate society the folk storyteller is a conscious artist who is not restricted to oral tradition and that in the reciprocity of folklore and literature "garden escapes" from print into oral tradition are just as common and significant as the domestication of the wild flowers of the American imagination by the "literary fellers." For the general reader the book amasses a wealth of entertaining and fresh material covering a wide range of theme, tone, mood, and style, contributing to his enjoyment and understanding of storytelling as a native art.

Croton-on-Hudson, New York.

B. A. BOTKIN.

ITALIAN-AMERICAN AUTHORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICAN LITERATURE. By Olga Peragallo. Edited by Anita Peragallo. New York: S. F. Vanni. 1949. xii, 242 pp. \$3.50.

Sixty bio-bibliographical sketches of Italo-American authors, plus a section of comment on the literary output of each of them, constitutes the material in this book. It is limited mainly to individuals educated in the United States who have produced literary compositions (poetry, prose fiction, and autobiography) in English or in the Italian-American jargon.

The number of contributions is small in proportion to the population, but in view of the recency of Italian immigration it is what we should normally expect. Even so, the list is far from complete inasmuch as an exhaustive search might have increased the quota of sketches by 75, perhaps 100 per cent. For example, talented writers like Rudolph Altrocchi, Norma Ciraci, Donato Internoscia, Helen La Penta, Paul F. Miceli, are

left unmentioned. Certain sources of information have remained untapped such as the book announcements in the magazine *Wings*, which alone would have furnished a group of typically Italian names like Melvin Bernasconi, Salvatore Cutino, Fidel Danieli, Maria Lorenzini, and Carmine Talarico. In addition, poems by Ignace M. Inganni and Jack Luzzatto appear frequently in its pages. It may be that the compiler's untimely death prevented her from probing the subject more deeply.

Of those listed in the volume at least six have acquired national reputations: Hamilton Basso, Bernard DeVoto, Paul W. Gallico, Frank Gervasi, John Moroso, and Frances Winwar. This does not signify that some of the others like Carnevali, Cautela, Pascal D'Angelo, Di Donato, John Fante, and Giovannitti are not first-class performers in their respective fields. But either lack of popular appeal inherent in their choice of media or the slenderness of their output has kept them from moving into the front ranks.

From the standpoint of the contents or subject matter of the writings listed and discussed, there is discernible a marked tendency among the representatives of the first and second generations to express themselves autobiographically or in terms of their immediate Italo-American environment, which gives their literary endeavors considerable value as socio-historical documents. Yet both in this respect as well as on the score of aesthetic analysis much spade work still needs to be done in order to place the contributions of these authors in their proper perspective. Miss Peragallo has used her material diligently; she has apparently read a large percentage of the writings she deals with, but since she is a popularizer rather than a critic, she makes no attempt to arrive at any real conclusions of her own. Nevertheless, despite its shortcomings, we welcome the publication as a reference volume of high usefulness for survey purposes and as a tool for further study.

Like their forebears in Italy, Italian Americans have made extensive contributions in music, painting, sculpture, and architecture. In literature, however, they have not been able to proceed at the same pace because of the fact that their natural creativeness has been curbed by their inability to master the difficulties imposed upon them by the English language. That this artificial barrier is rapidly disappearing is made clear from the heavy role that the younger generation plays in our book. It is a harbinger of the brilliant literary accomplishment that we can confidently expect from the Italian American element in the near future.

Northwestern University.

JOSEPH G. FUCILLA.

THESE THINGS ARE MINE: *The Autobiography of a Journeyman Playwright*. By George Middleton. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1947. xiv, 448 pp. \$5.00.

Author, coauthor, or adapter of some twenty-two full-length plays—including *Polly with a Past*, *Adam and Eva*, *The Big Pond*, and *The House of a Thousand Candles*—and twenty-six one-act plays, George Middleton, from the vantage point of the late sixties, here tells the story of an interesting life that has brought him in contact with many notables of the theatrical, literary, and political worlds. The early chapters are devoted to sketching a not always happy childhood and adolescence in New York in the eighties and nineties. Days at Nazareth Hall, a Moravian preparatory school in Pennsylvania, were happier; and, after a period of adjustment, life at Columbia's new campus on Morningside Heights proved very full indeed, as well it might with such professors for young Middleton as James Harvey Robinson, Harry Thurston Peck, George Rice Carpenter, Brander Matthews, G. E. Woodberry, G. C. D. O'Dell, and Franz Boas, whose sense of humor saved the future playwright's degree for him. There were also extracurricular activities, including college musical comedies, one of which involved, in addition to Middleton, Roi Cooper Megrue, Crosby Gaige, and Ralph Wupperman, known today as Ralph Morgan.

The self-assured young man who, after graduating with the class of 1902, asked his parents to support him only until Christmas, since his pen would have made him self-supporting by that time, was kindly treated by fate. Julia Marlowe, finding the public indifferent to Catulle Mendès's *Queen Fiametta*, arranged a breakdown to cover up a search for a new play. Paul Kester, who had read one of Middleton's one-act plays and been favorably impressed, called him in; and together they adapted G. W. Cable's *The Cavalier* for the stage—and for Miss Marlowe. At twenty-two Middleton was a professional playwright, and a successful one. The drab season that followed showed him that the career he had chosen was a precarious one. Soon, too, he was to learn of the syndicate that, through its control of the theaters of the country, also controlled the actors and the unhappy playwrights. For the student of the drama the most important part of this book is the account of how the power of the syndicate was broken and how the Dramatists' Guild (of which Middleton was one of the founders and at one time the president) gave the author his financial rights and also the assurance that his script would not be rewritten by another hand, as had previously been done, without his consent and often without his knowledge. That fight and its impli-

cations help us to understand the state of the American drama in the days when Bierce defined a dramatist as one who adapted plays from the French.

The chronicle of Middleton's successes and failures following *The Cavalier* makes interesting reading, for it is not only the story of the output of a single dramatist but is also a reflection of the changes in our theater during a forty-year period. The names of the great and near-great crowd the pages—E. H. Sothern, Ina Claire, Nazimova, Eva Le Gallienne, Noel Coward, Belasco, Shaw, Barrie, to name only a few. Equally interesting are the nondramatic experiences chronicled here: his marriage to Fola La Follette, which plunged Middleton into the midst of the feminist movement and into what was rapidly becoming one of America's most famous families; trips to Europe, once as an emissary of the Guild; and finally a brief stint in Hollywood. Of Middleton's efforts during the war years to work out an equitable copyright program in the Office of the Alien Property Custodian, we have only a word in the "Aside to the Reader" with which the book is prefaced.

These Things Are Mine is apparently designed for the reader whose interest in the drama takes the form of attendance at plays rather than for the student; the style throughout is anecdotal and highly informal, occasionally degenerating into mere lists of names. A good index, however, makes more readily available the many nuggets that are here for the scholar. And, in fairness to the author, it must be said that in spite of his preoccupation with names Middleton generally manages to tell a revealing anecdote about each (e.g., Gertrude Stein's great anxiety when her copy of the *Saturday Evening Post* failed to reach Paris promptly), or to bring to life briefly once again a vanished personality. Far more often he gives us something of much greater value, such as the long letter from Shaw explaining why he published his plays before having them performed.

Duke University.

ASHBEL G. BRICE.

STAGE TO SCREEN: *Theatrical Method from Garrick to Griffith*. By A. Nicholas Vardac. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. xxvi, 283 pp. \$6.00.

There is no lack of histories of the stage and the screen, but Mr. Vardac, Associate Professor of Drama at Stanford University, has made an unusual approach by studying the interrelations of these two art forms, with both of which he has had experience as director and producer. The conclusion he arrives at is that the emergence of the motion

picture at the end of the nineteenth century was not merely a chance result of scientific experimentation, but it was at the same time a manifestation of the *Zeitgeist*, a response to the aesthetics of the popular theater of a century and a half.

Mr. Vardac begins his survey of the stage with Garrick because "Garrick's new aesthetic departure, stated simply, was that of achieving a greater pictorial realism in staging." This Mr. Vardac sees as a result of the "realistic rebellion," the "objective and scientific point of view" which the middle years of the eighteenth century brought to birth. Increasingly throughout the nineteenth century the stage stressed visual reality although, paradoxically, the subject matter the playwrights used was predominantly romantic and escapist.

The author illustrates this development by first discussing in detail nineteenth-century melodrama in England and America. In such plays as *Oliver Twist*, *The Octoroon*, and other Boucicault pieces, Daly's *Under the Gaslight*, and Thompson's *A Race for Life*, highly fanciful and improbable situations were presented with growing emphasis on graphic reality, little or nothing being left to the imagination. Eventually real buzz saws and sawdust, real horse races, real pigs and ducks, real salt—"tons of it"—to simulate snow, were introduced. In climactic moments the stories of such plays were often told by a series of stage pictures with a minimum of dialogue. All this is regarded by Mr. Vardac as a clear foreshadowing of the cinema.

The spectacle play, he points out, was a further expression of the same trend. In the latter part of the nineteenth century lavish shows of an almost photographic truthfulness, but presenting highly romantic plots, such as *Quo Vadis?* and *Ben Hur*, were greatly in demand. Leaders in the staging of realistic-romantic displays were Henry Irving, David Belasco, and Steele MacKaye, all three of whom are given detailed attention in this book.

Yet another nineteenth-century type of popular entertainment which the author fits into his general pattern is the pantomime spectacle, with its fantastic stories and its tableaux, transformations, disappearing genii, and other forms of stage magic, all so presented as to make the unreal as actual as possible. This kind of pictorial exhibition, like those previously mentioned, reached its height about 1896.

It is Mr. Vardac's contention that these forms of romantic realism, having gone as far as the stage was capable of going, and being adapted by their cumbersomeness only to a few elaborately equipped metropolitan playhouses, led by logical evolution to the motion picture, which, about 1895, took "both matter and method from the stage" and developed them

to a level which met the popular aesthetics of the time and provided a ubiquitous entertainment as the regular theater could never hope to do. One great advantage of the screen was that it reduced the obvious but unavoidable fraudulence of the pictorial stage to a minimum, making realism synonymous with reality.

Having looked forward from stage to screen through two thirds of his study, Mr. Vardac then shifts his point of view and looks back from screen to stage to establish the family resemblance between the two forms of dramatic art. Some of the early films, he finds, were hardly more than stage plays captured by a static camera. Melodramas, visions, transformations, and realistic spectacles dominated the early screen as they came near dominating the popular stage immediately preceding. As technical advances were made the product grew in range and flexibility, but the realistic-romantic emphasis continued. A major climax of successful cinema was reached in the work of D. W. Griffith, whose masterpiece was the memorable *Birth of a Nation* (1915). "Its methods expressed an ultimate in motion-picture achievement, clarifying the antecedents of the film and forecasting its future." Even as this review is being written, one might add, when a quieter style of cinematic art seems to be gaining welcome headway, the most loudly ballyhooed movie is the super-spectacle, *Samson and Delilah*.

The principal flaw one might find in the author's presentation of his hypothesis is that Garrick's contribution is not clearly established. This is partly because he is treated very briefly and partly because Mr. Vardac largely skips the next hundred years or so to begin his detailed discussion in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Much material might have been drawn from the records of the American theater as early as the 1780's and 90's. "Grand" sea engagements or other pictorially realized battles, an antique battering ram in full use, actual horses in complete armor, ships tossing on the waves and being dashed to pieces on the rocks, the explosion of a volcano, and elaborate pantomime spectacles are all described in the newspaper advertisements of the time or in the accounts of some of our early stage historians. The inclusion of such details would have made Garrick appear a less isolated phenomenon and might have indicated that some of the theatrical elements Mr. Vardac is concerned with were flourishing at an earlier date than one would gather from his book.

But this is an incidental objection, which does not weaken Mr. Vardac's main thesis that "The facilities were the product of the need, and not the need of the facilities." This thesis is so ably presented and with such a wealth of evidence that at least one reader is convinced of its basic

soundness and believes its propounder has made an original and valuable contribution to the study of aesthetic continuity within the area of the dramatic arts. The book is a pleasure to read, not merely because it is clearly written, but because the Harvard Press has turned it out as an uncommonly handsome volume bound in red and black, with striking end-papers and numerous helpful illustrations. The type is kind to the eye, and the book lies open without forcing. Except for a surprising number of typographical errors, it is an admirable example of book-making as well as of fresh and independent research.

New Jersey College for Women.

ORAL SUMNER COAD.

IMAGE AND IDEA: *Fourteen Essays on Literary Themes*. By Philip Rahv. Norfolk, Connecticut: New Directions. 1949. 164 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Rahv is an editor of the *Partisan Review* and one of the best known nonacademic "highbrow" critics. The essays collected here appeared originally in the *Partisan Review*, *Kenyon Review*, *Southern Review*, *Nation*, and *New Republic*. Six of the nine principal items and three shorter pieces deal with American literature; the other principal items deal with Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and Kafka.

Mr. Rahv's writing is "speculative" in the sense that it is intended to provide fresh insights rather than to prove historical or critical theses. He uses two principal tools: a technique of social-historical interpretation derived from Marxist dialectical materialism, and a technique of psychological analysis derived from Freud. The other important source of Mr. Rahv's ideas about American literature and society is the early Van Wyck Brooks. There is a great deal of *America's Coming of Age*, for example, in the first essay of the collection, "Paleface and Redskin." The palefaces are writers dominated by the semiclerical culture of Boston and Concord (that is, in the Brooksian terminology, by Puritanism). They conceive of life as discipline, they emphasize consciousness rather than experience and have a patrician allegiance. Mr. Rahv's attitude toward the group is on the whole pejorative. In recent times the palefaces are best represented by the New Humanists, who are beyond redemption. The redskins, for their part (Whitman, Mark Twain, and a long list of twentieth-century writers extending from Dreiser to Saroyan), represent energy, a plebeian outlook, the "crudest forms of frontier psychology," a hostility to ideas, a cult of experience for its own sake. The redskins evidently also leave much to be desired, and their overthrow of the palefaces can hardly be considered an unmixed good.

It is probably significant that the two writers whom Mr. Rahv chooses

for close scrutiny are Hawthorne and Henry James, both clearly pale-faces if you have to call everyone either a paleface or a redskin, and both "classics" rather than "moderns." "The Dark Lady of Salem" (which appeared in the *Partisan Review* in 1941) seems to lead to the conclusion that Hawthorne is interesting precisely because he was not fully emancipated from Puritanism. Mr. Rahv sees in him a struggle between the past and the future, between the "moribund religious tradition of old New England" and the "newborn secular imagination." Literary merit, under this interpretation, would depend upon the adequacy with which a work of art expresses socially meaningful tensions within the writer. Because *The Scarlet Letter* marks Hawthorne's "farthest advance in affirming the rights of the individual" (in the favorable treatment of Hester Prynne) it is his best novel, superior to other works in which other dark heroines are condemned to destruction because of Hawthorne's fear of the experience which they symbolize. But what is really implied here? Would not this view require us to rate even more highly a writer with a fully secular imagination—say a Whitman or a Henry Miller?

The "liberal" tendency to stake everything on the rights of the individual comes out with especial clearness in Mr. Rahv's reading of the crucial scene in *The Scarlet Letter* where Hester meets Dimmesdale in the forest and urges him to flee with her across the ocean. The critic enthusiastically endorses Hester's project. Dimmesdale's final refusal to flee is made to seem diseased and cowardly. Mr. Rahv does not mention Dimmesdale's celebrated question on the scaffold, "Is not this better than what we dreamed of in the forest?" but he would undoubtedly answer with an emphatic "No." He characterizes Hawthorne's sense of sin as simply "a fear of life induced by narrow circumstances and morbid memories of the past." Aside from the fact that this unfortunate remark embodies a genetic fallacy, it illustrates admirably how narrow and doctrinaire, how incapable of supporting an ironic view of life, is the cult of individual happiness for which Young Intellectuals of the 1920's thought they found authority in Freud.

The treatment of Henry James develops out of the positions Mr. Rahv has already established concerning Hawthorne. In "The Dark Lady of Salem" he asserts that the relation between Coverdale and Zenobia in *The Blithedale Romance*, with its "painful doubleness . . . its feeling of combined attraction and repulsion . . . is one of the most meaningful and seminal in American literature." Zenobia, he suggests, can be viewed as "an earlier and cruder version of Madame de Vionnet," and Coverdale as the ancestor not only of Lambert Strether but of many other James heroes troubled by the challenge of experience. Mr. Rahv is disposed

to be as severe with Strether as he is with Dimmesdale. But in the Jamesian heroines he finds a more satisfactory attitude toward experience. Passing these famous young ladies in review from Mary Garland in *Roderick Hudson* to Milly Theale and Maggie Verver, he traces an evolution toward confidence and self-affirmation: the heiress of all the ages going forth to conquer the world represents the emergent imperial power of America. The conquest itself may be immoral, and James, specifically in *The Golden Bowl*, connives in the immorality, but his use of the theme is so historically meaningful that his later novels are supreme works of art. The doctrine of historical meaning as an aesthetic criterion has much to recommend it, but it is quite another thing from the aesthetic theory implied in Mr. Rahv's affirmation of the rights of the individual.

The shorter pieces, on the decline of naturalism, Henry Miller, William Carlos Williams, and Bernard DeVoto's *The Literary Fallacy*, are not closely related to one another and seem to have been included mainly in order to bring the collection up to book length. The most notable of Mr. Rahv's occasional efforts to establish a relationship between European and American literature is his contrast of James's technique with that of Proust.

University of Minnesota.

HENRY NASH SMITH.

BRIEF MENTION

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE. Compiled by Fernand Baldensperger and Werner P. Friederich. Chapel Hill, N. C.: Richard Jente. 1950. xxiv, 701 pp. \$12.50.

This is the most comprehensive bibliography of comparative literature so far published. Weighted with items of French, German, and American origin, it lists also articles, books, and dissertations produced in all parts of the world. The literature of North and South America comes in for attention, along with that of the ancient world, the Orient, and modern Europe. American literature as a source of influence receives special attention on pages 668-681, and scattered throughout the volume appear items dealing with the American impact abroad as well as the effect of foreign authors upon American letters. Under general headings like "Literature and Politics," "Literature and Arts and Sciences," "Literary Themes," etc., the belles-lettres and the scholarship of the United States are also well represented. The arrangement of the enormous mass of material in the book is practical and sensible. No matter what his specialty may be, the student of literature will find this bibliography an exceedingly useful tool. For the scholar it is a boon.

C. G.

ART AND LIFE IN AMERICA. By Oliver W. Larkin. New York: Rinehart and Company. [1949.] xviii, 547 pp. \$6.00.

One of the audiences for which this survey is designed is "students of American civilization who wish to know what part the visual-plastic arts have played in our society." It is the best general book of its sort, equipped with bibliographies and hosts of illustrations. The introductions to the several sections of the book weave in social history and literature as background for developments in painting, sculpture, and architecture. The historical arrangement is carefully planned, but the treatment afforded individual works or artists is largely critical. The period covered is *ca.* 1600 to 1945.

C. G.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THEATRE AND DRAMA IN AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES 1937-1947. Compiled and Edited by Committee on Research of the American Educational Theatre Association: John H. McDowell, Chairman and Editor; Charles J. McGaw, Assistant Editor. *Speech Monographs*, Vol. XVI, No. 3 (November, 1949). 124 pp. \$2.00.

This useful bibliography supplants *Research in Drama and the Theatre in the Universities and Colleges of the United States, 1937-1942* and adds much thereto. It includes published books and articles, unpublished dissertations, masters' essays, and production-theses. Under the headings "American Drama" (items 690-847) and "American Theatre" (items 2363-2464) one will note many masters' essays and a few doctoral dissertations not previously listed in the bibliographies of American literature. The work is of course limited in its thoroughness by the incompleteness of the contributions made by various collaborators, but there can be no question as to its value both to specialists in drama and historians of the several literatures.

C. G.

MODERN AMERICAN POETRY. Mid-Century Edition. Edited by Louis Untermeyer. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1950.] xxii, 709 pp. \$4.50.

Sixty-four poets, beginning with Whitman and Emily Dickinson, are represented. The selections from older established authors are more numerous than in previous editions, and the following new writers are included: John Berryman, Elizabeth Bishop, Randall Shapiro, Robert Lowell, and Peter Viereck. All of *The Waste Land* appears in the section devoted to T. S. Eliot. The preliminary matter which undertakes a survey of American verse from the time of the Civil War is often pretty wild in its assertions, but the biographical sketches of the various poets are in general good—and up-to-date.

C. G.

WRITINGS FROM WILLA CATHER'S CAMPUS YEARS. Edited by James R. Shively. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press. [1950.] viii, 142 pp. \$2.75.

An introduction discussing the University of Nebraska during the nineties and arguing, plausibly, the year 1874 as that of Willa Cather's birth, is followed by articles, dialogues, poems, and stories contributed by Miss Cather to college periodicals or Lincoln newspapers. "The collec-

tion includes, with very few exceptions, all the writing definitely identifiable as Willa Cather's which she produced while in Lincoln. The only intentional omissions are some of the newspaper articles and a story . . . written in collaboration with Dorothy Canfield." A number of letters on Willa Cather written by her contemporaries at the University form the final section of the book. One of her undergraduate stories, "Peter," was used by the author in an episode in *My Antonia*.

C. G.

THE BOOK INDUSTRY. By William Miller. New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. xiv, 157 pp. \$2.75.

This work is a concentrated analysis of trade-book publishing as it is conducted in the United States today, interesting for its reflection of social and economic trends, and invaluable for the student of contemporary literature. The commercial and editorial environment of trade publishing is considered, along with costs of manufacture, markets, and relations with the public libraries. The relative insignificance of bookstores and the enormous influence of book clubs can be guessed by anyone, but the clear and frank picture of the situation presented in this volume will open one's eyes further.

C. G.

THREE LANTERN SLIDES: Books, the Book Trade, and Some Related Phenomena in America: 1876, 1901 and 1926. By John T. Winterich. Urbana, Ill.: The University of Illinois Press. [1949.] xiv, 109 pp. \$2.50.

Three lectures, pleasant and mildly illuminating, based on a dipping into the files of *The Publishers' Weekly* for 1876, 1901, and 1926.

C. G.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOTH TARKINGTON 1869-1946. By Dorothy Ritter Russo and Thelma L. Sullivan. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society. 1949. xix, 303 pp.

First editions are described (limited editions are not collated), reprints and collected works are listed, first appearances in periodicals are noted, and a limited selection of books, pamphlets, leaflets, and personal essays dealing with Tarkington is embodied. The editing is careful; the format attractive. The volume is not for sale but is distributed gratis to certain libraries.

C. G.

TWENTY-FIVE BEST PLAYS OF THE MODERN AMERICAN THEATRE: *Early Series*. Edited with an Introduction by John Gassner. New York: Crown Publishers. [1949.] xxviii, 756 pp. \$5.00.

This anthology covers the period 1916-1929. The introduction and editorial commentary are better than average. Mr. Gassner for some years headed the play department of the Theatre Guild, and his recollections of the early history of that group provide source material of importance.

C. G.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check list has been prepared by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Richard E. Amacher (Rutgers University), Ashbel Brice (Duke University), Herbert Brown (Bowdoin College), James F. Dolson (Alabama Polytechnic Institute), Horst Frenz (Indiana University), John C. Gerber (University of Iowa), Chester T. Hallenbeck (Queens College), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest Marchand (San Diego State College), Thomas F. Marshall (Western Maryland College), Blake Nevius (University of California at Los Angeles), Henry F. Pommer (Allegheny College), Thelma V. Smith (Dickinson College), Herman E. Spivey (University of Kentucky), Edward Stone (Duke University), Walter Sutton (Syracuse University), and James L. Woodress (Grinnell College), with the co-operation of Roger M. Asselineau (University of Paris), Lars Åhnebrink (University of Upsala), Anna Maria Crinò (University of Florence), and Sigmund Skard (University of Oslo).

Items for the check list to be published in the November, 1950, issue of *American Literature* should be sent to the chairman of the committee, Lewis Leary, 4633 Duke Station, Durham, North Carolina.

I. 1609-1800

[ADAMS, JOHN] Bowen, Catherine Drinker: "Young John Adams. Thirteen Clocks Strike for Independence." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXXV, 75-80 (Jan., 1950).

—. "Young John Adams: The Second Continental Congress." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXXIV, 68-73 (Dec., 1949).

[EDWARDS, JONATHAN] Sullivan, Frank. "Jonathan Edwards, the Contemplative Life, and a Spiritual Stutter." *Los Angeles Tidings*, March 11, 1949, p. 27.

A leaning toward contemplation in a completely active society produced a conflict reflected in Edwards's writings.

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Kirkland, Frederic R. "An Unknown Franklin Cartoon." *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LXXIII, 76-79 (Jan., 1949).

Millikan, Robert A. "Benjamin Franklin and His Electrical Experiments." *Jour. Franklin Inst.*, CCXLVIII, 162-167 (Aug., 1949).

A speech delivered at the 125th anniversary of the founding of

the Franklin Institute, based on several letters to Peter Collinson and concluding that "the atom of electricity itself was discovered by Franklin, 200 years ago."

Quinlan, Maurice J. "Dr. Franklin Meets Dr. Johnson." *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LXXIII, 34-44 (Jan., 1949).

On May 1, 1760, Johnson and Franklin were both listed as having been in attendance at a meeting of the "Associates of Dr. Bray" in London.

[HUTCHINSON, THOMAS] Mayo, C. B. "Additions to Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts Bay*." *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, LIX, 11-74 (1949).

[PAINE, THOMAS] Cordasco, Francesco. "Tom Paine Silenced." *AN&Q*, VIII, 150 (Jan., 1950).

Reprints an unauthenticated anecdote from the *Friends' Review* of July, 1850, not recorded by Paine's biographers, in which Paine's strictures on the Bible are refuted.

Dickson, Harold E. "The Jarvis Portrait of Thomas Paine." *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XXXIV, 5-11 (Jan., 1950).

An account of the discovery of a long lost portrait of Paine, done by John Wesley Jarvis, ca. 1805.

[SMITH, JOHN] Fishwick, Marshall W. "Virginians on Olympus. I. The Last Great Knight Errant." *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LVIII, 40-57 (Jan., 1950).

A review of the legend of Capt. John Smith which has grown in stature so great in the public mind that he has assumed the role of a full-fledged cultural hero in the twentieth century.

[TAYLOR, EDWARD] Pearce, Roy Harvey. "Edward Taylor: The Poet as Puritan." *NEQ*, XXIII, 31-46 (March, 1950).

Puritan culture was inadequate for major poetry because it allowed for little play of the individual will, for little human drama. Even in the best of Taylor's poetry the value put on specifically human experience is minimal. The attempt in his poems is not to study human experience of order in the world, but to show how and where that order exists.

[WARD, NATHANIEL] Fussell, E. S. "Ward, Women, and Webster." *AN&Q*, VIII, 166-167 (Feb., 1950).

A verbal parallel for Ward on intolerance (not women) is found in John Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*.

[WASHINGTON, GEORGE] Bryan, W. A. "George Washington: Symbolic Guardian of the Republic, 1850-1861." *Wm. and Mary Quar.*, 3d ser., VII, 53-63 (Jan., 1950).

[WHEATLEY, PHILLIS] Quarles, Benjamin. "A Phillis Wheatley Letter." *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXXIV, 462-464 (Oct., 1949).

Reprints and annotates a letter which originally appeared in the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, May 9, 1839.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Boyd, E. "The Literature of Santos." *Southwest Rev.*, XXXV, 128-140 (Spring, 1950).

The widely scattered literature on collections of *santos* (the religious images of the Spanish colonial Southwest) falls into three classes: notes from journals or reports made by early travelers, factual treatments by historians, and critical papers by artists. Three pages of bibliography list the literature of the *santos*, from *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike . . . During the Years 1805-6-7* to the present.

Brown, H. Glenn and Maude O. "A Directory of the Book-Arts and Book Trade in Philadelphia to 1820 Including Painters and Engravers." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, LIII, 211-226, 290-298, 339-347, 387-401, 447-458, 492-503, 564-573, 615-622 (May, June, July, Aug., Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec., 1949); LIV, 25-37, 89-92, 123-145 (Jan., Feb., March, 1950).

Everett, Edward. "Jeffersonian Democracy and the *Tree of Liberty*, 1800-1803." *Western Penn. Hist. Mag.*, XXXII, 11-44 (June, 1949).

An account of the four-page newspaper published in Pittsburgh and known as "a sword in the hands of the Republicans."

Ferguson, C. Bruce. "Rise of the Theatre at Halifax." *Dalhousie Rev.*, XXIX, 419-428 (Jan., 1950).

An account of the visit of Douglass's company to Halifax in 1768.

Hudson, Winthrop S. "Puritanism and the Spirit of Capitalism." *Church Hist.*, XVIII, 3-17 (March, 1949).

A discussion of Max Weber's statement of the economic significance of Calvinism.

Paltsits, Victor Hugo. "New Light on *Publick Occurrences*: America's First Newspaper." *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, LIX, 75-88 (1949).

In a letter of October 17, 1690, here for the first time printed, Cotton Mather praises *Publick Occurrences* as "Noble, useful and Laudable," and expresses his hope that the paper would be continued.

Penrose, Boise. "The First Book about America Printed in England." *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LXXIII, 3-8 (Jan., 1949).

A discussion of Richard Eden's translation of Sebastian Munster's *A Treatise of the Newe India* (London, 1553).

II. 1800-1870

[BENJAMIN, PARK] Williams, Mentor L. "Park Benjamin on Melville's 'Mardi.'" *AN&Q*, VIII, 132-134 (Dec., 1949).

Benjamin wrote an adverse notice for the *Southern Literary Messenger*, May, 1849.

- [BRYANT, W. C.] Spivey, Herman E. "William Cullen Bryant Changes His Mind: An Unpublished Letter about Thomas Jefferson." *NEQ*, XXII, 528-529 (Dec., 1949).

"Bryant's most perceptive statement about Jefferson is contained in an unpublished letter (dated April 1, 1859) now in the custody of the Jefferson Memorial Foundation, New York City": it offers a clue to Bryant's mature political theory.

- [CARUTHERS, W. A.] Davis, Curtis Carroll. "The Virginia 'Knights' and Their Golden Horseshoes: Dr. William A. Caruthers and an American Tradition." *MLQ*, X, 490-507 (Dec., 1949).

A description of the extent to which Caruthers, in *The Knights of the Horseshoe* (1845), glamourizes the actual expedition of 1716, and a discussion of what has since been discovered about the golden horseshoes awarded by Spotswood.

- [CHANNING, W. E.] Virtanen, Reino. "Tocqueville and William Ellery Channing." *AL*, XXII, 21-28 (March, 1950).

Channing's *Remarks on National Literature* as a possible source of some of Tocqueville's "notions on the kind of literature to be expected in America."

- [EMERSON, R. W.] Strauch, C. F. "Emerson's Phi Beta Kappa Poem." *NEQ*, XXIII, 65-90 (March, 1950).

Emerson's first public literary effort failed because he had, in a quite uncharacteristic manner, become captive to the perfunctory literary tradition of the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa poet.

- [FLINT, TIMOTHY] Hamilton, John A. "Timothy Flint's 'Lost Novel.'" *AL*, XXII, 54-56 (March, 1950).

A description and summary of an elusive title, Flint's *The Lost Child* (Boston, 1830).

- [HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Cantwell, Robert. "Hawthorne and Delia Bacon." *Am. Quar.*, I, 343-360 (Winter, 1949).

A sketch of Delia Bacon's life in England and notes on Hawthorne's brief but sympathetic contacts with her there.

- [HICKS, ELIAS] Forbush, Bliss. "Elias Hicks—Prophet of an Era." *Bul. Friends Hist. Assn.*, XXXVIII, 11-19 (Spring, 1949).

- [HUDDLESTON, DAVID] Thornburg, Apal. "David Huddleston, a Plain Friend and His Journal." *Bul. Friends Hist. Assn.*, XXXVIII, 75-91 (Autumn, 1949).

A biographical account of a Quaker who contributed articles and poems on religious subjects to Quaker magazines.

[LEGARÉ, J. M.] Davis, Curtis Carroll. "A Letter from the Muses: The Publication and Critical Reception of James M. Legaré's *Orta-Undis, and Other Poems* (1848)." *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI, 417-438 (Oct., 1949).

Traces the history of Legaré's single volume of verse from 1848 to the present.

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Dana, H. W. L. "'Sail On, O Ship of State!': How Longfellow Came to Write These Lines 100 Years Ago." *Colby Lib. Quar.*, II, 210-214 (Feb., 1950).

"The Building of the Ship" was originally called "The Ship," and had a pessimistic ending; but just before *The Seaside and the Fireside* was to be printed, Longfellow decided to change the conclusion to a more optimistic one.

Huebener, Theodore. "Longfellow's French Grammar." *French Rev.*, XXII, 448-451 (May, 1949).

A brief analysis of the French grammar which Longfellow edited and translated in 1830 while teaching at Bowdoin.

Leighly, John. "Inaccuracies in Longfellow's Translations of Tegnér's 'Nattvardsbaren.'" *Scand. Stud.*, XXI, 171-180 (Nov., 1949).

An examination of the "linguistic qualities of Longfellow's translation," which questions "his ability to read Swedish with the ease and thorough understanding that are to be expected of a translator." Some of the imperfections in the translation are "merely the consequence of Longfellow's inability to devise an appropriate metrical expression of Tegnér's thought. . . . But *The Children of the Lord's Supper* also contains passages that betray grammatical misconceptions . . . [and] evident failures to interpret Tegnér's Swedish correctly."

Mathews, J. Chesley. "Echoes of Dante in Longfellow's Poetry." *Italica*, XXVI, 242-259 (Dec., 1949).

There are "unmistakable" echoes in fourteen poems, "probable" echoes in five: all of these poems were written following the publication of the *Voices of the Night* (1839).

Nyland, Waino. "Kalevala as a Reputed Source of Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha*." *AL*, XXII, 1-20 (March, 1950).

Evidence to refute the critics who assert that Longfellow used *Kalevala* as an inspiration and model: language barriers presented an almost insuperable difficulty. Anyone who studies the form and content of the Finnish folk epic readily sees that copying it was impossible.

[LOWELL, J. R.] Voss, Arthur. "Backgrounds of Lowell's Satire in 'The Biglow Papers.'" *NEQ*, XXIII, 47-64 (March, 1950).

Lowell's devices of parody, burlesque, irony, ridicule, and invective appear most effective when the reader of "The Biglow Papers" has something more than a general knowledge of the backgrounds of the work.

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Cahoon, Herbert. "Herman Melville and W. H. Hudson." *AN&Q*, VIII, 131-132 (Dec., 1949).

Hudson, in *Idle Days in Patagonia*, discusses, criticizes, and praises Melville's chapter on "The Whiteness of the Whale" in *Moby-Dick*. Hillway, Tyrus. "Melville's Use of Two Pseudo-Sciences." *MLN*, LXIV, 145-150 (March, 1950).

Evidence in Melville's writings, especially *Moby-Dick*, of his knowledge of phrenology and physiognomy, neither of which he took seriously.

Kaplan, Sidney. "'Omoo': Melville's and Boucicault's." *AN&Q*, VIII, 150-151 (Jan., 1950).

Dion Boucicault's play *Omoo; or The Sea of Ice* (produced in Liverpool in 1864) bears no resemblance to Melville's narrative.

Kazin, Alfred. "On Melville as Scripture." *Partisan Rev.*, XVII, 67-75 (Jan., 1950).

Richard Chase's *Herman Melville* (New York, 1949) is brilliant, but errs in making Melville a scripture for the New Liberalism.

Leyda, Jay. "Ishmael Melvill: Remark on Board of Ship Amazon." *Boston Pub. Lib. Quar.*, I, 119-134 (Oct., 1949).

On the whaling career of Melville's first cousin, Pierre Françoise Henry Thomas Wilson Melvill, who is introduced as a possible model for the character of Ishmael in *Moby-Dick*.

Sealts, M. M., Jr. "Melville's Reading: A Check-List of Books Owned and Borrowed." *Harvard Lib. Bul.*, III, 407-421 (Autumn, 1949).

Titles from M through S.

Wagenknecht, Edward. "Our Contemporary, Herman Melville." *Eng. Jour.*, XXXIX, 121-128 (March, 1950).

Weber, Walter. "Some Characteristic Symbols in Herman Melville's Novels." *Eng. Stud.*, XXX, 217-224 (Oct., 1949).

Williams, Mentor L. "Park Benjamin on Melville's 'Mardi.'" *AN&Q*, VIII, 132-134 (Dec., 1949).

See BENJAMIN above.

_____. "Two Hawaiian-Americans Visit Herman Melville." *NEQ*, XXIII, 97-99 (March, 1950).

The observations of two students after visiting Melville in April, 1859, indicate that the novelist had by then visibly entered his "long quietus" and had become "something of an Ishmael."

[POE, E. A.] Anon. "Poe Centenary." *Boston Pub. Lib. Quar.*, I, 151-155 (Oct., 1949).

On Poe's death and posthumous, particularly European, reputation. Tate, Allen. "Three Commentaries: Poe, James, and Joyce." *Sewanee Rev.*, LVIII, 1-15 (Winter, 1950).

Analyses of "The Fall of the House of Usher," "The Beast in the Jungle," and "The Dead." Valette, Jacques. "Chronique sur Edgar Poe." *Mercure de France*, No. 1037 (Jan. 1, 1950), pp. 161-163.

Poe's critical essays are alone worth reading.

[RUFFNER, HENRY] Davis, Curtis Carroll. "Judith Bensaddi and the Reverend Doctor Henry Ruffner: The Earliest Appearance in American Fiction of the Jewish Problem?" *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, XXXIX, 115-142 (Dec., 1949).

Compares the 1828 and the 1839 versions of a tale by the sixth president of what is now Washington and Lee University.

[SIMMS, W. G.] Holman, C. Hugh. "William Gilmore Simms' Picture of the Revolution as a Civil Conflict." *Jour. So. Hist.*, XV, 441-462 (Nov., 1949).

Employing a Scott formula for historical fiction in his seven novels of the Revolution, Simms "preserved a wealth of local tradition . . . available nowhere else, and the mixed motives, the ambiguous situations, the horrible atrocities, the fundamental brutality and evil of warfare in South Carolina between 1780 and 1783 find vivid and valuable expression" in these novels.

[STOWE, H. B.] Seiler, Grace. "Harriet Beecher Stowe." *Col. Eng.*, XI, 127-137 (Dec., 1949).

[THOREAU, H. D.] Adams, Raymond. "The Bibliographical History of Thoreau's A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers." *Papers Bibl. Soc. Am.*, XLIII, 39-47 (First Quar., 1949).

Canby, H. S. "Thoreau! A New Estimate." *SRL*, XXII, 15-16 (Dec. 3, 1949).

Combellack, C. R. B. "Two Critics of Society." *Pacific Spect.*, III, 440-445 (Autumn, 1949).

Thoreau and Marx.

Dewey, John. "John Dewey on Thoreau." *Thoreau Soc. Bul.*, No. 30 (Jan., 1950), p. 1.

Eulau, Heinz. "Wayside Challenger—Some Remarks on the Politics of Henry David Thoreau." *Antioch Rev.*, IX, 509-522 (Winter, 1949).

Harding, Walter. "Additions to the Thoreau Bibliography." *Thoreau Soc. Bul.*, No. 30 (Jan., 1950), p. 4.

—. "Thoreau and the Concord Lyceum." *Thoreau Soc. Bul.*, No. 30 (Jan., 1950), pp. 3-4.

Holmes, John Haynes. "Thoreau's Civil Disobedience." *Christian Century*, LXVI, 787-789 (June 29, 1949).

Paul, Sherman. "The Wise Silence: Sound as the Agency of Correspondence in Thoreau." *NEQ*, XXII, 511-527 (Dec., 1949).

Sound carried Thoreau far from the level of controlled insight (correspondence) into a state of identity. It was a source of inspiration necessary to whatever levels he attained, and accordingly measured his success and failure.

Thomas, W. Stephen. "Marti and Thoreau: Pioneers of Personal Freedom." *Dos Pueblos* (Havana), Aug., 1949, pp. 1-3.

A comparison between Thoreau and the Cuban revolutionary.

[VERY, JONES] Berthoff, W. B. "Jones Very: New England Mystic." *Boston Pub. Lib. Quar.*, II, 63-75 (Jan., 1950).

Very will be remembered for his extraordinary religious consciousness: "He is the one figure of his generation who succeeded in translating the power of religious vision into formal poetry."

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Pollard, John A. "Whittier's Esteem in Great Britain." *Bul. Friends Hist. Assn.*, XXXVIII, 33-36 (Spring, 1949).

Taylor, C. Marshall. "The 1849 Best Seller." *Bul. Friends Hist. Assn.*, XXXVIII, 36, 37 (Spring, 1949).

An account of the popularity of Whittier's *Poems* published that year.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Altick, Richard D. "Dickens & America. Some Unpublished Letters." *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LXXIII, 326-336 (July, 1949).

Eleven letters from Dickens to Lea & Blanchard, publishers, to Poe, to Thomas Buchanan Read, to George William Childs, and others.

Barker, Elmer E. "What Crown Pointers Were Reading One Hundred Years Ago." *N. Y. Hist.*, XXXI, 31-40 (Jan., 1950).

Magazines and newspapers read by a rural community in upstate New York in 1846-1847, 1857-1860.

Brink, Florence Roos. "Literary Travellers in Louisiana between 1803 and 1860." *La. Hist. Quar.*, XXI, 394-424 (April, 1948).

Escoube, Lucienne. "Les Plantations et les États du Sud dans la littérature américaine." *Mercure de France*, CCCIII, 64-77 (May, 1948).

Urges French readers to acquaint themselves with the romanticized version of Southern life and manners, especially as embodied in the fiction of J. P. Kennedy, W. G. Simms, and such contemporaries as

- Stark Young and Margaret Mitchell, as a corrective to the prevailing versions of Faulkner and Caldwell.
- Fletcher, Mary P. "Arkansas Pioneers: What They Were Reading a Century Ago." *Arkansas Hist. Quar.*, VIII, 211-214 (Autumn, 1949). Besides the Bible, McGuffey's *Reader*, and the *Blue Back Speller*, the most popular works were *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Godey's Lady's Book*, the almanac, the *Arkansas Gazette* (begun in 1819), and Dr. Gunn's *Medical Journal*.
- Greene, Maud Honeyman. "Raritan Bay Union, Eagleswood, N. J." *Proc. N. J. Hist. Soc.*, LXVIII, 1-19 (Jan., 1950). A discussion of the Fourier colony near Perth Amboy and of the connection with it of such writers as Emerson, Thoreau (who did some surveying there), Bryant, Alcott, Greeley, James Steele Mackaye, and others.
- Leach, Joseph. "Crockett's Almanacs and the Typical Texan." *Southwest Rev.*, XXXV, 88-95 (Spring, 1950). The Crockett almanacs, popular for twenty-odd years after the Civil War, were an important influence in establishing Texan tradition.
- Lomas, Charles W. "Southern Orators in California before 1861." *So. Speech Jour.*, XV, 21-37 (Sept., 1949). A discussion of the activities of Edmund Randolph, from Virginia, of Henry S. Foote and William M. Gwin, from Mississippi.
- Muir, Andrew Forest. "Diary of a Young Man in Houston, 1838." *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, LIII, 276-307 (Jan., 1950). A record of the Texas experiences of John Hunter Herndon, a Kentuckian and a graduate of Transylvania College, including notes on the plays which he saw at the St. Charles Theater in New Orleans.
- Stern, Madeleine B. "Keen and Cooke: Prairie Publishers." *Jour. Illinois Hist. Soc.*, XLII, 424-445 (Dec., 1949). An account of the book publishers W. B. Keen and D. B. Cooke, in Chicago from 1852 to 1880.
- Travous, R. Louise. "Pioneer Illinois Library." *Jour. Illinois Hist. Soc.*, XLII, 446-453 (Dec., 1949). A description and a complete catalogue of a pioneer library at Edwardsville, Illinois, in 1819.
- III. 1870-1900
- [ADE, GEORGE] Evans, Bergen. "George Ade, Rustic Humorist." *Am. Merc.*, LXX, 321-329 (March, 1950).
- [ALCOTT, L. M.] Stern, Madeleine B. "Louisa M. Alcott: An Appraisal." *NEQ*, XXII, 475-498 (Dec., 1949).

Miss Alcott will be remembered, first, for her accurate depiction of domestic life, secondly, for her studies of adolescent psychology exhibited in the three dimensional characters of the March girls, and, thirdly, for her astounding ability to appeal to youthful readers.

- [CLEMENS, S. L.] Branch, Edgar M. "The Two Providences: Thematic Form in 'Huckleberry Finn.'" *Col. Eng.*, XI, 188-195 (Jan., 1950).

The theme—the conflict between Huck's innate sense of justice and that imposed by the conventions of his society—interpenetrates content and style, and gives coherence to what might otherwise have been only a formless novel.

- Clemens, Cyril. "Jeremiah Clemens, Novelist and Southern Supporter of Lincoln." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 13-16 (Winter, 1950).

The last of three articles of Mark Twain's kinsman.

- Edwards, Peter G. "The Political Economy of Mark Twain's 'Connecticut Yankee.'" *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 2, 18 (Winter, 1950).

- Michel, Robert. "The Popularity of Mark Twain in Austria." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 5-6, 19 (Winter, 1950).

- Trommer, Marie. "Tom Sawyer and the Missing Cat Chapter." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 3-4 (Winter, 1950).

There was no cat suspended over the schoolmaster's head in the Russian edition read by the author as a child.

- Walsh, Elizabeth P. "A Connecticut Yankee of Our Lady's Court." *Catholic World*, CLXIX, 91-97 (May, 1949).

A daughter's appreciation and reminiscences of her father, with comments on his writing habits and methods.

- [CRANE, STEPHEN] Lynskey, Winifred. "Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage*." *Expl.*, VIII, 18 (Dec., 1949).

- [DICKINSON, EMILY] Carpenter, Frederic I. "Dickinson's *Farther in Summer than the Birds*." *Expl.*, VIII, 33 (March, 1950).

- [GRISWOLD, R. W.] Haraszti, Zoltán. "The Correspondence of R. W. Griswold." *Boston Pub. Lib. Quar.*, I, 61-74, 156-165 (July, Oct., 1949); II, 77-84 (Winter, 1950).

- The continuation of a series begun by Honor McCusker in *More Books* in 1941.

- [HARTE, BRET] Tamony, Peter. "Writers Supported by Government Sinecures." *AN&Q*, VIII, 138-139 (Dec., 1949).

Notes on Harte's position in the United States Mint in San Francisco and as United States Consul at Crefeld, Prussia, and at Glasgow.

- [HOWELLS, W. D.] Harlow, Virginia. "William Dean Howells and Thomas Sergeant Perry." *Boston Pub. Lib. Quar.*, I, 134-150 (Oct., 1949).

A discussion of a personal and literary friendship.

[JAMES, HENRY] Anon. "James the Dramatist." *LTLS*, No. 2501 (Jan. 6, 1950), p. 8.

James is a better critic than a dramatist, but his dramas (and his interest in the drama) occupied a greater part of his writing time than is generally believed.

Bewley, Marius. "James' Debt to Hawthorne: (I) 'The Blithedale Romance' and 'The Bostonians.'" *Scrutiny*, XVI, 178-195 (Sept., 1949).

The first of a series of two articles. James's realization of why *The Blithedale Romance* failed helped him write in *The Bostonians* a more successful satire: the number of parallels is great, and the influence of Hawthorne here is greater than in any of James's other novels.

Dunbar, Viola R. "Addenda to 'Biographical and Critical Studies of Henry James, 1941-1948,' *American Literature*, XX, 424-435 (January, 1949)." *AL*, XXII, 56-61 (March, 1950).

Edel, Leon. "The Text of Henry James's Unpublished Plays." *Harvard Lib. Bul.*, III, 395-406 (Autumn, 1949).

A description, listing and evaluation of typescripts and prompt-books of the unpublished plays collated for *The Complete Plays of Henry James*.

Greene, Graham. "Books in General." *New Statesman and Nation*, XXXIX, 101-102 (Jan. 28, 1950).

On James as a playwright: "Unwillingly we have to condemn the Master for a fault we had previously never suspected the possibility of his possessing—incompetence."

Harlow, Virginia. "Thomas Sergeant Perry and Henry James." *Boston Pub. Lib. Quar.*, I, 43-60 (July, 1949).

Kane, Robert J. "Virgin Soil and *The Princess Casamassima*." *Gift-horse* (Ohio State) 1949, pp. 25-29.

Popkin, Henry. "Pretender to the Drama." *Theatre Arts*, XXXIII, 32-35, 91 (Dec., 1949).

The theater's new interest in Henry James and the publication of his *Complete Plays* "offer a plausible opportunity for a new look at James and the theatre," and allow us to discover that James was "a novelist who wrote for the theatre—but for an extremely special kind of theatre, the theatre of his reader's imagination. . . . The novels and plays . . . are actually invitations to the discerning reader to attend those performances in the company of the author."

Raeth, Claire J. "Henry James' Rejection of 'The Sacred Fount.'" *ELH*, XVI, 308-324 (Dec., 1949).

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The Sacred Fount was omitted from the New York Edition because James discerned its failure of form arising from his use of a narrator instead of the more objective "center of consciousness."

Tate, Allen. See II, Poe, above.

[JEWETT, S. O.] Weber, Carl J. "Three More Jewett Letters." *Colby Lib. Quar.*, II, 216-218 (Feb., 1950).

[MILLER, JOAQUIN] Dunbar, John Raine. "Joaquin Miller: Sedition and Civil War." *Pacific Hist. Quar.*, XIX, 31-36 (Feb., 1950).

Reproduces a copy of the editorial page of the *Democratic Register* of Eugene City, Oregon, for September 27, 1862, which contains a spirited defense of civil liberties, representative of the kind of utterance responsible for the suppression of the newspaper as seditious.

[PARKMAN, FRANCIS] Doughty, H. "Parkman's Dark Years: Letters to Mary Dwight Parkman." *Harvard Lib. Bul.*, IV, 53-85 (Winter, 1950).

Parkman's letters to Mary Dwight Parkman, the most communicative he ever penned, reveal that he gave way, for once in his life, to the impulse to share his deeper emotions with another human being.

[PERRY, T. S.] Harlow, Virginia. See HOWELLS and JAMES above.

[WHITMAN, WALT] Anon. "Whitman's Birthplace." *AN&Q*, VIII, 160 (Jan., 1950).

Announcement of plans by the Walt Whitman Birthplace Committee (Chairman, Cleveland Rodgers, 80-32 Grenfel Street, Kew Gardens, Jamaica 15, New York) for the purchase and preservation of the house at West Hills, near Huntington, Long Island, where Whitman is said to have been born.

Bergman, Herbert. "Whitman on His Poetry and Some Poets: Two Uncollected Interviews." *AN&Q*, VIII, 103-105 (Feb., 1950).

Based on clippings from the Trent Collection in the Duke University Library.

Finkel, William L. "Walt Whitman's Manuscript Notes on Oratory." *AL*, XXII, 29-52 (March, 1950).

Many of these notes, hitherto thought original and regarded as of great importance in indicating Whitman's interest in public speaking, are either extracts or adaptations from sources herein identified.

_____. "Whitman and the Calendar." *Word Study*, XXV, 3-4 (Feb., 1950).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Foster, T. Henry. "Collecting Iowa Dime Novels." *Palimpsest*, XXX, 169-172 (June, 1949).

- Jacobs, Willis D. "Elias Molee's Language Reform." *AN&Q*, VIII, 147-149 (Jan., 1950).
 A crusade for simplified "Germanic-English."
- Mott, Frank Luther. "The Beadles and Their Novels." *Palimpsest*, XXX, 173-189 (June, 1949).
- . "Pioneer Iowa in Beadle Fiction." *Palimpsest*, XXX, 190-208 (June, 1949).
- Schick, Joseph S. "The Early Theater in Davenport." *Palimpsest*, XXXI, 1-44 (Jan., 1950).

IV. 1900-1950

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AN ERROR IN THE AMBASSADORS

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A CURIOUS ERROR which probably has no parallel in the annals of American literature appears in all available editions of Henry James's novel, *The Ambassadors*, since its first publication in 1903: *Chapters XXVIII and XXIX are in reverse order*. Various discrepancies in facts and time are apparent on careful reading of the chapters in their present order; on the other hand, the reversal of the two results in the complete elimination of these discrepancies. The mishap is particularly ironic in view of the fact that James regarded *The Ambassadors* as his most perfectly constructed novel, his masterpiece. That the transposition of the two chapters has gone undetected to this day is an extraordinary circumstance which lends itself to interesting conjecture. But first let us consider the facts which make the error evident.

I

The immediate events preceding the chapters in question run as follows:

Surprised and pleased by the change in Chad Newsome, Lambert Strether has been hoping that Chad's sister, Sarah Pocock, will react similarly to Chad's improvement and sanction his association with Marie de Vionnet. However, his hopes are shattered when Sarah calls upon him, makes it clear that her reactions to the situation are vastly different from his, and angrily places the responsibility for Chad's continued stay in Paris on Strether.

Sarah's visit to Strether is narrated in Chapter XXVII. The scene builds in intensity as Sarah's anger mounts, and ends with her abrupt and wrathful exit after her declaration that she thinks Chad's development "hideous."

[Strether] "Oh, if you think *that*—!"

[Sarah] "Then all's at an end? So much the better. I do think *that*!" She passed out as she spoke and took her way straight across the court. . . . It probably *was* all at an end.¹

¹ *The Ambassadors* (New York, 1903, 1930, 1948), p. 346.

According to the present order of Chapters XXVII to XXIX, the following events occur within two days:

On the first day, Sarah visits Strether in the morning; Strether converses with Maria Gostrey in the afternoon; Strether sees Chad in the evening. On the second day, Strether has a quick interview with Sarah in the morning, visits Maria Gostrey in the afternoon, and sees Chad late that evening. Thus, at the beginning of Chapter XXVIII:

One of the features of the restless afternoon passed by him [Strether] after Mrs. Pocock's visit was an hour spent, shortly before dinner, with Maria Gostrey, whom, of late, in spite of so sustained a call on his attention from other quarters, he had by no means neglected. And that he was still not neglecting her will appear from the fact that he was with her again at the same hour on the very morrow—with no less fine a consciousness, moreover, of being able to hold her ear. It continued inveterately to occur, for that matter, that whenever he had taken one of his greater turns he came back to where she so faithfully awaited him. None of these excursions had, on the whole, been livelier than the pair of incidents—the fruit of the short interval since his previous visit—on which he had now to report to her. He had seen Chad Newsome late the night before, and he had had that morning, as a sequel to this conversation, a second interview with Sarah.²

And at the opening of Chapter XXIX we find:

He went late that evening to the Boulevard Malesherbes, having his impression that it would be vain to go early, and having also, more than once in the course of the day, made inquiries of the concierge. Chad had not come in and had left no intimation; he had affairs, apparently, at this juncture—as it occurred to Strether he so well might have—that kept him long abroad. . . . It was with the idea that he would have to come home to sleep that Strether went up to his rooms, from which, however, he was still absent, though . . . his visitor heard eleven o'clock strike. Chad's servant had by this time answered for his reappearance; he had, the visitor learned, come quickly in to dress for dinner and vanish again. Strether spent an hour in waiting for him. . . .³

Assuming that the chapters are in their proper order, and that these events occur in the chronological sequence listed, a number of questions crop up. For example:

² *Ibid.*, p. 349.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 362.

1. It seems remarkable that James does not bother to write up the first interview with Chad after Sarah's visit. During her call, an important point in the plot is revealed: that Chad has had a private talk with Sarah and has apparently laid the blame for his delay in departing from France on Strether; as a result, Strether (and the reader) is eager to discover the full details of the interview between Chad and Sarah. Thus, Strether remarks to Sarah:

"Something has clearly passed between you and Chad . . . that I think I ought to know something more about. . . . Oh, it's all right. Chad, I mean, is all right in having said to you—well, anything he may have said. I'll *take* it all—what he does put on me. Only I must see him before I see you again."⁴

And the point is further accentuated by James:

She was altogether more inflamed than he had expected, and he would probably understand this better when he should learn what had occurred for her with Chad.⁵

And again:

He went on, however, well enough, as well as he could do without fresh counsel; he indeed shouldn't stand quite firm, he felt, till he should have re-established his communications with Chad.⁶

Yet the interview between Strether and Chad, which James prepares for so forcefully, and which is obviously pregnant with dramatic possibilities, is never even presented to the reader and (still assuming that the present order is the proper one) is merely partially reported on by Strether in his conversation with Maria Gostrey:⁷

2. In Chapter XXVIII we learn that Sarah is leaving that evening for Switzerland. Yet, in Chapter XXIX, Strether, meeting with Chad around midnight of that evening, speaks of his intention of seeing her again before her departure: "I must positively . . . see her again. I can't part with her that way."⁸ Neither mentions the fact that she has left Paris, and therefore that it is no longer possible for him to do so; they do not even seem to be aware of this.

3. In Chapter XXVIII, Strether tells Maria Gostrey that Chad is going to the station that evening to see Sarah and her group off.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

In the next chapter, during the very evening when Sarah is departing (according to the present sequence) Strether spends a good deal of time trying to reach Chad at his lodgings, thereby apparently indicating that he has completely forgotten that Chad is at the farewell gathering at the station; and, additionally, that he himself failed to go, or if he did, failed to see Chad in the crowd. None of these possibilities seems very likely.

4. Moreover, during their conversation—supposedly the second between the two men since Sarah's major talk with Strether—they discuss matters which they would certainly have thrashed out in their first meeting and give absolutely no indication that these matters were even mentioned by them previously. Thus, the conversation begins: "She tells me you put it all on me," a remark which certainly seems out of place at a second meeting. Chad then reveals what has occurred in his talk with Sarah, and the rest of the conversation revolves about the details of Sarah's visit to Strether and their reactions to it.

In short, we have here the discussion which is appropriate to Strether's first meeting with Chad (after Sarah's visit), rather than a second meeting. In addition, Strether never tells Chad of his second talk with Sarah; this is very odd, inasmuch as he had no reason to withhold the information and every reason to mention it.

5. Also, during this conversation, Chad tells Strether that he had talked with Sarah on the previous evening: "I positively referred her to you—told her she must absolutely see you. This was last night. . . ."⁸ Yet though Sarah presumably called on Strether as a result of Chad's urging, her visit to Strether appears to have taken place the previous morning; that is, before Chad even talked with her. Obviously, the chronological sequence of events is out of joint.

This list could be continued, but the points already cited sufficiently reveal that many discrepancies are to be found in these chapters in their present order. It is my contention that (the present) Chapter XXIX belongs properly before (the present) Chapter XXVIII. When this transposition is made, all discrepancies vanish.

The changed chronological order would then consist of: Sarah's visit to Strether in the morning, Strether's talk with Maria in the

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

afternoon, and Strether's talk with Chad (as depicted in the present Chapter XXIX) in the evening of the first day; then Strether's interview with Sarah in the morning, his second talk with Maria Gostrey in the afternoon, and Sarah's departure for Switzerland on the evening of the second day. With this sequence, all previous difficulties are cleared up. Thus:

1. Strether's fully narrated interview with Chad now occurs immediately after the event which precipitated it, Sarah's irate visit. This is what we naturally expect, in view of Strether's intense desire to discuss the situation with Chad at the earliest moment, and in view of the importance of the scene in the development of the plot at this point.

2. This progression of events sets Sarah's departure as occurring the day after Strether's conference with Chad, thereby making it logical for Strether to discuss his intention of seeing Sarah once again, and for both characters implicitly to concede this still to be a possible course of action.

3. Inasmuch as the interview with Chad is no longer on the same evening as Sarah's departure, Strether's difficulty in reaching Chad is no longer improbable.

4. The discussion between Chad and Strether would naturally open as it does, with Strether inquiring about Chad's talk with Sarah, inasmuch as this is now his first meeting with Chad since Sarah's visit. Moreover, the rest of their discussion is of a nature which one would expect in view of this fact.

5. Now when Chad sets the time of his talk with Sarah as the previous evening, there is no conflict in time.

Furthermore, if the chapters are actually in reverse order, references made in (the present) Chapter XXVIII to the previous evening's discussion between Chad and Strether, should be substantiated by the conversation that actually occurs in (the present) Chapter XXIX. This is precisely the case.

For example: in (the present) Chapter XXVIII, Strether remarks to Maria Gostrey:

"That . . . is what even Chad himself asked me last night. He asked me if I don't mind the loss—well, the loss of an opulent future. Which, moreover . . . was a perfectly natural question."⁹

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 357.

And in (the present) Chapter XXIX we find:

"I see. They quarrel," said Chad rather comfortably, "with *us*." . . . "I should feel greatly ashamed, all the same, if I didn't put it before you again that you ought to think, after all, tremendously well. I mean before giving up beyond recall—" With which insistence, as from a certain delicacy, dropped.

Ah, but Strether wanted it. "Say it all, say it all."

"Well, at your age, and with what—when all's said and done—mother might do for you and be for you."

Chad had said it all, from his natural scruple, only to that extent; so that Strether, after an instant, himself took a hand. "My absence of an assured future. The little I have to show toward the power to take care of myself. The way, the wonderful way, she would certainly take care of me. Her fortune, her kindness, and the constant miracle of her having been disposed to go even so far. Of course, of course," he summed it up. "There are those sharp facts." . . .

"What it literally comes to for you, if you'll pardon my putting it so, is that you give up money. Possibly a good deal of money."¹⁰

And, again, in Chapter XXVIII:

[Maria] "There's nothing so magnificent—for making others feel you—as to have no imagination."

It brought him straight around. "Ah, there you are! It's what I said last night to Chad. That he himself, I mean, has none." . . .

He was benevolently going on, but she wouldn't have it. "Oh, I don't make myself felt; so my quantity needn't be settled. Yours, you know," she went on, "is monstrous. No one has ever had so much."

It struck him for a moment. "That's what Chad also said. . . ."

"But à propos of what," Maria went on, "did the question come up?"

"Well, of his asking me what it is I gain."

She had a pause. "Then, as I've asked you too, it settles *my* case. Oh, you *have*," she repeated, "treasures of imagination."¹¹

And in Chapter XXIX:

"Ah then, there you are! And what I don't for the life of me make out," Chad pursued with resigned perplexity, "is what you *gain* by it."

Oh, it would have taken his companion too long to say! "That's because you have, I verily believe, no imagination. You've other qualities. But no imagination, don't you see? at all."

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

"I dare say. I do see." It was an idea in which Chad showed interest. "But haven't you yourself rather too much?"¹²

As the chapters now stand, Strether appears to be telling Maria about a conversation which does not really take place until that evening (in point of time) and the next chapter (in point of narration). But if the chapters are reversed, his account coincides in every detail with what has actually been shown to have taken place, and can do so justly inasmuch as his conversation with Chad would have taken place the previous evening.

Finally, the new Chapter XXIX would flow with greater smoothness into Chapter XXX. The mention of the probability of the departure of Chad and Marie de Vionnet from the city, towards the end of the former, foreshadows their meeting with Strether in the country as narrated in Chapters XXX and XXXI.

II

Research on *The Ambassadors* leads to various conjectures as to how the error may have been propagated originally.

A synopsis which appears in *The Notebooks of Henry James* fails to shed light on the matter, as James did not follow the synopsis closely for the concluding episodes of the work. The story was first published in serial form in the *North American Review* in 1903, and here we get our first grounds for speculation. The serial consisted of thirty-four chapters, which were divided into twelve installments. Two additional chapters appear in the first edition of the book (1903) and in all subsequent editions, namely (the present) Chapters XXIX and XXXV. This indicates either that the chapters were not written for the serial and that James subsequently became aware of the narrative gap and wrote the new chapters especially for the book, or that the two chapters were part of the original manuscript but were omitted in the serialization because of space limitations.

Whatever the case, the two chapters missing from the serial appear in the book, and one of them, Chapter XXXV, was inserted properly, and the other, Chapter XXIX, erroneously. As a result, in all editions of the novel, Strether tells Maria Gostrey in Chapter XXXVI of his conversation with Chad as depicted in Chapter

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 373.

XXXV, and all flows smoothly; but alas, when Strether performs a similar function in his scene with Maria in Chapter XXVIII, he exhibits an unbelievable clairvoyance, for the conversation he refers to does not take place until Chapter XXIX.

How could this error have occurred? One of the most likely hypotheses would seem to place the fault upon the misleading nature of the opening sentences of the two chapters in question. Chapter XXVII, it will be remembered, takes place during the morning. Keeping this in mind, examine the opening sentence of Chapter XXVIII:

One of the features of the restless afternoon passed by him after Mrs. Pocock's visit was an hour spent, shortly before dinner, with Maria Gostrey, whom, of late, in spite of so sustained a call on his attention from other quarters, he had by no means neglected.¹³

Now note the opening sentence of Chapter XXIX:

He went late that evening to the Boulevard Malesherbes, having his impression that it would be vain to go early, and having also, more than once in the course of the day, made inquiries of the concierge.¹⁴

It is conceivable that a cursory inspection of merely these opening sentences might have led whoever was responsible for the error to believe that the chapters should follow what appears to be a perfectly logical chronological order of morning, afternoon, and evening of the same day.

Of course this is a purely conjectural matter. Whether the incorrect insertion of the chapter was a publishing house mishap, or whether James himself or his secretary was responsible, probably can be established definitely only through a careful examination of the original manuscript and a knowledge of the events occurring at the time of its publication which may never come to light at this late date.

However, under no circumstances can James be completely exonerated, as he obviously did not detect the error while revising *The Ambassadors* for the New York Edition. Although his inspection of the work at that time was of so minute a nature that his revisions often took the form of the elimination of commas, the rearranging of emphasis on individual words, and the substitution

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 362.

of a word such as *created* for *engendered*, he apparently never noticed the flagrant discrepancies in the work. It is again the old story of missing the forest for the trees. For example, in the following sentence, one in which the discrepancies caused by the reversal of chapters are most apparent (as mentioned previously in Point 3):

Chad had not come in and had left no intimation; he had affairs, apparently, at this juncture—as it occurred to Strether he so well might have—that kept him long abroad,¹⁵ . . .

James saw fit to change *had not* to *hadn't* yet completely overlooked the glaring error in the text.

Perhaps the most astonishing feature of this curious matter is that it has gone unnoticed for so long a time despite the many readers and literary commentators (in and out of academic circles) who have delved into the work. One is inclined to suspect that the major reason for this oversight is that readers “in darkest James” generally have become so accustomed to a haze of confusion by the time they have come thus far in their trek that a mere reversal of chapters does not contribute appreciably to their bewilderment.

That James possessed many virtues as a novelist is indisputable; however, this discovery seems to add weight to the contention that the style of writing he affected in his later novels is not one of them. Indeed, there must be something radically wrong with a writing style that has managed to obscure an error of this magnitude for so many years from the probing eyes of innumerable readers, publishers, editors, critics, and even the author himself. It does not seem necessary to labor this point.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 362.

CHARLES LOUIS PHILIPPE AND T. S. ELIOT

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WHEN IN 1932 T. S. Eliot furnished a preface to Charles-Louis Philippe's *Bubu de Montparnasse* in translation, he stated that he had first read the novel after he came to Paris in 1910.¹ That is to say, at the period when he was being introduced by Alain Fournier to *Crime and Punishment*, which helped shape "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock," he became acquainted also with the work of the French naturalistic writer whom in the same preface he was to compare with Dickens and to credit with having "an intense pity for the humble and oppressed, a pity still more akin to that of Dickens' Russian disciple Dostoievski." And, like Dostoievski, Philippe exerted upon Eliot's poetry a conspicuous influence in 1910 and 1911.

Bubu de Montparnasse stands in the same relation to Eliot's third "Prelude" and to "Rhapsody on a Windy Night" as *Crime and Punishment* to "Prufrock."² The first two "Preludes" were composed at Harvard in 1909 or 1910 and hence could owe nothing to Philippe. The third, written at Paris in 1911, and the fourth, written upon Eliot's return to Cambridge in the same year, as well as the "Rhapsody," also dating from 1911, reflect a studious contact with Philippe's sensibility. Into each of these—into the fourth "Prelude" from *Marie Donadieu*, a superior novel which is unfortunately not so well known in this country—there passed much of the gloom and exhaustion that one finds in Philippe's stories of the Paris underworld. Eliot himself (after confirming my original supposition that in the third of the "Preludes" he was drawing upon *Bubu de Montparnasse*) has kindly suggested that he may have taken something from the other book.³ His hint has been invaluable to the precise determination of his debt, which I have since

¹ Charles-Louis Philippe, *Bubu of Montparnasse*, trans. Laurence Vail, Preface by T. S. Eliot (Paris, 1932), p. vii.

² See John C. Pope, "Prufrock and Raskolnikov," *American Literature*, XVII, 213-230 (Nov., 1945), and "Prufrock and Raskolnikov Again: A Letter from Eliot," *American Literature*, XVIII, 319-321 (Jan., 1947).

³ In a letter of May 11, 1949.

realized appears, or so it seems, in "Prufrock" likewise and even in *The Waste Land*.

The subject of the third "Prelude," the awakening of a woman in the slums, is directly from Chapter IV of *Bubu de Montparnasse*, where Berthe the prostitute, who must presently confess to her lover Bubu that she is infected with syphilis, stirs and rises from her bed. The italics are mine:

Dans la chambre d'hôtel, rue Chanoinesse, à midi, *la fenêtre donnant sur la cour, avec ses rideaux gris et ses carreaux sales, envoyait un jour sale et gris.* . . . et il y avait *le lit défaït où les deux corps marquèrent leur place de sueur brune sur les draps usés, ce lit des chambres d'hôtels, où les corps sont sales et les âmes aussi.*

Berthe, en chemise, venait de se lever. Ses épaules étroites, sa chemise grise et *ses pieds malpropres*, mince et jaune, elle semblait sans lumière non plus. Par ses yeux bouffis et *ses cheveux écartés*, au milieu du désordre de la chambre elle était en désordre et *ses idées étaient couchées en tas dans sa tête*. Les réveils de midi sont lourds et poisseux comme la vie de la veille avec l'amour, l'alcool et le sommeil. On éprouve un sentiment de déchéance à cause des réveils d'autrefois où les idées étaient si claires qu'on eût dit que le sommeil les avait lavées. Quand tu auras dormi, mon frère, tu n'auras rien oublié. Elle ressentit encore ce poids d'angoisse qui, depuis hier, l'empêchait de respirer. *Elle se rappela tout*, et cela s'appuyait à deux genoux sur sa poitrine comme un monstre en colère.⁴

The quasi-Bergsonian touch in

The thousand sordid images
Of which your soul was constituted . . .

derives from a much later passage where the dominant theme is Berthe's memories:

Elle revoyait les objets innommables, les cuvettes et les choses qui traînent et *ses reins vidés de fille dans les nuits à clients*. Elle se rappelait tout: la marche des boulevards, l'alcool des cafés, les baisers sans goût, mêlait tout cela, le fondait dans un seul bloc, et dans son souvenir toutes ces nuits étaient la nuit où l'on devait enterrer son père.⁵

And the "vision of the street" is probably a reminiscence of *Marie Donadieu* and the heroine's practice of casually promenading.

⁴ Charles-Louis Philippe, *Bubu de Montparnasse* (Paris, 1919), pp. 79-81.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

through Paris to watch the passers-by and to philosophize about them in her fashion.⁶

For a genuine verbal parallel to *Marie Donadieu* one turns to the fourth "Prelude." The lines,

... short square fingers stuffing pipes,
And evening newspapers, and eyes
Assured of certain certainties . . .

are founded upon a description of Marie's lover Raphaël smoking his pipe:

Raphaël, assis, simple et *fumant sa pipe*, les examinait, *tassait la cendre du bout de son doigt*, suivait la fumée blanche et comme massive qui sort des pipes lorsqu'elles tirent bien et les possédaient l'un et l'autre. . . . Il était heureux . . . avec *l'assurance* que l'on possède dans un domaine ancien, avec la nouvelle joie que l'on se donne du jour où l'on y ajoute deux ailes.⁷

Of course one recalls "the smoke that rises from the pipes" in "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock." There is even in *Marie Donadieu* an extended discussion of Michelangelo and Dante, who figure in the other poem (Dante by its epigraph only), and the conversation precedes by only a few pages a very deliberate and memorable sketch of some demimondaine women in a restaurant.⁸ Prufrock's "one-night cheap hotels," moreover, have an analogue in the "chambres d'hôtels" of *Bubu de Montparnasse*, though indeed it is the general connotation which serves as a link, rather than the words.

"Rhapsody on a Windy Night" shifts the focus from the low street-walkers of Paris to the young man who finds himself a stranger in the metropolis. The situation in the poem is an obvious counterpart of that experienced by Pierre Hardy in *Bubu de Montparnasse* (Chapter I). A lonely student, he strolls along the avenues and observes the women who, like Berthe, are plying their trade, and whom from time to time he ventures to accost. He is obsessed with memories:

Un homme qui marche porte toutes les choses de sa vie et les remue dans sa tête. Un spectacle les éveille, un autre les excite. Notre chair a gardé tous nos souvenirs, nous les mêlons à nos désirs. Nous parcourons

⁶ Charles-Louis Philippe, *Marie Donadieu* (Paris, 1921), pp. 92-93.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-76, 78 ff.

le temps présent avec notre bagage, nous allons et nous sommes complets à tous les instants.⁹

Whether the bit about memories mixing with desires was the prototype of "mixing / Memory and desire" in *The Waste Land* is anybody's guess. Clearly some parts of the later poem were written earlier than 1921, when Eliot actually put it together in its initial form. The relation to the "Rhapsody," however, is unmistakable. As Pierre walks, he notices the street-lamps stretching away in rows:

Sur ce boulevard Sébastopol, dont les globes électriques s'en allaient à la file, il se promenait parmi des milliers de passants. Les lumières perçaient les feuillages des arbres et tombaient, dans l'ombre des branches, sur le trottoir. Il lui semblait que ces lumières étaient plus brillantes et que cette foule était encore plus nombreuse.¹⁰

The light-hearted crowds seem to sparkle like the gleam of a woman's eye:

Il les voyait par masses, avec des remous et des gestes, gais comme quelques éclats de rire qu'il avait entendus au passage et brillants comme quelques regards de femmes qu'il avait vu briller.¹¹

It is such a glance that Pierre awaits, though unsuccessfully, from a young woman whom he follows until she disappears through the doorway of a house. Eliot's lines, ending with

" . . . you see the corner of her eye
Twists like a crooked pin"

combine the previous image with this incident, told as an example:

Il la suivait pas à pas en remuant toutes ses pensées et la suivait à grands pas comme on poursuit un idéal. Il l'eût suivie bien loin dans la nuit parce qu'elle portait de la lumière. Toutes ces aventures avaient la même fin. Sans que l'on s'y attendît, *la jeune fille sonnait à la porte d'une maison*. Elle arrivait chez elle. Il la regardait une dernière fois et continuait sa route en pensant au lendemain et à tous les lendemains pendant lesquels il ne rencontrerait pas ce bonheur qu'il venait de laisser fuir.¹²

From *Marie Donadieu* there comes into this poem the single combination of images:

⁹ *Bubu de Montparnasse*, p. 16.
¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19; cf. pp. 29-30.
¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

Smells of chestnuts in the streets,
And female smells in shuttered rooms . . .

—this being a variation on Philippe's "des odeurs de filles publiques mêlées à des odeurs de nourriture."¹⁸

The conclusion at which one arrives after noting these comparisons is that, as so often in Eliot's work or in that of any other poet accustomed to borrow consciously from books, the influence was one of tone and atmosphere more often than of phrase and rhythm. The specific imitations in "Rhapsody on a Windy Night," for example, are mostly of Laforgue, though this is by no means precisely a "Laforguian poem" in the sense of "Conversation Galante."¹⁴ Eliot used Philippe's novels, as he used *Crime and Punishment*, to integrate a mood, and only in small measure to assist his phraseology. The verbal connections are just close enough to be discernible apart from Eliot's own testimony to the influence. When Eliot seizes upon a line (usually of poetry) and welds it into his verse, transforming it into something new without destroying the original character for which he has admired it, the metamorphosis is seldom so thorough as in his use of *Bubu de Montparnasse*. The last citation from *Marie Donadieu* shows the least change, perhaps, of all. Eliot's method was not dissimilar to that by which in "Little Gidding" he was to secure an allusion to Dean Swift by a single phrase from Yeats's poem "Swift's Epitaph."¹⁵ And yet one does

¹⁸ *Marie Donadieu*, p. 93.

¹⁴ Both the portrait of the moon and the ironical conclusion are thoroughly Laforguian, and so are the polysyllabic beginning and the geranium shaken in a madman's hands. The madman and the drum were either from "The Ballad of Reading Gaol" ("But each man's heart beat thick and quick,/Like a madman on a drum!") or from *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, IV, v ("Astonishment,/Fear, and amazement play against my heart,/Even as a madman beats upon a drum"). Heywood's play is echoed again in *The Cocktail Party* (New York, 1950), p. 100; see Eliot's *Selected Essays 1917-1932* (New York, 1932), p. 158. With the other quotations cf. the lines from Bishop King, in *Selected Essays*, p. 244.

The "Rhapsody" owes nothing to Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, as was suggested by someone a number of years ago (*Sewanee Review*, XLVI, 492-500, Oct.-Dec., 1938). Eliot had never heard of her before the article appeared.

¹⁵ T. S. Eliot, *Four Quartets* (New York, 1943), p. 35; W. B. Yeats, *Collected Poems* (New York, 1933), p. 283. There is a more direct imitation a few lines later; see Yeats, *op. cit.*, p. 289 ("Vacillation" V), and cf. T. S. Eliot, *After Strange Gods* (London, 1934), p. 46. The allusion to Swift has been remarked by Maurice Johnson, "The Ghost of Swift in *Four Quartets*," *Modern Language Notes*, LXIV, 273 (April, 1949).

The point is that the immediate rhetorical debt to Philippe in "Preludes" and the "Rhapsody" was negligible. The ghost passage in "Little Gidding" exhibits clearly the difference between mere allusiveness, where the subject matter of the sources is paramount,

not imagine, for all this, that the influence was in either place slight or unimportant; one would hardly be wrong to surmise that Philippe's at least was decisive, the chief inspiration for the poems concerned.

and the appropriation of a particular poetic style, there that of Dante, crossed with rhythms from Jacobean blank verse and the English *terza rima* of Shelley's "Triumph of Life." Or cf. "Dans le Restaurant," which owes its subject matter to Gide's *Le Prométhée mal enchaîné* and Rimbaud's "Les Poètes de sept ans," but its verse cadences to Corbière.

BRET HARTE AND THE OVERLAND MONTHLY

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IN THE SPRING of 1868 Francis Bret Harte was little known in the Eastern United States. In San Francisco he was known as a "promising" local writer and Secretary of the United States Branch Mint. Before that year came to an end, he was one of the nation's most popular writers. "The Luck of Roaring Camp" had been applauded and many times printed on both sides of the Atlantic; Harte's desk was covered with requests from publishers; and he was editor of one of the best American magazines.¹

Between Harte's success and the fact that he was editor of the *Overland Monthly* there exists a certain inescapable connection, for fame came to Harte as a result of his work for the magazine. The first mining camp tale was followed by "The Outcasts of Poker Flat," "Miggles," and "Tennessee's Partner." Although the enthusiast or the student may know a hundred of Bret Harte's titles, the average reader remembers him as the author of these four, and though many may know other lines, the most familiar of his verses is:

For ways that are dark and tricks that are vain,
The Heathen Chinee is peculiar.

—which was his last composition for the *Overland*.

Anton Roman, the genial German bookseller who had conceived the idea of a San Francisco monthly, talked over his plans with Harte early in the spring and after some negotiation induced him to assume the post of editor. The details of publication were quickly dispatched. Circulars from the publisher brought in advertising contracts that guaranteed the magazine a year of existence.² The best available composition and printing were obtained, and two powers of the San Francisco press, bewhiskered editor Noah Brooks

¹ See George R. Stewart, *Bret Harte: Argonaut and Exile* (Boston and New York, 1931).

² Anton Roman, "The Beginnings of the *Overland Monthly*," *Overland Monthly*, N.S. XXXII, 73 (July, 1898).

of the *Times*³ and William C. Bartlett, the literary editor of the *Bulletin*, were appointed as Harte's editorial associates.

Overland Monthly was selected from the names suggested as more appropriate than one indicating the locale of publication. "Shall not the route," asked Harte in his first editorial, "be represented as well as the *termini*?" And where our people travel, that is the highway of our thought."⁴ For a cover design, illustrator Charles Nahl produced a figure of a California bear, to which Harte added two parallel lines, placing the "ancient symbol of California savagery"⁵ astride the tracks of the approaching Overland railway.

In size and composition the new magazine was almost a replica of the *Atlantic*. Like the Eastern model, the *Overland* gave only the titles of articles. The authors' names were revealed in a semi-annual index at the close of each volume. An expert has said that the typography was patterned after *Lippincott's*,⁶ but it seems evident that the magazine's creators had the *Atlantic* in mind. The cover was buff, bearing the legend, "Devoted to the Development of the Country."⁷

The first number appeared on July 1, 1868. Its reception was cordial but not enthusiastic. The issue conformed to the motto. Of twelve articles, five dealt in more or less laudatory fashion with the Pacific Coast; one ranged as far afield as Egyptian Thebes; and two were concerned with Latin America. With the exception of "By Rail through France," a dissected joint of Mark Twain's forthcoming *Innocents Abroad*, nothing in the number could have impressed the practical publisher as markedly literary.⁸

³ Because of difficulties with the owners, Brooks resigned as editor of the *Times* a few weeks before the first issue of the *Overland* appeared. He went, however, to the editorial staff of the San Francisco *Alta California*, where he was of considerable service to Harte in publicizing and commanding the magazine. See Noah Brooks, "Henry George in California," *Century*, LVIII, 549-553 (Dec., 1899).

⁴ *Overland Monthly*, I, 99 (July, 1868).

⁵ Mark Twain described the emblem as "the prettiest fancy and the neatest that ever shot through Bret Harte's brain. The ancient symbol of California savagery, snarling at the approaching type of high and progressive civilization, the first overland locomotive" (Samuel L. Clemens, *Mark Twain's Letters*, 2 vols.; New York, 1917, I, 183-184).

⁶ Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines* (3 vols.; Cambridge, Mass., 1938), III, 254.

⁷ Tom Hood declared that his first impression of the journal was that it "was printed on paper seemingly related to that species in which beauty puts away her ringlets for the night, and its brown wrapper was of texture and tint suggestive of parcels of grocery" (Introduction to Bret Harte, *The Luck of Roaring Camp*, London, 1877).

⁸ Roman had been hesitant in offering the editorship to Harte in fear that he might be "likely to lean too much to the purely literary" (Roman, *loc. cit.*, p. 73).

Harte sought to leaven the August issue with a short story, his own "Luck of Roaring Camp." The overnight success of this piece and the national acclaim which it won for Harte are familiar stories. Some of this new-won fame was communicated to the magazine, and within a few months Samuel Bowles's powerful Springfield *Republican* was able to say: "It only needs another month or two of such success . . . to place . . . the *Overland* in foremost rank among the magazines of the United States."⁹

In 1869 the *Golden Era* remarked of the *Overland*: "Once in a while, the editor turns contributor and writes something which the public applaud[s] him for accepting in his editorial capacity."¹⁰ "The Luck of Roaring Camp" had been a new departure for Harte, designed and conceived for the *Overland Monthly*. In no other journal of the time would it have fitted so well. It was this keen consciousness of the demands of his journal that made the monthly under Harte an outstanding magazine.

Henry George, Prentice Mulford, Charles Warren Stoddard, Ina Coolbrith, and J. Ross Browne were all competent writers and regular contributors. To them must be attributed some part of the *Overland's* celebrity. The precipitate decline of the journal after Harte's departure was due not only to the loss of his contributions, but to the loss of his editorial talent.

From the summer of 1868 on, Harte was in complete control of the magazine. When the second issue reached the printer, a female proofreader objected that "The Luck" was profane and immoral. Timidly, the publisher and the associate editors suggested that the piece be withdrawn. Harte demanded that it be printed, and his complete vindication by the public freed him thereafter from any restriction in his direction of the magazine.¹¹

By the end of the first year Harte had become indispensable to the journal. Anton Roman sold his interest in the *Overland* to a local publisher, John H. Carmany, and Harte demanded and re-

⁹ *Springfield Republican*, Sept. 5, 1868.

¹⁰ *Golden Era*, Oct. 31, 1869.

¹¹ Though Roman claimed that he was responsible for printing "The Luck" over the proofreader's objection (*San Francisco Alta California*, Aug. 4, 1879), Harte in several places makes his own claim with more appearance of veracity. See Geoffrey Bret Harte, *The Letters of Bret Harte* (Boston and New York, 1926), pp. 152-153, and Bret Harte's introduction to *The Writings of Bret Harte* (Standard Library Edition; 24 vols.; New York, 1899), I, xii.

ceived from the new owner a salary of two hundred dollars a month, a private office rented by the *Overland*, and "exceptional editorial assistance."¹²

To Carmany, Harte complained: "No one would be happier than myself to be able to accept as Eastern editors do, only acceptable and properly prepared articles. But I must make the best of my material."¹³ In the two years and more in which Harte controlled the *Overland*, there must have been times when he was compelled to accept pieces simply as fillers, but the available evidence indicates that the magazine was formed more by Harte's judgment than by the material submitted haphazard to his desk.

Too consistent a pattern appears in the monthly to have been the result of chance. Every issue attempted to picture some aspects of Western life and to mirror some phases of the Western mind, but enough foreign matter was included to prevent the journal from becoming purely local in its scope.¹⁴

Also, Harte rejected offers that a hard-pressed editor would gladly have accepted. Edward Everett Hale proposed an arrangement whereby he should contribute to the *Overland*, and Harte turned him down.¹⁵ Even after Harte left the magazine, an editor was able to buy and never print an article by Bayard Taylor.¹⁶

Often Harte would insist that contributions be rewritten several times, and Charles Warren Stoddard testifies that the editor would spend hours revising titles and rearranging issues in order to create a harmonious table of contents.¹⁷ Each article was examined by the editor. In one of his letters to Carmany, Harte commented: "a couple of hours [is] less time than [I] usually give to an ordinary article."¹⁸ With special contributions, like the scathing "San Francisco"¹⁹ that drew municipal fire in January of 1870, the editor

¹² Harte, *Letters of Bret Harte*, pp. 7 ff.

¹³ Harte to John H. Carmany, n. d., in a MS file of correspondence of the *Overland Monthly* in the University of California Library, Berkeley, California.

¹⁴ The content of the *Overland* from 1868 through 1870 is analyzed in Ernest R. May, "The *Overland Monthly* under Bret Harte" (master's thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1948).

¹⁵ Hale to Bret Harte, n. d., *Overland* correspondence.

¹⁶ Account books of the *Overland Monthly*, MSS in the University of California Library, Berkeley, California.

¹⁷ Charles Warren Stoddard, *Exits and Entrances* (Boston, 1903), p. 254.

¹⁸ Harte to Carmany, n. d., *Overland* correspondence.

¹⁹ An article that criticized the state of civilization in San Francisco. The author was James T. Watkins, an obscure local journalist.

would spend several days rewriting, condensing, and conferring with the author.²⁰

Much routine was left to the publisher or to subordinates. "Mr. Evans," who was Harte's assistant after 1869,²¹ was charged with correcting errors of spelling and grammar.²² Financial details were left to the publisher.²³ When Harte accepted a contribution, he would indite a note to Carmany asking him to make payment and sometimes suggesting a price. Ordinarily, payment was made at the rate of a dollar a printed page, but there were exceptions.²⁴

Some of the detail fell to Harte. The composition of advertising copy was his province, even for his own volume *The Luck of Roaring Camp and Other Tales*,²⁵ and it was his duty to make extracts from the magazine for the use of newspaper reviewers.²⁶

A large part of the magazine's public relations work had to be carried on by the publisher. It was Harte's custom to spend much of his time up the bay in San Rafael. When he was there, Carmany would send him a bag of manuscripts or proof, and Harte would return it. Usually the bag was exchanged twice a week.

This distant location did not separate Harte from his principal contributors. When he was in San Francisco, the office on Clay Street was a favorite gathering place for the writers who contributed to the monthly. With Charles Warren Stoddard and Ina Coolbrith, Harte shared his keys to the *Overland* office.²⁷ Stoddard and Prentice Mulford, Benjamin Avery, one of the editors of the San Francisco *Bulletin*, Brooks, and Bartlett all spent a good deal

²⁰ Harte to Carmany, n. d., *Overland* correspondence.

²¹ "Mr. Evans" is mentioned several times in letters from Harte to Carmany in the *Overland* correspondence. His first name is never given, but I should guess that he was Taliesin Evans, a writer on the San Francisco *Chronicle* and an occasional contributor to the *Overland*.

²² There are instances in the *Overland* correspondence where Evans is noted as having this job, but Harte may have undertaken some of the work. The manuscripts submitted by Charles Warren Stoddard, who was by his own confession "an abominable speller," were all corrected by Evans (Journals of Charles Warren Stoddard, MSS in the Bancroft Library).

²³ On one occasion Harte wrote in a letter to Carmany: "I have nothing to say or do about the pecuniary relations of the magazine" (San Francisco, June 21, 1870, *Overland* correspondence).

²⁴ Harte himself was paid \$100 for each short story and \$25 for each poem (account books of the *Overland*).

²⁵ Harte to Carmany, San Rafael, n. d. (*Overland* correspondence).

²⁶ Harte to Carmany, n. d. (*ibid.*).

²⁷ Introduction by Ina Coolbrith to Bret Harte, *The Heathen Chinee*. (John Henry Nash edition; San Francisco, 1934), p. ix.

of time around Harte; and later, when it became the fashion in California to malign him, his *Overland* associates were among his strongest defenders.

Josephine Clifford McCrackin, who fictionalized in the *Overland* her adventurous escape from a deranged husband, wrote in later years of the warm greeting which she received on her first timorous visit to Harte's office.²⁸ This friendliness to young writers was one reason for Harte's editorial success. Another was his ability to "squeeze" contributions from tardy or reluctant writers. Both Brooks and Bartlett have paid tribute to the gentle coercion which Harte used on them.²⁹

The kindly picture painted by these friends did not always hold true. The proofreader who had objected to "The Luck" found no gracious treatment in the editor's office. Her contributions were summarily rejected. On one occasion Harte told a visitor, perhaps this same woman: "I will not trouble you to leave the manuscript; I am not publishing a Sunday School paper."³⁰

In addition to his pure function as editor, Harte had other literary duties on the monthly. He wrote and had to find others to write reviews for the "Current Literature" section, which stood at the end of each issue; and he composed a monthly column of editorial chat, "Etc."

Unfortunately, the reviews were unsigned, and the only ones which can be definitely ascribed to Harte are the dozen or so that survive in the manuscript collections of the Huntington Library.³¹ In these Harte shows himself a literary iconoclast, sniping at Lowell as "garrulous"³² and at Disraeli as "utterly artificial."³³ Of Edward Everett Hale's *Sybaris and Other Poems*, Harte wrote in criticism, ". . . the author betrays unmistakable Yankee traits. . . ."³⁴ And of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Oldtown Folks*, he commented: "She

²⁸ Josephine C. McCrackin, "A Letter from a Friend," *Overland*, N. S. XL, 224 (Sept., 1902).

²⁹ William C. Bartlett, "Overland Reminiscences," *ibid.*, N. S. XXXIII, 43 (July, 1898), and Noah Brooks, "Bret Harte in California," *Century*, LVIII, 448 (July, 1899).

³⁰ Stewart, *Bret Harte*, p. 175.

³¹ A complete list of these and of all Harte's *Overland* writings is given in George R. Stewart, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Bret Harte in the Magazines and Newspapers of California, 1857-1871* (University of California Studies in English, III, no. 3; Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1933), pp. 158-162.

³² *Overland*, IV, 386 (April, 1870).

³³ *Ibid.*, V, 192 (Aug., 1870).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 102 (Jan., 1870).

siezes [sic] upon a much-used stock . . . with the provincial satisfaction of a village gossip recalling village worthies."³⁵

In the selection of books to review, a variety of motives seems to have guided the editor. Aside from those which any literary publication had to cover, there were works which appear to have been selected for their unworthiness—to give the editor or his acid-tongued reviewers an opportunity for witty unpleasantries. Always too, the products of the publisher's house had to be praised.³⁶

"Etc.," which fell between the articles and "Current Literature," provided the closest contact between editor Harte and the *Overland's* readers.³⁷ No consistent theme or topic held this section; the editor simply chatted about whatever happened to be in his mind. "Etc." had no counterpart in the *Atlantic*, and its inspiration came probably from the folksy features of the weekly *Golden Era*, a journal adapted to the mining camps of Gold-Rush California.³⁸

This forum was used by Harte to express opinion on San Francisco events, social problems, or current happenings. Occasionally, he would intone a eulogy or lapse into comment about the weather. Sometimes the column took up topics of reform, but Harte was never a penetrating social critic. His comments were ordinarily supercilious, designed rather to vent sarcastic wit than to achieve an end. Occasionally, he championed a cause, but when so, it was usually one popular among San Francisco's literati.

The *Overland's* fourth editorial preached vaccination: "If the chance-taking, gambling, adventurous, risky, romantic Californian won't be vaccinated for his own sake, he must be made innocuous

³⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 390 (Oct., 1869).

³⁶ Roman sold the *Overland* to John H. Carmany in the middle of 1869. Carmany was also a publisher, but his primary interests were trade journals and commercial periodicals; so a burden was lifted from "Current Literature."

³⁷ It is fairly clear that Harte wrote all of the "Etc." columns that appeared between July, 1868, and September, 1870. Often he joined to his column "Gossip Abroad" from some foreign correspondent, but all comment of an editorial nature came from him. Many of these survive in manuscript form in the Huntington Library. In his correspondence with Carmany, Harte indicates that the composition of "Etc." was entirely his responsibility, and in July and November, 1869, and from September, 1870, until William C. Bartlett was officially announced as the new editor, no "Etc." appeared. The press of San Francisco was indignant on these occasions at being deprived of one of the magazine's best features. If Harte had even occasionally entrusted the column to someone else, these gaps would not have appeared. For other evidences of Harte's authorship, see Stewart, *Bibliography*, p. 158.

³⁸ See Franklin Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier* (New York, 1939); pp. 116-146.

for the security of California."³⁹ The magazine's reviewers paid little or no attention to this opinion. The editor, however, did not mean to be ignored, and at the first opportunity he made sure that "Etc." would be noticed.

In late October, 1868, San Francisco experienced a slight earthquake. Immigration was at a high level, and the approaching overland railway was expected to bring in a new tide of settlers. That this might not be discouraged, businessmen and newspaper editors agreed to play down the event.

Since the *Overland* was not a magazine of current events, Harte was not approached in this civic cause, and the city fathers were astonished to find the November issue flaunting an article, specially solicited by Harte, "Concerning the Late Earthquake," a poem alluding to the event, and an editorial column which derided the efforts of the city's press. "It has been suggested," wrote Harte, "that with a little more preparation on our part, the earthquake would have been very badly damaged in the encounter."⁴⁰

There was some indignation over this flouting of municipal pride, but thereafter "Etc." was ignored no more. Assured thus of a wider if less hospitable audience, Harte continued his attacks. At the Christmas season he concluded his column with the comment, "It is feared that no inmate of the San Francisco County Hospital will ever look back to it with the regret of the poor patient in 'Little Dorrit' who remembered longingly 'the wine and lots of chicking.'"⁴¹

After this Christmas sally Harte waited until May to speak out again. His comments on the earthquake had been aimed at the businessmen of San Francisco, and more and more of his pokes took that direction. The occasion of the May burst was a fire and cave-in at the Gold Hill mine, and Harte devoted most of his column to a mawkish lament:⁴²

The sudden death from which we pray to be delivered is terrible. But sudden death to Dives, who owns half a mine—whose children are comfortably provided for—means but little; but sudden death to Dives' humblest workman means starvation and suffering to his widow, suffering and sometimes sin and crime to his children.

³⁹ *Overland*, I, 388 (Oct., 1868).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, 93 (Jan., 1869).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 480 (Nov., 1868).

⁴² *Ibid.*, II, 479 (May, 1869).

After Carmany had signed a new contract embodying all of Harte's demands, the editor returned with assurance to tilt at the shortcomings of San Francisco. The August "Etc." for 1869 called attention to the near bankruptcy of the Mercantile Library Association, a seventeen-year-old community project, and denounced the "attitude of mendicancy" which had led the Library's committee to raise funds through a theatrical performance.

Public nonsupport of the Mercantile Library continued to pique Harte, and the subject cropped up twice again in "Etc." In October the column charged that "cities of half our wealth . . . would be ashamed to keep their public library for twelve months in a state of bankruptcy." The same editorial harked back to another complaint. "There are countries," he wrote, "less heralded for their generosity and charity, that would not dare to invite immigration without a public hospital to take care of their sick and suffering."⁴³

It was June of 1870 before Harte again took up arms in behalf of the Mercantile Library. Unable to raise funds by legitimate means, the Library Association had obtained legislative authorization for a lottery, a procedure branded by one historian as "defiance of the constitution."⁴⁴ "The merchants of San Francisco," Harte exclaimed, "can not or will not pay two hundred thousand dollars for a local literary institution under their patronage and bearing their name. . . . For the sake of saving this monument of mistaken zeal, they now appeal to a California impulse inimical to commercial prosperity—the spirit of gambling and speculation."⁴⁵

These were the principal issues on which Harte held forth in "Etc." Once he denounced the "materialism . . . shamelessly evinced . . . in the opposition to the completion of the State Geological Survey."⁴⁶ And he strayed once from tirade against the business community to inveigh against the jailing of a San Francisco schoolmaster on a charge of having flogged his pupils. "It has been argued that flogging is degrading to the 'manliness' and 'self-reliance' of the San Francisco youth, whose fearless stoning of Chinamen has long been the wonder of an admiring world."⁴⁷

Through these specific charges run two strains of larger opinion:

⁴³ *Ibid.*, III, 384 (Oct., 1869).

⁴⁴ John S. Hittell, *A History of the City of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1876), p. 382.

⁴⁵ *Overland*, IV, 575 (June, 1870).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 384 (Oct., 1869).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 379 (May, 1870).

one a reproachful attitude toward the bumptious California of his day, and the other a profound contempt for commercialism.

The first of these leanings underlies the earthquake editorial and shows through even in reference to the climate. "Is it possible," he asked in one editorial, "that Californians are yet as ignorant of this climate—of which they talk so loudly and so foolishly—as they once were of its resources?"⁴⁸ In the book reviews some note of this crops out. From the Rev. John Todd's *The Sunset Land; or The Great Pacific Slope*, Harte quoted this line: "The right kind of men are welcomed to San Francisco with a cordiality that is beautiful," and added: "They should, however, bring a small amount of capital and their own napkin rings."⁴⁹

In his column on the Mercantile Library, Harte's opinion on commercialism shows plainly. And commenting on the death of George Peabody, he remarked that the banker had learned "the dignity and strength that come with retirement from the pursuit of mere wealth."⁵⁰

An outlet for all of Harte's opinions and for much of his malice was provided by the activities of the Society of California Pioneers, an organization for which he nourished a lifelong distaste. Once in conversation with a group who boasted of their experiences in '49, he asked a particularly vainglorious pioneer: "Are you one of those blanked fools who landed here when the water came up to Montgomery Street?"⁵¹

To this distaste he gave ample vent in "Etc." When the Pioneers were planning an Eastern excursion in the fall of 1869, Harte suggested that they would "be able to see that the world has not stood still, outside of California, for the last twenty years."⁵²

In the second issue of the magazine Harte had lambasted the Society, offering a parallel between their organization and a hypothetical "society of British pioneers" formed by the Roman invaders. "The origins," he observed, "of some of the oldest families of England, and what will be some of the oldest of California, are equally ignoble."⁵³

As editor of the *Overland*, Harte could level much of this criticism without fear of retribution. As 1868 wore into 1869, the author

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 576 (June, 1870).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 195 (Feb., 1870).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 575 (Dec., 1869).

⁵¹ Brooks, "Bret Harte in California," p. 450.

⁵² *Overland*, II, 383 (Oct., 1869).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, I, 191 (Aug., 1868).

of "The Luck" was even farther from reproach. Success silences even a society of Pioneers.

There were reprisals, however. Noah Brooks later wrote that a Chair of Literature at the University of California had not been offered to Harte because one of the Regents refused to confer any honor on the author of the earthquake pleasantry.⁵⁴

In the summer of 1870 those who had been affronted by Harte struck at both the editor and the magazine. The State Board of Education responded to a demand that the *Overland* be excluded from school libraries. Against this ruling Harte fulminated:

Objection was made . . . on the ground that it was impossible to forecast what might appear in its pages. If this was offered . . . as a hint that political surveillance by the California State Board of Education was necessary . . . , the difficulty, it is feared, will continue to exist.⁵⁵

In September of that year, Harte's last column appeared. He remained nominally editor until the volume closed in December, but he was already preparing his departure for the East.⁵⁶

Harte would never have permitted "Etc." to crusade. In a review of Wilkie Collins's *Man and Wife* he declared that an "ulterior social object" spoiled good writing. And clearly Harte's editorials never approached the real issues of the day. Reconstruction policy is not once mentioned in "Etc.," nor is the corruption of the Grant administration noted except by allusion. "The Heathen Chinee" shows Harte's sympathy for the Chinese, but he editorializes on the anti-Oriental sentiment of California only in passing.

In leaving the *Overland*, Harte deprived himself of much that had contributed to his success. Both the plotting and the color of his mining camp tales had derived from anecdotes that he heard in San Francisco and around the *Overland* office.⁵⁷ Resignation from the Mint and the magazine deprived him of the salaried leisure in which his best work had been done. In his *Overland*

⁵⁴ Brooks, "Bret Harte in California," p. 450.

⁵⁵ *Overland*, V, 190 (Aug., 1870).

⁵⁶ See Stewart, *Bret Harte*, pp. 183 ff., and Bradford A. Booth, "Bret Harte Goes East: Some Unpublished Letters," *American Literature*, XIX, 318-335 (Jan., 1948).

⁵⁷ See Stewart, *Bret Harte*, pp. 162 ff., for the origins of "The Luck," and Fred M. Stocking, "The Passing of Tennessee and His Partner," *Overland*, N. S. XLII, 539-543 (Dec., 1903) and Jessie Heaton Robinson, *Adventuring in California* (San Francisco, 1921), pp. 81-118, for the origins of "Tennessee's Partner."

days he would spend an hour on a single paragraph,⁵⁸ but after he had been in the East for a time, it became his custom to turn out stories overnight.⁵⁹

Harte's fame rests on a handful of short stories which he wrote for the *Overland Monthly*. Had the magazine endured, it would have been a greater monument to Bret Harte than any of his writing. It was essentially Bret Harte's magazine, formed almost entirely by his tastes and his judgments. Incapable editors followed him, and after the panic of 1873 the magazine was swept away.⁶⁰

But for all the brevity of its life, the *Overland* is still important in the cultural history of the West. Not until after the disappearance of the frontier did the Western United States produce another publication that reached the level of the *Overland*, if indeed any have. For this fact, the work of Bret Harte as the maker of the *Overland* becomes as significant as the work of the magazine in the making of Bret Harte.

⁵⁸ Bartlett, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁵⁹ Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography* (4 vols.; New York, 1924), II, 587-588.

⁶⁰ The magazine actually continued until 1875. Its revenues, however, waned from Bret Harte's departure on. Briefly, there was hope of a renascence under the editorship of Benjamin Parke Avery, but Avery accepted appointment as Minister to China. After the venture had collapsed, John H. Carmany mournfully complained, "I spent \$30,000 to make Bret Harte famous" (Ella Sterling Cummins, *The Story of the Files*, San Francisco, 1893; p. 146). In 1883 the *Overland* was revived, and the new issue limped along until the 1930's. It received contributions from Joaquin Miller, Josiah Royce, and others of note. Jack London describes his experiences as a contributor in *Martin Eden*, thinly disguising the magazine as the *Transcontinental Monthly*. But after Bret Harte left, it never managed to be better than a second-class magazine.

BENJAMIN ORANGE FLOWER: FATHER OF THE MUCKRAKERS

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I

FIR ED BY a determination to elevate humanity to a higher social and intellectual plateau, Benjamin Orange Flower (1858-1918) in 1885 resigned his position as secretary to a Philadelphia physician and journeyed north to Boston. Although he was sincere and ambitious, it is doubtful if the prairie-born, religiously educated young man had any notion at the time that he was destined to become Boston's most outspoken apostle for reform during the next three decades. Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics* had weaned him from the ministry, but he became a successful minister of progress as editor of the *American Spectator* (1886-1889), the *Arena* (1889-1896, 1900-1909), the *New Time* (1897-1898), the *Coming Age* (1899-1900), and the *Twentieth Century Magazine* (1909-1911).¹ He exerted greatest influence, however, while editing the *Arena*, a periodical "whose ardent course prepared the way for the Muckrakers of the twentieth century."² During the mid-nineties the circulating of the reform magazine soared to the seventy-thousand mark, a phenomenal total for a controversial review admittedly founded to "agitate, educate, organize, and move forward."³ Furthermore, it served as a vent for those "who, not being in harmony with the conventional, conservative, and reactionary opinions, found

¹ For biographical material, see Harris E. Starr's account in *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 477-478 and Howard F. Cline's "Mechanics of Dissent" (unpublished honors thesis, Department of History, Harvard University, 1939). Cline's findings have been published in two essays: "Benjamin Orange Flower and the *Arena*, 1889-1909" and "Flower and the *Arena*: Purpose and Content" in *Journalism Quarterly*, XVII, 139-150, 247-257 (June and Sept., 1940).

² Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City* (New York, 1933), pp. 182-183.

³ *Arena*, XXIV, 541. (Nov., 1900). There is some controversy pertaining to the exact circulation of the *Arena*. Regier, in his *Era of the Muckrakers*, p. 19, credits the magazine with "nearly one-hundred thousand readers," while Cargill in his *Social Revolt* (New York, 1933), p. 4, says that the *Arena* had a circulation of seventy thousand. Cline (*op. cit.*, pp. 123-124) has studied several tabulations of figures, none of which estimates a total higher than thirty-five thousand. Judging from several of Flower's comments, Cargill's estimate appears most nearly accurate.

the great reviews, magazines, and periodicals closed to them.”⁴ But the *Arena* was merely “the lengthened shadow of a man,” for Benjamin Flower earnestly believed that “the gold of truth” could be found only “in the crucible of free discussion.” New ideas had to be taken into the area by the gladiators of progress.⁵

II

Behind nearly every essay that Flower wrote, whether his subject was ostrich-farming or trust-busting, women’s fashions or Boston slums, there was a single purpose: the enlightenment and ennoblement of humanity. The dynamic editor had a Jeffersonian faith in the perfectibility and divinity of man, and to this faith he addressed every effort. He persistently reiterated his formula for social reform: “Awaken the conscience of each individual and make him aware of his ‘sphere of influence’ and ‘justice will inevitably follow, for no evil can withstand the enlightened and aroused conscience of a nation.’ ”⁶ Belief in the potentiality of conscience was a basic point of reference for Flower as he filled the *Arena* with revelations of American social evils.

Many of Flower’s contemporaries were aware that the Vanderbilts, Rockefellers, and Goulds were amassing fabulous fortunes by means of exploitation and lawlessness, but few dared to stand resolutely against their questionable tactics. Flower realized that he could obtain no support from Gilder, Bok, and other editors of the magazines of “good taste.” But this fact did not deter him. He lashed fearlessly into the “materialistic commercialism,” “law-bulwarked privilege,” and “hydra-headed plutocracy” inhibiting the vanguard of social and ethical progress. Certainly the spirit of the Declaration was not to be found in a political system which allowed capitalistic harpies to feed upon the energy of undernourished millions. “The true function of government,” he claimed, “was to promote the happiness, intelligence, and prosperity of all the citizens”;⁷ yet, during the Panic of 1893, no constructive relief was

⁴ *Arena*, XXXI, 550 (May, 1904).

⁵ The name of the magazine seems to have been inspired by a passage from Heine which appeared on the cover of each issue:

“We do not take possession of our ideas but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where like gladiators, we must fight for them.”

⁶ *Arena*, IX, 553 (March, 1894). ⁷ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 389 (Sept., 1898).

provided by either the Federal or state governments. The states merely encouraged the erection of armories, Flower pointed out, and these medieval structures were surely bastilles of plutocracy. The attitude of the *Army Magazine* seemed to confirm his beliefs: "The general feeling of unrest in the labor and socialistic circles throughout the entire country this spring is only another reason why the National Guard should be given stronger support by both the national and state governments."⁸

While Flower's view of the national scene may have been distorted in this instance, he was one of the few American editors during the nineties who attributed social ills to the failure of laissez-faire economy. He believed that the poverty-stricken, ill-clad people living in city slums were not entirely responsible for their wretchedness, although the apostles of individualism would have these "social exiles" believe that laziness had led to their misfortune. He realized that the rapid growth of cities, unrestricted immigration, and technological development were also causal forces. Carrying the argument one step farther, he called attention to the fact that slums were the nurseries of crime, prostitution, and widespread drunkenness. Innumerable case histories, many of which he compiled when visiting backward areas of Boston, were cited to bring the deplorable conditions more vividly to the minds of his readers. But Flower did more than theorize, he suggested many practical solutions to social and economic problems.

Although he realized that the "electricity of idealism" (which darted so swiftly in his own veins!) would not deflate the swollen belly of a starving child or charge everybody's soul with enough energy to dispel demoralization, he did recommend a long-range plan for educating men, women, and children. His own editorial work was a part of that program. Kindergartens, coffee houses, reading rooms, industrial homes for orphans, and other educational institutions should be provided by city, state, and nation. Through his agitation for model apartment houses, Flower became the Jacob Riis of Boston.

Even more urgent than education and better housing was the necessity of assisting the unemployed. Flower believed that no

⁸ *Ibid.*, X, 620 (Oct., 1894). He quoted from the April, 1894, issue of *Army Magazine*, published in Chicago.

lasting reform could be effected, either for the wealth of the nation or the character of its citizens, by throwing crusts of charity to social and economic outcasts. He therefore advocated a government-authorized, P.W.A.-like program of public works to establish flood control on the Mississippi and irrigation systems in the semiarid areas of the West. He realized, of course, that such a plan would cost the government millions of dollars, but insisted that it would restore the self-respect and self-confidence of thousands of people as well as alleviate immediate suffering. When the Federal government failed to make reasonable provision for the unfortunate victims of the economic machine during the depression of 1893, Flower became caustic. It could spend "millions for armories . . . but not one cent to furnish employment to able-bodied industry."⁹ Since "the interest of each is the interest of all," he argued, co-operation should be the keynote of America's economic and social philosophy.¹⁰ During one flight of prophecy, Flower remarked: "The competitive system is irretrievably doomed. Its day is far spent; its night is rapidly settling over the civilized world and nowhere is the darkness greater than in this country."¹¹ Once, the militant editor actively espoused socialism; at all times his mind was open to the winds of new doctrines. The *Arena's* pages were filled with articles on anarchism, socialism, populism, co-operatives, and the single tax.¹² Commenting upon the irreconcilable differences between capital and labor, he once suggested that enlightenment might not come until blood flowed.¹³ But he hastened to add that evolution was to be preferred to revolution, reasonableness before emotionalism. Egregious as the laws might be and regardless of the degree to which they favored the rich, they were to be obeyed. Reform was to emanate from education, agitation, and moral regeneration.

⁹ *Arena*, IX, 822 (May, 1894).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XVIII, 673 (Oct., 1897).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XX, 401 (Sept., 1898).

¹² A list of the more important contributors to the *Arena* would include William Jennings Bryan, William Lloyd Garrison, Henry George, Laurence Gronlund, Edward Everett Hale, James A. Herne, Elbert Hubbard, Col. Robert Ingersoll, David Starr Jordan, Edwin Markham, Gerald Massey, Joaquin Miller, David Graham Phillips, Theodore Schroeder, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, William T. Stead, Count Leo Tolstoy, Alfred Russel Wallace, Gen. James B. Weaver, Frances E. Willard, Hamlin Garland.

¹³ *Arena*, VII, 511 (March, 1893).

III

Three principles follow logically from Flower's belief in the perfectibility of man: (1) his moral attitude toward life; (2) his belief in freedom; and (3) his optimistic outlook regarding the future of civilization. These views pervade nearly every page of his writing and must be analyzed for a more complete understanding of his career.

Flower was an absolutist in ethics and judged every man, event, and idea accordingly. "It is man's duty," he declared, "to stand for what he believes to be the truth, and to oppose what he conceives to be error."¹⁴ He compared the captains of industry with Julius Caesar while hailing Whittier, Hugo, and James G. Clark as new prophets in the "choir of progress," men whose ethical writings were slowly lifting humanity "upward toward the sun-bathed plane of perfect civilization."¹⁵ The immorality enervating society came from three sources: unfortunate early environment, the implied inferiority of women, and the artificiality of upper-class living.¹⁶ Even these wretched problems might be solved by employing the calculus of freedom, the second principle to be considered.

Flower fervently believed that "the destiny-stamping power of early environment" should not be underestimated. Every child must be free to drink at the fountainhead of the "soul culture" which should exist in every home. But, how could the child mature morally and intellectually if he were shackled to a spinning frame in a textile mill twelve hours every day? Child labor reform was imperative. Likewise, women had to fight for intellectual, political, and legal rights. Flower wrote many articles on this topic. Furthermore, he ridiculed the bustle-wearing, corset-molded slaves of fashion who ruined not only their own health but also that of their unborn children. He fought indefatigably against prostitution practiced within the marriage bond. Why should a woman bear children to a lustful, drunken husband when "freedom to divorce" would solve the problem?

¹⁴ Benjamin O. Flower, *Progressive Men, Women, and Movements of the Past Twenty-five Years* (Boston, 1914), p. 20. Flower's only full-length book summarizes the accomplishments of the *Arena* and reflects his optimistic philosophy.

¹⁵ *Arena*, XV, 979 (May, 1896).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, VIII, 394-400 (Aug., 1893).

When civil liberties were at stake, the vehement editor became even more outspoken. He thoroughly denounced Brown University when it appeared to sacrifice academic freedom for corporate wealth in the late nineties.¹⁷ He insisted that Seventh Day Adventists should have the right to worship as they pleased,¹⁸ and he became caustic when freedom of the press was challenged. Censuring newspapers and magazines which remained silent about trusts, slums, and other controversial subjects, he set forth his credo: "I believe it is the duty of every high-minded man and woman to be brave, frank, and outspoken in behalf of a higher civilization."¹⁹ Serving his "apprenticeship" as a feature writer for the *Arena*, Hamlin Garland soon learned that it was unnecessary to delete "objectionable" paragraphs from his stories about the Middle Border. "When I ask a man to write for me," Flower admonished, "I want him to utter his mind with perfect freedom. My magazine is not one that is afraid of strong opinions."²⁰

When Tolstoy's "obscene" *Kreutzer Sonata* was banned from the mails by the Postmaster-General, the fiery editor trained his heavy ordnance upon the censor:

No greater enemy of society can be found than the man who would strike down those who are conscientiously seeking to tear aside the mask which is hiding the corrupting evils.²¹

I believe the doctrine of paternal censorship to be pernicious and inimical to the best interests of civilization; . . . its positive tendency is to make moral imbeciles of the people. . . . The idea that ignorance is virtue is one of the most dangerous fallacies that can be entertained.²²

The third element resulting from Flower's fundamental philosophy of man is his optimism. So often is this belief expressed, so rhetorical does he become, one tires of hearing about the approaching millennium. Literally hundreds of passages might be cited to reflect this attitude. Several factors aside from those already mentioned may explain his conviction. First of all, most reformers have to be optimistic if they are to evangelize incessantly in the dazzling

¹⁷ *New Time*, I, 157-160 (Sept., 1897).

¹⁸ *Arena*, VII, 125 (Dec., 1892).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 760 (Nov., 1890).

²⁰ Quoted in Hamlin Garland's *A Son of the Middle Border* (New York, 1917), pp. 410-411.

²¹ *Arena*, II, 543 (Oct., 1890).

²² *Ibid.*, III, 127 (Dec., 1890).

light of reality. Secondly, Flower lived in an era of utopianism; for nearly fifty utopian novels were written in America between his arrival in Boston and the turn of the century.²³ Thirdly, the editor was an ardent believer in the Spencerian doctrine of social evolution, even though he did not agree with the let-alone aspects of this particular philosophy. Then, too, Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* and Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* had led to the formation of many Single Tax or Nationalist clubs throughout America, all of which Flower approved. Finally, his weakest convictions were strengthened when the Progressive Movement "caught up with him" shortly after 1900.

"Humanity is rising," he declared confidently in the mid-nineties. "Life as a whole is ascending."²⁴ Later in the decade he edited two magazines the names of which, the *New Time* and the *Coming Age*, mirrored his optimism. In the latter he reiterated his faith:

We are living today in one of the most wonderful transition periods known to man, and during such epochs more can be accomplished in a year than would be possible in a decade of peaceful years, when the thought of the world moves sluggishly and the imagination of the people is dormant.²⁵

Flower grasped every opportunity to infuse this idea into his readers' minds. He quoted poems, devised moralistic epigrams, and seized upon Christmas as a symbol of the advent of the new order. Because it was an age of transition, every decision was vital. "The public mind," he believed, "resembled the iron at white heat ready to be shaped into sledge hammers to break the shackles of bondage, or to be forged into links which might enslave."²⁶ The present was pregnant with the future, and competent, dedicated men were needed to deliver the new generations.

IV

During the course of his editorship Flower made many studies of literary figures and reviewed hundreds of books. Again, moral-

²³ Allyn B. Forbes, "The Literary Quest for Utopia," *Social Forces*, vol. VI, no. 2, 179-189 (Dec., 1927). Flower appears to have known Bellamy and William Dean Howells (*A Traveller from Altruria* was Howells's utopian contribution), but was more friendly with Henry George. Cf. Emerson, *Representative Men*, chap. viii. Also see Vernon L. Parrington, Jr., *American Dreams: A Study of American Utopias* (Providence, 1948), the most recent study of this phenomenon.

²⁴ *Arena*, X, 260 (July, 1894).

²⁵ *Coming Age*, I, 95 (Jan., 1899).

²⁶ *Arena*, XIII, 405 (Aug., 1895).

istic philosophy determined the central principle of his literary criticism: all art should serve a utilitarian purpose. "I have no sympathy," he wrote:

with the flippant, effeminate and senile cry, "Art for art's sake"; that is the echo of a decaying civilization, the voice of Greece and Rome in their decline. It is the shibboleth of a people drunken with pleasure; of a popular conscience anaesthetized; the cry of sensualism and selfishness popular with shallow minds and bloodless hearts; the incarnation of that fatal effeminacy that springs from a union of wealth and superficial intellectuality; the voice of a human automaton without a soul.²⁷

Flower made two pleas: that literature be realistic, and that it be designed to lift man spiritually. If existing conditions could be visualized by the readers of books, steps might be taken to improve the lot of man. Literature, in short, must be the servant of progress.

He therefore gave encouragement to Hamlin Garland, who was laying bare the less romantic aspects of the Westward Movement, and to James A. Herne, whose Boston-banned *Margaret Fleming* had abandoned "the gangrene of artificiality"²⁸ for a realistic exposition of social conditions in the East. Ibsen, Tolstoy, and Howells ranked high in Flower's opinion. While they had not "ascended the mountain quite far enough to sweep the whole horizon, they are doing magnificent work," judged the editor, "and work which is vital because it is true."²⁹ *A Traveler from Altruria* was regarded as the "most finished of the 'social visions,' . . . a noble literary and artistic addition to the permanent social fiction of America."³⁰ Although he had difficulty in swallowing Zola in the 1890's (because the French novelist had "never felt the fire of a holy desire to . . . make the world better, purer, or truer"),³¹ a decade later the editor admonished his readers about Zola's *Labor*: "No student of social, economic, or political conditions, and indeed no person who wishes to keep abreast of the current of modern life as it relates to economic progress, can afford to slight this masterpiece among social studies—this epic of labor and love."³²

When Frank Norris, Upton Sinclair, David Graham Phillips, and Jack London departed from the genteel tradition, Flower was

²⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 247 (July, 1891).

²⁸ *Ibid.* Also, see VIII, 304-313 (Aug., 1893).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 304-313 (Aug., 1893).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 127 (Dec., 1890).

³¹ *Ibid.*, XXVI, 322 (Sept., 1901).

³² *Ibid.*, XXVI, 322-326 (Sept., 1901).

among the first to applaud. He recounted the difficulty which Sinclair had to overcome in getting his novel on the meat-packing industry published.³³ He considered Phillips's *The Plum Tree* the most important book of 1905 "because it unmasks present political conditions in a manner so graphic, so convincing and so compelling that it cannot fail to arouse the thoughtful people to the deadly peril which confronts our people."³⁴ This emphasis upon greater awareness leads to the second major characteristic of his criticism.

While he praised many authors for reflecting the world as it was, he heralded others for indicating how it might be. The ideal poet, for example, "even though regarded by the new thought as somewhat of a Philistine, will ever . . . be loved more or less alike by critic and partisan, because the songs sung reflect the longing of man's inner nature."³⁵ This was one reason for Flower's love of Hugo, whom he extols repeatedly during the nineties. His criticism of *Les Misérables* is typical:

Les Misérables is more than one of the noblest works of fiction which the world possesses. It is a remarkable social study, a prayer for a higher ideal of justice, a heart-cry for a more humane public spirit, a noble picture of the divine in man and of the possible evolution of the child of an adverse fate from an embittered Ishmaelite to the personification of a noble manhood, made luminous by self-sacrifice.³⁶

In short, idealistic literature was regarded as a positive influence in the world. Rarely did Flower's criticism become sentimental, for idealism was always purposive. This fact becomes more clear upon analyzing his technique of reviewing books. After discussing the problem raised by the volume in question, he would summarize the content. Then he would explain why the book either advanced or inhibited movement in the direction of Light. If it fell in the former category, it was praised; if in the latter, damned!

With these criteria for evaluation it is no wonder that Flower despaired of the "weird" and "gruesome" stories of Lafcadio Hearn³⁷ or spoke with derision about the "leprosy of dilettantism" flowering in those educational institutions affecting "contempt for all art which moved man to nobler attainments."³⁸ Rather, he claimed,

³³ *Ibid.*, XXXV, 186-187 (Feb., 1906). This refers, of course, to *The Jungle*.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 663 (June, 1905).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, VI, 289 (Aug., 1892).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, X, 105 (June, 1894).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, XXXV, 237 (Feb., 1901).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, XIII, 517 (Aug., 1895).

"Art . . . when true appeals to something deeper and finer than the surface whims of humanity, and . . . when she concerns herself with the humblest life, . . . proves absorbingly fascinating to all those in whom the current of human emotions flows in the deeper nature-ordained channels, instead of over the shallow crust of conventionality."³⁹

Flower's attitudes are reflected in the type of literature and literary criticism appearing in his magazines. While every conceivable "ism" gained a hearing in the *Arena*, the poems and short stories seem to have been designed to fit the editor's literary theories, though it is doubtful if any story was deliberately censored. Odes to labor, psalms to brotherhood, and songs to the New Freedom are interspersed liberally between essays on pantheism, nationalization of the telegraph system, and the Republican Party! Likewise, literary criticism other than Flower's; while not neglecting the great figures of Western World literature, has a definite bent toward realism. Since Flower's writing had a purpose, why shouldn't he use every device at hand to further the coming of the New Age? Or does such purposive activity become an obsession which blinds the critic to the beauties of diction, nuances of expression, and the description of persons, places, and things having no immediate relation to "progress?" Is he correct in concluding that Gerald Massey, Edwin Markham, and Victor Hugo "have vindicated their right to the robe of Elijah" because they have sought an ideal in the Golden Rule which would supplant the rule of gold?⁴⁰

v

It is difficult to understand why Flower and his *Arena* have been almost completely neglected, but most standard critical and historical works on American literature fail to mention him. There is no adequate published analysis of his contribution to American intellectual and social thought.⁴¹ That Flower exercised considerable influence during his day is indicated not only by circulation

³⁹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 308 (Aug., 1893).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, XXV, 672 (June, 1901).

⁴¹ David Howard Dickason, "The Contributions of B. O. Flower and the *Arena* to Critical Thought in America" (an unpublished thesis written for the Department of English at Ohio State University, 1940), p. 1. Of the thirty-six standard works examined, Dickason lists twenty-one which fail to mention Flower and the *Arena*. The only other extensive analyses which I could discover were Fred C. Mabee's master's thesis (Columbia, 1938) and Howard F. Cline's honors thesis (Harvard, 1939).

figures, but also by his ability to establish from eighty to one hundred Arena Clubs throughout the nation by means of his cogent editorials.⁴² That he has received so little attention is perhaps due to the noise made subsequently by the Muckrakers. The voice which he sounded during the nineties was drowned out, and later generations have lost sight of the fighting which he did on the beachhead of reform. If not the "father of the Muckrakers," he was at least a spiritual ancestor of this latter-day tribe. It is true that he sometimes assumed the role of "zealot and dreamer,"⁴³ and his rhetoric often carried him outside the realm of reason. Furthermore, his belief that people would automatically mend their ways if the festers of evil were opened before their eyes was somewhat naïve. However idealistic the framework of Flower's philosophy may have been, the masonry was realistic, and his plans for action had a reasonable basis for success, as we have learned since 1933.

⁴² Flower, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁴³ Oscar Cargill (ed.), *Social Revolt: American Literature from 1888 to 1914* (New York, 1933), p. 4.

THE EARLY LOVE SCENES IN MELVILLE'S PIERRE

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EVER SINCE its publication in 1852, Herman Melville's *Pierre; or, The Ambiguities* has been a difficult problem for critics interested in judging it as a work of art. A major difficulty, of course, lies in the author's having been in such an extraordinary state at the time he conceived and wrote the novel that critics have been unable to determine just what he intended it to be. He apparently had a composite purpose. Judging from present critical opinion, however, it seems likely that much more criticism of the novel will be written before a generally satisfactory conclusion can be reached as to precisely what his intentions were and how *Pierre* should be ranked as a work of art.

The obscurity of Melville's purpose has, in my opinion, made some of his most distinguished and most sympathetic critics condemn certain features of the novel unjustly. Failure to appreciate the "wild, heroic sort of levity"¹ that was among factors influencing the conception and composition of *Pierre* has, I believe, led to misconceptions about Melville as an artist.

Many critics, for instance, have deplored the peculiarities of language in *Pierre* as indicative of a sudden lapse in Melville's power as a writer, saying that the genius with words which contributed so greatly to the majesty of *Moby-Dick* here often manifested itself in oddities and excesses that mar the style. With no desire to appear the chivalric defender of Melville's eccentricities as a writer, and certainly with no desire to make faults appear virtues, I am constrained nevertheless to argue that the peculiarities of style are due not to a loss of skill that prevented his doing what he wanted to do, but to his consciously and deliberately giving free rein to an ebullient and assimilative inventive faculty, to his putting the tall style of *Moby-Dick* on stilts, as it were, when it suited his strange mood to

¹ The quoted phrase is from *Israel Potter*, p. 198, where Melville wrote admiringly of the courageous spirit that Ethan Allen showed in adversity. References to Melville's works, other than *Pierre* are to the Constable Edition (London, 1922-1924).

do so. There is no norm, complains one critic.² Perhaps it would be more precise to say that Melville's norm was too elastic to please most readers. I feel sure that he consciously changed his technique and tone to accord with his intentions: hence the occasional overtones not only of Shakespeare, Carlyle, DeQuincey, and other masters of English poetry and prose, but also of melodrama, the penny dreadful, and *Godey's Lady's Book*. Passages in *Pierre* have been praised as among Melville's "finest utterances";³ the skill he showed in such passages alone is enough in itself to suggest that some of the so-called "lapses" of power elsewhere in the book may possibly appear to be so merely because of the reader's failure to understand the author's purpose.

To cite a specific instance, that part of the novel introducing the youthful Pierre and Lucy in love has been called deplorably bad by critics who, it seems to me, merely failed to perceive Melville's intention in that section. Three of Melville's ablest critics, Lewis Mumford, F. O. Matthiessen, and Henry Murray, have singled out this part of the book for particularly adverse comment. Mumford says that the "mawkish" style becomes "perfumed silk" with the appearance of the two lovers. A sentence quoted from the novel about love's being "a volume bound in rose leaves"—the sentence will be given in full in a moment—prefaces his remark that in style Melville "had suddenly lost both taste and discretion."⁴ Matthiessen comments on the difficulty of ascertaining Melville's intention in various places in the novel, and especially in the first passages about Pierre and Lucy. He comes close to discerning Melville's purpose when he says that often these passages "give the impression that Melville was so tormented by what lay ahead for his hero that he could not help mocking his own lyricism"; but he adds that the "result, from the author of *Moby-Dick*, was incredible: confused insecurity of intention could reduce his voice to an impotent echo of the *Lady's Book*," and then he quotes as evidence the same sentence Mumford chose.⁵

Murray, who gives more space to the problem, offers an explanation. He avers that Melville's deficiency in this part of the novel resulted from his voluptuous imagination's being "steeped in the

² F. O. Matthiessen, *American Renaissance* (New York, 1941), pp. 484-485.

³ Lewis Mumford, *Herman Melville* (New York, 1929), p. 196.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208.

⁵ Matthiessen, *op. cit.*, p. 486.

erotic literature of his day"; "the origin of most of the repellent elements in the first two acts of *Pierre*" is the "pitiful religion of the heart that was being promiscuously propagated by novelists of the second and third order during the sentimental decades." He praises two later chapters of *Pierre* as showing Melville to be "the first satirist" of this same literary school: "He deserves first prize for having been eighty-odd years ahead of Branch and other critics even though it is clear that he himself was not wholly free of the tastes and dispositions he was ridiculing."⁶

This judgment raises a disturbing question. How could Melville have discerned the spurious quality of the sentimental romances of his day and have satirized them so mercilessly, and still have been so uncritical as to write in the same novel the same kind of trash? Careful reading shows, it seems to me, that he wrote something quite different. Although he may appear superficially to have been writing like the conventional romancer, there is really a vast difference in his manner. Instead of showing a sudden and inexplicable loss of taste, or the debilitating influence of cheap, sentimental fiction he is known to have thought ridiculous, his style reveals a satirical purpose. One who considers the symbolism of the novel can see that in his highly mannered presentation of the fantastically idyllic love affair at the beginning of the story Melville mocks the cloistered innocence of his own early spiritual life.⁷ Here, one might say, is some of the "laughter of self-derision" that William Ellery Sedgwick perceived in the novel.⁸ But apart from the inner story, there is ample evidence that Melville found perverse amusement in writing some of these passages.

Exaggeration was one of his favorite humorous devices at that time. In a letter to Mrs. Hawthorne written during the composition of *Pierre*, he jested in an exaggerated manner about Hawthorne's dislike of visiting, saying: "Does Mr. Hawthorne continue his series of calls upon all his neighbors within a radius of ten miles? Shall I send him ten packs of visiting cards?"⁹ A similar tendency to overstate characterizes much of his satirical technique in the novel.

⁶ *Pierre; or, The Ambiguities*, ed. Henry Murray (New York, 1949), pp. xlvi-xlii. All subsequent references to *Pierre* are to this text.

⁷ See William Braswell, *Melville's Religious Thought* (Durham, N. C., 1943), pp. 93-95.

⁸ *Herman Melville: The Tragedy of Mind* (Cambridge, Mass., 1944), pp. 157 and 163.

⁹ This letter, dated Jan. 8, 1852, is reproduced in part in a catalogue of an American Art Association sale at the Anderson Galleries, Inc., New York, 1931.

Just as he elevates Pierre's social status by way of contrast for the degradation to come, so he exaggerates the felicity of the romantic Eden from which Pierre is to go out into a world of hatred and violence. Consider the description of Pierre's beloved. Now Lucy as a character has fine qualities, and symbolically she plays an important role; yet Melville amuses himself in describing her loveliness. The world, he says, will never see another woman to match her beauty. "Her cheeks are tinted with the most delicate white and red, the white predominating. Her eyes some god brought down from heaven; her hair was Danae's, spangled with Jove's shower; her teeth were dived for in the Persian Sea."¹⁰ After three paragraphs in the same vein on the queenliness of beautiful women, he remarks on the "merry dance" on which he has taken the reader, and then virtually asks the reader to share the fun while he tries to outdo the conventional romancers; the mock-serious tone is heightened by his rising to the cadence of the Psalmist:

this may seem rather irregular sort of writing. But whither indeed should Lucy Tartan conduct us, but among mighty Queens, and all other creatures of high degree; and finally set us roaming, to see whether the wide world can match so fine a wonder? By immemorial usage, am I not bound to celebrate this Lucy Tartan? Who shall stay me? Is she not my hero's own affianced? What can be gainsaid? Where underneath the tester of the night sleeps such another?

But he despairs of giving an "inventory" of all her charms. "Who shall tell stars as teaspoons? Who shall put down the charms of Lucy Tartan on paper?"¹¹ With the basis of logic the author's peculiar and somewhat perverse delight, it is quite reasonable that a character described in such extravagant terms should speak in an extravagant manner: hence the fantastic nature of some of the dialogue. When Pierre chides Lucy for not bidding him good morning, she is quite in character when she replies, "That would be little. Good mornings, good evenings, good days, weeks, months, and years to thee, Pierre;—bright Pierre!—Pierre!"¹²

Murray asks to be excused from the mortifying task of quoting the more repellent passages about Lucy and Pierre, saying that Mumford has already done so, but he does cite one offending specimen: "When love is in ascendancy we are offered pretty filagrees

¹⁰ *Pierre*, p. 26.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

of fancy, such as the image of sailors at sea tying 'love-knots on every spangled spar' when they feel 'ineffable distillations of a soft delight' in the morning's breeze."¹³ He thereby condemns what the context shows to be an admirable bit of irony.

When Melville flashes this little gem before the reader, he is just getting under way in a long ironical discourse on love. One soon perceives that he is using the word *love* in a very broad sense, so as to include not only the affection of lovers, but also the spirit of beneficence reputed by some philosophers and divines to be an animating principle of the universe. When reading the passage, the reader should keep in mind the agonizing concern shown in *Mardi*, *Redburn*, and *White-Jacket* over the evil in the world, and the diatribe in *Moby-Dick* against the Christian conception of a God of Love. One should also keep in mind that no American author then living, not even Dana, knew better than Melville what a rough, uncouth class of men sailors were. One should remember in particular such characters of his as the mutineers and chief mate in *Omoo*, Jackson in *Redburn*, and the "heathen crew" whelped "by the sharkish sea" in *Moby-Dick*.¹⁴ It is in his description of the lovely day on which Pierre and Lucy ride forth together that Melville lets himself go and, choosing as ridiculous an image as he can visualize, represents hard-boiled sailors as unable to tie any knots but love-knots. As Lucy stands out among women, so this day among days. It is not just *a* beautiful morning:

That morning was the choicest drop that Time had in his vase. Ineffable distillations of a soft delight were wafted from the fields and hills. Fatal morning that, to all lovers unbetrothed; "Come to your confessional," it cried. "Behold our airy loves," the birds chirped from the trees; far out at sea, no more the sailors tied their bowline-knots; their hands had lost their cunning; will they, nill they, Love tied love-knots on every spangled spar.¹⁵

One would perhaps appreciate more readily the mockery of the paean on the beauty of the earth that follows this passage if he recalled, together with the total import of *Moby-Dick*, such phrases from the novel as the "horrible vulturism of earth" and "God's great, unflattering laureate, Nature."¹⁶ Again Melville falls into the

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. xljj.-xljii.

¹⁴ *Moby-Dick*, I, 211.

¹⁵ *Pierre*, p. 36. The remaining quotations on love are from pp. 36-39.

¹⁶ *Moby-Dick*, II, 34; I, 236.

rhythm of the Hebraic poet: "Oh, praised be the beauty of this earth, the beauty, and the bloom, and the mirthfulness thereof!" He is so pleased with this mock-hosanna that he repeats it at the beginning of the next paragraph. He comes back to Pierre and Lucy long enough to say that "That morning, two bay horses drew two Laughs along the road . . . , and to present a choice bit of dialogue:

"Smell I the flowers, or thee?" cried Pierre.

"See I lakes, or eyes?" cried Lucy, her own gazing down into his soul, as two stars gaze down into a tarn.

Fascinated by the possibilities of farfetched conceits on lovers' eyes, Melville contrives a number of them, such as: "There are not so many fishes in the sea, as there are sweet images in lovers' eyes. In those miraculous translucencies swim the strange eye-fish with wings, that sometimes leap out, instinct with joy; moist fish-wings wet the lover's cheek."

He has not yet finished defining love, however. Now he uses the floral motif in an image that would have appeared precious and saccharine even in a gift-book of that day; this is the sentence that Mumford and Matthiessen unfortunately read as a serious attempt at beautiful prose: "Love is both Creator's and Saviour's gospel to mankind; a volume bound in rose-leaves, clasped with violets, and by the beaks of humming-birds printed with peach-juice on the leaves of lilies." The author who had just created Ahab could not, I submit, have written such a sentence without satirical intent. Anyone who has difficulty understanding the irony of Melville's heaping up of rose leaves, violets, lilies, peach juice, and beaks of hummingbirds in this ludicrous tribute to the Creator's and Savior's gospel of love should turn to a prison scene at the end of the novel, for there he will see the hero blaming the Savior's gospel of love for his own disastrous fall and breathing flames of defiance at the unloving Creator:

Had I been heartless now, disowned, and spurningly portioned off the girl at Saddle Meadows, then had I been happy through a long life on earth, and perchance through a long eternity in heaven! Now, 'tis merely hell in both worlds. Well, be it hell. I will mold a trumpet of the flames, and, with my breath of flame, breathe back my defiance!¹⁷

¹⁷ *Pierre*, p. 424.

Though it is obvious from much he had written earlier that Melville did not share the optimistic Emersonian belief that good is ousting evil from the universe, he says in the opening pages of *Pierre*, with an air of innocence and simple faith: "All things that are sweet to see, or taste, or feel, or hear, all these things were made by Love; and none other things were made by Love. Love made not the Arctic zones, but Love is ever reclaiming them. Say, are not the fierce things of this earth daily, hourly going out?" His delight in this cherubic posturing is indicated by the ridiculous evidence he offers to prove his argument: "Where now are your wolves of Britain? Where in Virginia now, find you the panther and the pard? Oh, Love is busy everywhere." The betrothal of his young lovers suggested another amusing figure to him for presenting the same idea: "All this Earth is Love's affianced; vainly the demon Principle howls to stay the banns. Why round her middle wears this world so rich a zone of torrid verdure, if she be not dressing for the final rites?" And on he goes to other ludicrous conceits.

One hopes, however, that enough has been said to indicate that certain passages which have been criticized as insipidly sentimental are rather mock-romantic, and that there is more irony in the opening chapters than has generally been recognized. Melville's humor in such passages might with some justice be criticized as too esoteric to be generally effective—certainly it has failed to delight some extremely perceptive readers. Furthermore, the appropriateness of his satirical intention might well be questioned: is it fitting that a novelist go so far in mocking a hero to whom he is obviously devoted and for whom he ultimately desires the reader's deepest sympathy?

But censuring Melville on such points would be very different from censuring him for not writing conventional romance in an acceptable manner. Though he might justly be condemned for a perverse use of his undeniably great power as a writer, he should not be condemned for failing to do what he had no intention of doing.

MARK TWAIN'S LECTURE FROM ROUGHING IT

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IN THE FALL of 1871 Mark Twain began an extensive lecture tour under the management of James Redpath, proprietor of the Boston Lyceum Bureau. The lecture he had prepared bore the title "Reminiscences of Some Pleasant Characters I Have Met." It was a humorous commentary on acquaintances, ranging from kings to lunatics and idiots.¹ But by October 27 he had dropped the "nasty, nauseous Reminiscences" in favor of a new lecture called "Artemus Ward Humorist" which he had written the previous week end.² This lecture, hastily written, lasted about five weeks. Then on December 8 he asked Redpath to "notify all hands that from this time I shall talk nothing but selections from my forthcoming book *Roughing It*. Tried it last night. Suits me tip-top."³ The "Roughing It" lecture proved a happy choice. It was almost universally well received, and he finished the tour without further change.

In the interval, however, before Redpath could notify local sponsoring groups of the change in billing, Mark Twain encountered difficulty in persuading local chairmen to agree to the unannounced shift in program. At Lansing, Michigan, for example, where he lectured December 14,⁴ the chairman consented reluctantly. Since the Artemus Ward lecture had been widely publicized, he feared the change in plan would be a "bit risky." That it was in fact risky was demonstrated two nights later at Kalamazoo, where Mark Twain provoked the following attack from a reporter on the *Daily Telegraph*:⁵

Union hall was crowded, the body of the house, galleries and aisles all filled, Saturday evening by an audience gathered from neighboring towns, as well as Kalamazoo, to listen to Samuel L. Clemens (better known as Mark Twain) lecture on "Artemus Ward." No lecturer that has visited Kalamazoo, unless Gough be excepted, ever drew together a larger or more cultivated audience, and no lecturer, we regret to say, ever more completely disappointed his hearers. The substitute for a lecture which Mr. Clemens foisted upon his

¹ A. B. Paine's *Mark Twain's Lectures* (New York, 1917), I, 189.

² *Ibid.*, 193.

³ *Ibid.* Mark Twain first gave the lecture at Warsaw, New York, Dec. 7, 1871 (Buffalo *Daily Courier*, Dec. 9, 1871).

⁴ *Lansing State Republican*, Dec. 21, 1871.

⁵ Dec. 18, 1871. The editor of the *Kalamazoo Gazette*, however, a rival paper, praised Mark Twain's lecture (see issue of Dec. 22).

audience was an insult to their intelligence and capacity. We have no ill-will toward Mark Twain. On the contrary, we attended the lecture very friendly disposed, have read his writing with pleasure, and regard his "Innocents Abroad" as containing more real humor than any book ever published in America. But we are compelled to pronounce his performance Saturday evening an imposition on both the Young Men's Library Association and the audience who listened to it. This is not Twain's first season on the lecture platform. Heretofore he has demonstrated his ability to give instructive and entertaining lectures, but in resorting to such a makeshift as we heard Saturday night he is guilty of obtaining money from the Society and the public under false pretences. Capable of furnishing a good lecture, Mr. Clemens had no right to impose upon his hearers any such desultory trash as they were subjected to. They had a right to expect something worth coming out to hear, and if he is too lazy or unmindful to do justice to himself or an audience he ought not to lecture at all. He should have given the lecture he contracted to deliver, or something equally good, in its stead, and not put us off with a rambling, disconnected talk about a hackneyed subject, sans wit, sans information, sans sense. It is the duty of the press to expose such impositions, and if other journals remain silent, we shall not.

At Lansing, Mark Twain offered as his reason for dropping the Artemus Ward lecture the fact that it had already been printed in the newspapers. He took occasion to remonstrate gently with reporters for taking his lectures in shorthand and printing them entire. They should be more generous, he thought.

While there was sincerity in his complaint about the reporters, it is likely that he abandoned the Ward lecture chiefly because his heart and mind at the moment were preoccupied with the material of his forthcoming book *Roughing It*. It was in press during these very days, and batches of galley proof were reaching him at various lecture stops.

At the close of his lecture at Lansing, Mark Twain led his audience to believe, erroneously, that he was trying out the new lecture for the first time. In the audience was a reporter for the Lansing *State Republican*, a shorthand reporter with a sense of humor. Assuming that "this was the first time that he [Mark Twain] had delivered his new lecture, and thinking perhaps that his feelings might be hurt unless we gave him a pretty extended notice, we give it entire," thus doing the very thing that Mark Twain had chided previous reporters for doing.

In view of the fact that Albert Bigelow Paine did not include the lecture from *Roughing It* in his book *Mark Twain's Lectures*,⁶ the stenographic report of it printed in the Lansing *State Republican* is offered below as the most complete the writer has been able to find.⁷ As with

⁶ Probably because a considerable portion of it appeared in *Roughing It*.

⁷ So far as the writer is aware no record of Mark Twain's itinerary on the lecture tour

earlier lectures based upon his travel experiences, there seems to have been no fixed text. From night to night he varied the program slightly by using different episodes of his Western experience. In the Lansing lecture, for example, he did not include the highly amusing story of his duel with a rival reporter which delighted his Chicago audience four nights later. As with earlier lectures, also, he introduced a device to add novelty to his program. This device, as reported fully in the *State Republican*, was to introduce himself and to make such announcements about future programs as the chairman wished. According to Albert Bigelow Paine, however, when Mark Twain discovered that the reporters were also printing his self-introduction verbatim, he began shifting to other devices or began his lecture with no introduction at all.⁸

An examination of the Lansing lecture in relation to the text of *Roughing It* leads one to believe that Mark Twain made no serious attempt at verbatim memorization. In general he follows the book text loosely, occasionally changing the order of incidents, condensing, here and there adding new detail, and heightening the humorous effect of certain passages by greatly increasing the exaggeration. A good example of the latter is the story of his experience as a worker in a quartz mill, which in *Roughing It* is offered as a brief, passing remark.⁹ Sometimes, however, he follows the book text quite closely, as for example in the story of his experience with the Mexican plug, but even here with variation in detail and phrasing. The tone is the same in lecture and book; also the central image in the various episodes. It is probable that Mark Twain came to the platform in these early days depending largely upon a clear mental picture of his experience, rather than upon manuscript. Noticeable in the lecture version of his story of Colonels Jim and Jack in New York City is the lesser use of West Coast dialect in the speech of the two nabobs.¹⁰ This observation leads one to wonder if Mark Twain trusted himself less with the oral expression of this dialect than with its written expression.

The Lansing Speech, containing his own introduction and his concluding comment on the ungenerosity of shorthand reporters, follows:

during the fall and winter of 1871-1872 has been preserved. The investigation revealed the following lecture stops for the "Roughing It" lecture and is offered here as a partial itinerary: Warsaw, New York, Dec. 7, 1871; Fredonia, New York, Dec. 8; Jackson, Michigan, Dec. 13; Lansing, Michigan, Dec. 14; Grand Rapids, Michigan, Dec. 15; Kalamazoo, Michigan, Dec. 16; Chicago, Illinois, Dec. 18 and 19; Indianapolis, Jan. 1, 1872; Logansport, Indiana, Jan. 3.

⁸ A. B. Paine's *Mark Twain: A Biography* (New York, 1912), I, 447.

⁹ *Roughing It (Mark Twain's Works)*, New York, 1913, I, 250-251.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 38-41.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—By request, I will ask leave to introduce the lecturer of the evening, Mr. Clemens, otherwise Mark Twain,—a gentleman whose great learning, whose historical accuracy, whose devotion to science, and whose veneration for the truth, are only equaled by his high moral character and his majestic presence. I refer in these vague and general terms to myself. I am a little opposed to the custom of ceremoniously introducing a lecturer to an audience, partly because it seems to me that it is not entirely necessary, I would much rather make it myself. Then I can get in all the facts.

But it is not really the introduction that I care for,—I don't care about that,—that don't discommode me,—but it's the compliments that sometimes go with it. That's what *hurts*. It would hurt anybody. The idea of a young lady being introduced into society as the sweetest singer or the finest conversationalist! You might as well knock her in the head at once. I never had but one public introduction that seemed to me just exactly the thing,—an introduction brimful of grace. Why, it was a sort of inspiration. And yet the man who made it wasn't acquainted with me; but he was sensible to the back-bone, and he said to me: "Now you don't want any compliments?" Of course I did not want any compliments at all. He said: "Ladies and gentlemen—I shan't fool away any unnecessary time in this introduction. I don't know anything about this man; at least I only know two things: One is, that he has never been in the penitentiary; and the other is, I don't know why." Such an introduction as that puts a man at his ease right off.

I must not forget to make the announcement of the next lecture, the second of course, to be delivered by President Angell of the State University on Tuesday evening, the 26th of December. I don't know what his subject is going to be, but it will be good and well handled no doubt. In fact I forgot to ask what the subject is going to be.

Now when I first started out on this missionary expedition, I had a lecture which I liked very well, but by-and-by I got tired of telling that same old stuff over and over again, and then I got up another lecture, and after that another one, and I am tired of that: so I just thought to-night I would try something fresh, if you are willing. I don't suppose you care what a lecturer talks about if he

only tells the truth—at intervals. Now I have got a book in press (it will be out pretty soon), over 600 octavo pages, and illustrated after the fashion of the “Innocents Abroad.” Terms—however I am not around canvassing for the work. I should like to talk a little of that book to you to-night. It is very fresh in my mind, as it is not more than three months since I wrote it. Say 30 or 40 pages,—or if you prefer it the whole 600.

Ten or twelve years ago, I crossed the continent from Missouri to California, in the old overland stage-coach, a good while before the Pacific Railway was built. Over 1,900 miles. It was a long ride, day and night, through sage-brush, over sand and alkali plains, wolves and Indians, starvation and small-pox,—everything to make the journey interesting. Had a splendid time, most an enjoyable pleasure trip, in that old stage-coach. We were bound for Nevada, which was then a bran-new Territory nearly or about as large as the State of Ohio. It was a desolate, barren, sterile, mountainous, unpeopled country, sage-brush and deserts of alkali. You could scarcely cast your eye in any direction but your gaze would be met by one significant object, and that was the projecting horns of a dried, shrunken carcass of an ox, preaching eloquent sermons of the hardships suffered by those emigrants, where a soil refused to clothe its nakedness, except now and then a little rill (or, as you might call it, a river) goes winding through the plain. Such is the Carson River, which clothes the valley with refreshing and fragrant hay-fields. However, hay is a scant crop, and with all the importations from California the price of that article has never come under \$300 per ton. In the winter the price reaches \$800, and once went up to \$1,200 per ton, and then the cattle were turned out to die, and it is hardly putting the figure too strong to say that the valleys were paved with the remains of these cattle.

It is a land where the winters are long and rigorous, where the summers are hot and scorching, and where not a single drop of rain ever falls during 11 tedious months; where it never thunders, and never lightens; where no river finds its way to the sea or empties its waters into the great lakes that have no perceptible outlet, and whose surplus waters are spirited away through mysterious channels down into the ground. A territory broad and ample, but which has not yet had a population numbering 30,000, yet a

country that produced \$20,000,000 of silver bullion in the year 1863, and produces \$12,000,000 to \$16,000,000 every year, yet the population has fallen away until now it does not number more than 15,000 or 18,000. Yet that little handful of people vote just as strongly as they do anywhere, are just as well represented in the Senate of the United States as Michigan, or the great State of New York with her 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 of people. That is equality in representation.

I spoke of the sage-brush. That is a particular feature of the country out there. It's an interesting sort of shrub. You see no other sort of vegetable, and clear from Pike's Peak to California's edge the sage-bushes stand from three to six feet apart, one vast greenish-gray sea of sage-brush. It was the emigrant's fast friend, his only resource for fuel. In its appearance it resembles a venerable live-oak with its rough bark and knotty trunk, everything twisted and dwarfed, covered with its thick foliage. I think the sage-brush are [*sic*] beautiful,—one at a time is, anyway. Of course, when you see them as far as the eye can reach, seven days and a-half in the week, it is different. I am not trying to get up an excitement over sage-brush, but there are many reasons why it should have some mention from an appreciative friend. I grant you that as a vegetable for table use sage-brush is a failure. Its leaves taste like our ordinary sage; you can make sage-tea of it; but anybody in this audience who has ever been a boy, or a girl, or both, in a country where doctors were scarce and measles and grandmothers plenty, don't hanker after sage-tea. And yet after all there was a manifest providence in the creation of the sage-brush, for it is food for the mules and donkeys, and therefore many emigrant trains are enabled to pull through with their loads where ox teams would lie down and die of starvation. That a mule will eat sage-brush don't prove much, because I know a mule will eat anything. He don't give the toss up of a copper between oysters, lead-pipe, brick-dust, or even patent-office reports. He takes whatever he can get most of.

In our journey we kept climbing and climbing for I don't know how many days and nights. At last we reached the highest eminence—the extreme summit of the great range of the Rocky Mountains, and entered the celebrated South Pass. Now the South Pass is more suggestive of a straight road than a suspension bridge hung

in the clouds though in one place it suggests the latter. One could look below him on the diminishing crags and canons lying down, down, down, away to the vague plain below, with a crooked thread in it which was the road; and tufts of feathers in it which were trees,—the whole country spread out like a picture, sleeping in the sunlight, and darkness stealing over it, blotting out feature after feature under the frown of a gathering storm,—not a film or shadow to mar the spectator's gaze. I could watch that storm break forth down there; could see the lightnings flash, the sheeted rain drifting along the canon's side, and hear the thunder crash upon crash reverberating among a thousand rocky cliffs. This is a familiar experience to traveling people. It was a miracle of sublimity to a boy like me, who could hardly say that he had ever been away from home a single day in his life before.

We visited Salt Lake City in our journey. Carson City, the capital of Nevada, had a wild harem-scarem population of editors, thieves, lawyers, in fact all kinds of blacklegs. Its desperadoes, gamblers, and silver miners went armed to the teeth, every one of them dressed in the roughest kind of costumes, which looked strange and romantic to me and I was fascinated.

Now, instead of making a tedious description, I will say that they had a curious and peculiar breed of horses out there. I will give you the main points in regard to a little personal adventure which I had with one of these horses, leaving your imaginations to do the rest. Everybody rode horse-back there. They were most magnificent riders. I thought so at least. I soon learned to tell a horse from a cow, and I was just burning with impatience to learn more. I was determined to have a horse to ride, and just as the thought was rankling in my mind an auctioneer came along on a beast crying him for sale, going at 22, 22, horse, saddle, and bridle. I could hardly resist. There was a man standing there. I was not acquainted with him (he turned out to be the auctioneer's brother). He observed to me, "That is a remarkable horse to be going at that price." I said I had half a notion to buy it. He said: "I know that horse,—know him perfectly well. You are a stranger, and you may think that he is an American horse. He's nothing of the kind; he's a genuine Mexican plug; that's what he is." Well, I didn't know what a "genuine Mexican plug" was, but there was something about

that man's way of saying it that I made up my mind to have the horse if it took every cent I had, and I said: "Has he any other advantages?" Well, he just hooked his forefinger into the breast pocket of my army shirt, led me off one side, and said in a low tone that no one else could hear said: "He can outbuck any horse in this part of the country: yes," he repeated, "he can outbuck any horse in America." The auctioneer was crying him at 24, 24, going at 24. I said, 27,—"and sold." I took the "genuine Mexican plug," paid for him, put him in the livery stable, had him fed, then I let him rest until after dinner, when I brought him out into the plaza, where some of the citizens held him by the head while others held him down by the tail, and I got on him. As soon as they had let go, he put all his feet together in a bunch. He let his back sag down and then he arched it suddenly and shot me 180 yards into the air. I wasn't used to such things, and I came down and lit in the saddle, when he sent me up again and this time I came down astride his neck, but I managed to slide backward until I got into the saddle again. He then raised himself almost straight up on his hind legs and walked around awhile, like a member of Congress, then he came down and went up the other way, and just walked about on his hands as a school-boy would, and all the time kept kicking at the sky. While he was in this position I heard a man say to another, "But don't he buck!" So that was "bucking." I was very glad to know it. Not that I was particularly enjoying it, but I was somewhat interested in it and naturally wanted to know what the name of it was. While this performance was going on, a sympathizing crowd had gathered around, and one of them remarked to me: "Stranger, you have been taken in. That's a genuine Mexican plug," and another one says: "Think of it! You might have bought an American horse, used to all kinds of work, for a very little more money." Well I didn't want to talk. I didn't have anything to say. I sat down. I was so jolted up, so internally, externally, and eternally mixed up, gone all to pieces. I put one hand on my forehead, the other on my stomach; and if I had been the owner of 16 hands I could have found a place for every one of them. If there is a Californian in this audience he knows what a Mexican plug is, and he knows that I have hardly exaggerated that exasperating creature.

Now if you would see the noblest, loveliest inland lake in the world, you should go to Lake Tahoe. It is just on the boundary line between California and Nevada. I have seen some of the world's celebrated lakes and they bear no comparison with Tahoe. There it is, a sheet of perfectly pure, limpid water, lifted up 6,300 feet above the sea,—a vast oval mirror framed in a wall of snowclad mountain peaks above the common world. Solitude is king, and in that realm calm silence is brooding always. It is the home of rest and tranquility and gives emancipation and relief from the griefs and plodding cares of life. Could you but see the morning breaking there, gilding those snowy summits and then creeping gradually along the slopes until it sets, the lake and woodlands, free from mist, all agleam, you would see old Nature, the master artist, painting these dissolving views on the still water and finally grouping all these features into a complete picture. Every little dell, the mountains with their dome-turned pinnacles, the cataracts and drifting clouds, are all exquisitely photographed on the burnished surface of the lake, suffused with the softest and richest color. This lake is ten miles from Carson City, and in company with a friend we used to foot it out there, taking along provisions and blankets,—camp out on the lake shore two or three weeks at a time; not another human being within miles of us. We used to loaf about in the boat, smoke and read, sometimes play seven-up to strengthen the mind. It's a sinful game, but it's mighty nice. We'd just let the boat drift and drift wherever it wanted to. I can stand a deal of such hardship and suffering when I'm healthy. And the water was so wonderfully clear. Where it was 80 feet deep the pebbles on the bottom were just as distinct as if you held them in your hand; and in that clear white atmosphere it seemed as if the boat was drifting through the air. Out in the middle it was a deep dark indigo blue, and the official measurement made by the State Geologist of California shows it to be 1,525 feet deep in the center. You can imagine that it would take a great many churches and steeples piled one upon another before they would be perceptible above its surface. You might use up a great deal of ecclesiastical architecture in that way. Now, notwithstanding that lake is lifted so high up among the clouds, surrounded by the everlasting snow-capped mountain-peaks, with its surface higher than Mt. Washington in

the East, and notwithstanding the water is pretty shallow around the edges, yet the coldest winter day in the recollection of humanity was never known to form ice upon its surface. It has no feeders but the little mountain rills, yet it never rises nor falls. Donar [*sic*] Lake, close by, freezes hard every winter. Why Lake Tahoe does not, is a question which no scientist has ever been able to explain.

If there are any consumptives here I urge them to go out there, renew their age, make their bodies hale and hearty, in the pure, magnificent air of Lake Tahoe. If it don't cure you I'll bury you at my own expense. It *will* cure you. I met a man there,—he had been a man once, but now he was only a shadow, and a very poor sort of shadow at that. That man took the thing very deliberately. He had fixed up things comfortable while he did stay, but he was in dead earnest. Thought he was going to die sure, but he made a sickly failure of it. He had brought along a plan of his private grave-yard, some drawings of different kinds of coffins, and he never did anything but sit around all day and cipher over these plans, to get things to suit him, and try to find out which coffin would be the most becoming. Well, I met that man three months afterward. He was chasing mountain sheep over mountains seven miles high, with a Sharp's rifle. He didn't get them, but he was chasing them just the same. He had used up his grave-yard plans for wadding and had sent home for some more. Such a cure as that was! Why, when I first saw that man his clothes fitted him about as a circus tent fits the tent-pole; now they were snug to him; they stuck to him like postage-stamps, and he weighed a ton. Yes, he weighed more than a ton, but I will throw in the odd ounces, I'm not particular about that, 11 I think it was. I know what I am talking about, for I took him to the hay-scales and weighed him myself. A lot us stood on there with him. But I hope you won't mind my nonsense about it. It was really a wonderful cure, and if I can persuade any consumptive to go out there I shall feel at any rate that I have done one thing worth having lived to accomplish. And if there is a consumptive in this house I want to say to him. Shoulder your gun, go out there and hunt. It's the noblest hunting ground on earth. You can hunt there a year and never find anything—except mountain sheep; but you can't get near enough to them to shoot one. You can see plenty of them with a spy-glass. Of course

you can't shoot mountain sheep with a spy-glass. It is our American Shamwah (I believe that is the way that word is pronounced—I don't know), with enormous horns, inhabiting the roughest mountain fastnesses, so exceedingly wild that it is impossible to get within rifle-shot of it. There was no other game in that country when I was there—except seven-up; though one can see a California quail now and then,—a proud, stately, beautiful bird, with a curved and graceful plume on top of its head. But you can't shoot one. You might as well try to kill a cast-iron dog. They don't mind a mortal wound any more than a man would mind a scratch.

I had supposed in my innocence that silver mining was nice, easy business, and that of course all you had to do was to pick it up, and that you could tell it from any other substance on account of its brightness and its white metallic look. Then came my disenchantment; for I found that silver was merely scattered through quartz rock. Gold is found in cement veins, in quartz veins, loosely mingled with the earth, in the sand in beds of rivers, but I never heard of any other house or home for silver to live in than quartz rock. This rock is of a dull whitish color faintly marbled with blue veins. A fine powder of silver ore make these blue veins and this yields \$30 in bullion. A little dab of silver that I could crowd in my mouth came out of this 2,000 pounds of solid rock. I found afterward that \$30 rock was mighty profitable. Then they showed me some more rock which was a little more clouded, that was worth \$50 a ton. The bluer and darker the rock the richer it was. Sometimes you could find it worth \$400, \$500, and \$600 a ton. At rare intervals rock can be found that is worth \$1,500 and \$2,000 per ton, and at rarer intervals you would see a piece of quartz that had a mass of pure silver in its grip, large as a child's head,—more than pure, because it always had a good deal of gold mixed up in its composition. The wire silver is Nature's aristocratic jewelry. The quartz crystalizes and becomes perfectly clear, just as clear and faultless as the diamond, and almost as radiant in beauty. Nature, down there in the depths of the earth, takes one of these quartz rocks, shapes a cavity, and right in its heart imprisons a delicate little coil of serpentine, pure white, aristocratic silver.

It was up-hill work, this silver mining. There were plenty of mines but it required a fortune to work one; for tons of worthless

rock must be ground to powder to get at the silver. I was the owner of a hundred silver mines, yet I realized that I was the poorest man on earth. Couldn't sell to anybody; couldn't pay my board; so I had to go to work in a quartz mill at ten dollars per week. I was glad to get that berth, but I couldn't keep it. I don't know why; I was the most careful workman they ever had. They said so. I took more pains with my work than anybody else. I was shoveling sand,—tailings as they call it. It is silver-bearing rock that has been ground up and worked over once. It is then saved and worked over again. I was so particular about it that I have sat still for one hour and a-half and studied about the best way to shovel that sand; and if I couldn't cipher it out in my mind I wouldn't go shoveling around recklessly,—I would leave it alone until the next day. Many a time when I have been carrying sand from one pile to another 30 or 40 feet apart I would get started with a pailful when a splendid idea would strike me and I would carry that sand right back and sit down and think about it. Like as not I would get so absorbed in it as to go to sleep. I most always go to sleep when I am excited.

I knew there was a tiptop splendid way to move that sand from one pile to another and I told the boss so. "Well," he replied, "I am all-fired glad to hear it," and you never saw a man so kind of uplifted as he was. He seemed as if a load had been lifted from his breast,—a load of sand.

I said to him: "What you want now is to get a cast-iron pipe about 14 feet in diameter,—boiler iron will do,—and about 42 feet long. Have one end raised up 35 or 40 feet, and then you want to have a revolving belt. Work it with the waste steam from the engine. Have a chair fastened to that belt and let me sit in that chair. Have a Chinaman to load up that big box, pass it to me as I come around, and I will up it into that pipe." You never saw a man so overcome with admiration. He discharged me on the spot. He said I had too much talent to be fooling away my time in a quartz mill.

If you will permit me, I would like to illustrate the ups and downs of fortune in the mining country with just a little personal experience of my own. I had a cabin-mate by the name of Higby,—a splendid good fellow. One morning the camp was thrown

into a fearful state of excitement, for the "Wide West" had struck a lead black with native silver and yellow with gold. The butcher had been dunning us a week or two. Higby went up and brought a handful away and he sat studying and examining it, now and then soliloquizing in this manner: "That stuff never came out of the Wide West in the world." I told him it did, because I saw them hoist it out of the shaft. Higby went away by himself, and came back in a couple of hours perfectly overcome with excitement. He came in, closed the door, went and looked out of the window to make sure there was nobody in the neighborhood, and said to me, "We are worth a million of dollars. The Wide West be hanged,—that's a blind lead." Said I: "Higby, are you *really* in earnest? Say it again: say it strong, Higby." He replied: "Just as sure as I am standing here, it's a blind lead. We're rich." Poverty had vanished and we could buy that town and pay for it, and six more just like it. A blind lead is one that doesn't crop out above the ground like an ordinary quartz lead. The Wide West had simply tapped it in their shaft and we had discovered it. It belonged to us. It was our property and there wouldn't anybody in the camp dispute that fact. We took into partnership the foreman of the Wide West, and the Wide West had to stop digging. We were the lions of Esmeralda. People wanted to lend us money; other people wanted to sell us village lots on time; and the butcher brought us meat enough for a barbecue and went away without his pay.

Now there is a rule that a certain amount of work must be done on a new claim within the first ten days, or the claim is forfeited to any one who may first take it up. Now I was called away to nurse an old friend who was dangerously ill up at the Nine-Mile Ranch, and I just wrote a note and threw it into the window telling Higby where I was gone. The fellow I went to nurse was an irascible sort of fellow, and while carrying him from the vapor bath because I let my end of him fall we had a quarrel and I started for home. When I reached there, I saw a vast concourse of people over at the claim and the thought struck me that we were richer than ever, probably worth two million certain. Presently I met Higby looking like a ghost, and says I: "What on earth is the matter." "Well," he says, "you didn't do the work on the mine. I depended on you. The foreman's mother dying in California, he didn't do

the work, our claim is forfeited and we are ruined. We haven't a cent." We went home to the cabin. I looked down at the floor. There was my note, and beside it was a note from Higby, telling me that he was going away to look for another mine which wouldn't have amounted to anything even if he had found it, in comparison with our claim.

It don't seem possible that there could be three as big fools in one small town, but we were there, and I was one of them. For once in my life I was absolutely a millionaire for just ten days by the watch. I was just ready to go into all kinds of dissipation and I am really thankful that this was a chapter in the history of my life, although at the time of course I did a great deal of weeping and gnashing my teeth. When I lost that million my heart was broken and I wanted to pine away and die, but I couldn't borrow money enough to live on while I did so, and I had to give that up. Everything appeared to go against me. Of course, I might have suicided, but that was kind of disagreeable.

I had written a few letters for the press, and just in the nick of time I received a letter from the Virginia City Daily Enterprise offering me \$25 a week to go and be a reporter on that paper. I could hardly believe it, but this was no time for foolishness and I was in for anything. I never had edited anything, but if I had been offered the job of translating Josephus from the original Hebrew I should have taken it. If I had translated Josephus I would have thrown in as many jokes as I could, for the money, and made him readable. I would have had a variety, if I had to write him all up new.

Well, I walked that 130 miles in pretty quick time and took the berth. Have you ever considered what straits reporters are sometimes pushed to in furnishing the public with news? Why, the first day items were so scarce, I couldn't find an item anywhere, and just as I was on the verge of despair, as luck would have it there came in a lot of emigrants with their wagon trains. They had been fighting with the Indians and got the worst of it. I got the names of their killed and wounded, and then by-and-by there was another train came in. They hadn't had any trouble and of course I was disappointed, but I did the best I could under the circumstances. I cross-questioned that boss emigrant and found that they were

going right on through and wouldn't come back to make trouble, so I got his list of names and added to my killed and wounded, and I got ahead of all the other papers. I put that wagon train through the bloodiest Indian fight ever seen on the plains. They came out of the conflict covered with glory. The chief editor said he didn't want any better reporter than I was. I said: "You just bring on your Indians and fetch out your emigrants, leave me alone, and I will make the fur fly. I will hang a scalp on every sage-bush between here and the Missouri border." That was all first rate, but by-and-by items got low again and I was down-hearted. I was miserable, because I couldn't strike an item. At last fortune favored me again. A couple of dear delightful desperadoes got into a row right before me and one of them shot the other. I stepped right up there and got the victim to give me his last words exclusively for the *Enterprise*, and I added some more to them so as to be sure and get ahead of the other papers, and then I turned to the desperado. Said I, "You are a stranger to me, sir, but you have done me a favor which I can never sufficiently thank you for. I shall ever regard you as a benefactor." And I asked him if he could lend me half a dollar. We always borrowed a piece whenever we could,—it was a public custom. The thought then struck me that I could raise a mob and hang the other desperado, but the officers got ahead of me and took him into custody. They were down on us and would always do any little mean thing like that, to spite us. And so I was fairly launched in literature, in the business of doing good. I love to do good. It is our duty. I think when a man does good all the time his conscience is so clear. I like to do right and be good, though there is a deal more fun in the other thing.

Now you see by my sort of experience a man may go to bed at night not worth a cent and wake up in the morning to find himself immensely wealthy, and very often he is a man who has a vast cargo of ignorance. To illustrate my point I will give you a story about a couple of these fresh nabobs whose names were Colonels Jim and Jack. Colonel Jim had seen considerable of the world, but Colonel Jack was raised down in the backwoods of Arkansas. These gentlemen after their good luck suddenly determined on a pleasure trip to New York; so they went to San Francisco, took a steamer, and in due time arrived in the great metropolis. While passing along

the street, Colonel Jack's attention was attracted by the hacks and splendid equipages he saw, and he says: "Well I've heard about these carriages all my life and I mean to have a ride in one. I don't care what it costs." So Colonel Jim stepped to the edge of the sidewalk and ordered a handsome carriage. Colonel Jack says: "No, you don't. None of your cheap turnouts for me. I'm here to have a good time, and money's no object. I'm going to have the best rig this country affords. You stop that yellow one there with the pictures on it." So they got into the empty omnibus and sat down. Colonel Jack says: "Well! ain't it gay? Ain't it nice? Windows and pictures and cushions, till you can't rest. What would the boys think of this if they could see us cut such a swell in New York? I wish they could see us. What is the name of this." Colonel Jim told him it was a barouche. After a while he poked his head out in front and said to the driver, "I say, Johnny, this suits *me*. We want this shebang all day. Let the horses go." The driver loosened the strap and passed his hand in for the fare. Colonel Jack, thinking that he wanted to shake hands, shook him heartily and said: "You understand me. You take care of me and I'll take care of you." He put a \$20 gold piece into the driver's hand. The driver says: "I can't change that." Colonel Jack replied: "Put it into your pocket, I don't want any change. We're going to ride it out." In a few minutes the bus stopped and a young lady got in. Colonel Jack stared at her. Pretty soon she got out her money to pay the driver. Colonel Jack says: "Put up your money, Miss; you are perfectly welcome to ride here just as long as you want to, but this barouche is chartered and we can't let you pay." Soon an old lady got in. Colonel Jack told her to "sit down. Don't be at all uneasy, everything is paid for and as free as if you were in your own turnout, but you can't pay a cent." Pretty soon two or three gentlemen got in, and ladies with children. Colonel Jack says, "Come right along. Don't mind us. Free blowout." By-and-by the crowd filled all the seats and were standing up, while others climbed up on top. He nudged Colonel Jim and says: "Colonel, what kind of cattle do they have here? If this don't bang anything I ever saw. Ain't they friendly, and so awful cool about it, but they ain't sociable." But

I have related enough of that circumstance to illustrate the enormous simplicity of these unfledged biddies of fortune.

When I told the Chairman of the Society this evening that I wanted to change my subject he said "It was a little risky; he didn't know about it," but I pleaded so hard and said the only reason was I didn't want to talk that Artemus Ward lecture because it had been printed in the papers. I told him that I would put in a little scrap from that Artemus Ward lecture, just enough to cover the advertisement, and then I wouldn't be telling any lies. Besides this anecdote had a moral to it. Well, the moral got him.

As nearly as I can cipher it out, the newspaper reporter has got us lecturers at a disadvantage. He can either make a synopsis or do most anything he wants to. He ought to be generous, and praise us or abuse us, but not print our speeches. Artemus Ward was bothered by a short-hand reporter, and he begged him not to do him the injustice to garble his speech. He says, You can't take it all down as I utter it. The reporter said, If you utter anything I can't take down I will agree not to print the speech. Along in the lecture he tipped the reporter the wink and then he told the following anecdote:

(Whistle wherever the stars occur. If you can't, get somebody that can.)

He said that several gentlemen were conversing in a hotel parlor and one man sat there who didn't have anything to say. By-and-by the gentlemen all went out except one of the number and the silent man. Presently the silent man reached out and touched the gentleman and says. "*** I think, sir, I have seen you somewhere before. I am not ** sure where it was or ** when it was ** but I know I have ** seen you." The gentleman says: "Very likely: but what do you whistle for?" "*** I'll tell you all about it ** I used to stammer ** fearfully and I courted a ** girl ** and she wouldn't ** have me because I was afflicted with such an ** infirmity. I went to a doctor and ** he ** told me that every time I ** went to stammer ** that I must whistle, which I ** did, and it completely cured me. But don't you know that ** girl ** wouldn't have me at last, for she ** said that ** she wouldn't talk to a man that

whistled as I did. ** She'd as soon hold a conversation with a wheelbarrow that wanted ** greasing."

Ladies and gentlemen,—For three or four days I have had it in my mind to throw away that other lecture, but I never had the pluck to do it until to night. The audience seemed to look friendly, and as I had been here before I felt a little acquainted. I thought I would make the venture. I sincerely thank you for the help you have given me, and I bid you good night.

SOURCES OF WALT WHITMAN'S MANUSCRIPT NOTES ON PHYSIQUE

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AFTER WALT WHITMAN'S death, his literary property was divided in equal shares among his three literary executors: Richard M. Bucke, Thomas B. Harned, and Horace L. Traubel. Included in the material which went to Harned were two packages of unpublished manuscripts. One of these consisted of notes on "oratory"; the other, of notes on "physique."¹

Examination of the former persuaded Harned that they were "very valuable" for the light they cast on Whitman's development during the years "before he adopted the plan of reaching the people through the medium of a printed book."² Accordingly, he prepared a paper which consisted mainly of the texts of these manuscript notes, and presented it at the Third Annual Meeting of the Walt Whitman Fellowship.³ This paper, entitled "Walt Whitman and Oratory," "excited so much interest at the time" that Harned decided to make "a similar use" of Whitman's manuscript notes on physique.⁴

Harned's second paper, entitled "Walt Whitman and Physique," was read to the Walt Whitman Fellowship two years after his first.⁵ We have no record of the manner in which it was received. But we do have the curious fact that Harned's earlier and important essay which dealt with Whitman's interest in oratory was published only once—some six years after its presentation to the Fellowship meeting;⁶ whereas his "Walt Whitman and Physique" was pub-

¹ Thomas B. Harned, "Walt Whitman and Physique," *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, ed. Richard M. Bucke, Thomas B. Harned, and Horace L. Traubel (New York, 1902), VIII, 261. In succeeding references this work will be cited as *Complete Writings*.

² Thomas B. Harned, "Walt Whitman and Oratory," *Complete Writings*, VIII, 244-245.

³ Horace L. Traubel, "Annual Meeting: Boston, May 31," *Walt Whitman Fellowship Papers*: Third Year: 3, p. 7 (July, 1896). For proof that many of the manuscripts in Harned's paper on oratory are not original Whitman material, see my "Walt Whitman's Manuscript Notes on Oratory," *American Literature*, XXII, 29-53 (March, 1950).

⁴ Thomas B. Harned, "Whitman and Physique," *Walt Whitman Fellowship Papers*: Fifth Year: 8, p. 43 (May, 1899).

⁵ At the Fifth Annual Meeting held at New York on May 31, 1898.

⁶ In *Complete Writings*, VIII, 244-260.

lished three times (in three different places) within four years of the date of its delivery.⁷

"Walt Whitman and Physique," like "Walt Whitman and Oratory," consists for the most part of a reproduction of Whitman's manuscripts. Since the hand in which these manuscripts are written is unquestionably Whitman's and since the manuscripts bear no indication of their having been derived from the writings of others, Harned took for granted that they were Whitman's original contributions to the subject. And in his essay he explicitly asserted them to be such.⁸

Harned's assertion has been accepted as fact for fifty years. Every Whitman student who has considered these manuscripts since they were first made public has, like Harned, assumed that they are original Whitman writings.⁹

The rest of this paper will be devoted to proof that this assumption is incorrect. Newly discovered evidence will be presented which reveals that, with two exceptions,¹⁰ the manuscripts reproduced in Harned's essay are not Whitman's original contributions to the subject of physique, but verbatim extracts which he made from various sources.

i. The manuscript which Harned reproduces first, analyzes the causes of intemperance. The text of this Whitman manuscript is a verbatim extract from "The Temperance Reform," an article which was published originally in the *Harbinger* of July 19, 1845.¹¹

There is nothing in the available evidence which indicates that

⁷ The essay was published, with slight variations in title and in editorial material, in: (1) *Walt Whitman Fellowship Papers*: Fifth Year; 8, pp. 43-53 (May, 1899); (2) *Conservator*, X, 53-54, 68-70 (June, July, 1899); and (3) *Complete Writings*, VIII, 261-274.

⁸ Detailed evidence is cited later.

⁹ It should be noted in this connection that the Walt Whitman Fellowship at whose meeting Harned read his paper, and in whose publication his paper was published, included in its membership virtually every important Whitman student of the day. None of these students ever questioned the authenticity of these manuscripts. Nor has any Whitman student ever questioned the inclusion of these manuscripts in *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*.

¹⁰ Of the two exceptions, one will be shown to be an adaptation of material which is not original.

¹¹ "The Temperance Reform," *Harbinger*, I, 91-93 (July 19, 1845). *The Harbinger. Devoted to Social and Political Progress*, was published in New York and Boston by The Brook Farm Phalanx. In 1845 its editor was George Ripley.

The thesis of "The Temperance Reform" is that the only permanent cure for intemperance is a radical reorganization of economic and social life according to the principles of co-operation (which were advocated by the American Fourierists who constituted The Brook Farm Phalanx). The author of "The Temperance Reform" is not identified.

Whitman ever read "The Temperance Reform." Indeed, the evidence points to the opposite conclusion. For Whitman did not make his extract directly from the *Harbinger*. He copied it from a newspaper reprint¹² of something less than half the material contained in the original.¹³ I reproduce below only that portion of the original which is reprinted in Whitman's direct source.¹⁴ Whitman's manuscript consists of all but the first two paragraphs of the text which follows:¹⁵

But no change in the License Laws, no prohibitory statutes, will alone avail permanently, to prevent intemperance. If we would thoroughly *cure* this evil, we must remove its causes. Let us, then, for a short space, consider the *Radical Causes and the Radical Cure of Intemperance*. The view though condensed, shall be comprehensive.

I. The causes of Intemperance are of three kinds, Physical, Mental, and Moral. Let us regard each in turn.

1. Among the *physical* causes may be mentioned first, a weak, unstrung, and feeble organization, which, wanting the stimulus of warm blood, of a free circulation, and of quick transmissions of nervous energy, predisposes the individual to desire artificial excitements. What pity may we well feel for the flabby, lymphatic, half grown, puny creatures, called men and women, of whom earth is full!—What wonder that such morbid abortions are tempted to kindle within their sluggish systems some sparkles of genial life, by transient exhilaration [*sic*]!

Next to a state of half-health, may prevalent habits of life be spoken of, as a predisposing cause of intemperance. Foul miasms from dirty streets, ill-ventilated, and ill-lighted houses, deficient and bad food, absence of baths, irregular hours, producing alternate feverishness and torpor, which all but force the sufferers from these abuses to periodical stimulation.

¹² I have not been able to identify the newspaper in which the reprint appeared. The original clipping which Whitman preserved is in the Whitman Manuscript Collection of the Library of Congress; a photostatic copy is in my possession. I wish to thank the officials of the Library of Congress for their kind permission to use the several Whitman documents which I cite in this paper.

¹³ The reprint which was Whitman's direct source is a continuous extract from the middle of the original article. This explains why the reprint does not contain the consideration of the "Radical Cure of Intemperance," which is announced in its opening paragraph. It should be noted that the "Radical Cure of Intemperance," concerning which the reprint says nothing, is the main concern of the original article.

¹⁴ *Harbinger*, I, 92-93 (July 19, 1845). The editor of Whitman's direct source made only two changes in the original material: he added the title "Intemperance," and he omitted the first word ("But").

¹⁵ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 263-268.

Overwork and idleness come next in the enumeration of the physical causes of intemperance. Incessant, monotonous drudgery, produces an exhaustion of the muscular and nervous system, for which the natural cure is some powerful excitant. The sense of weariness and weakness¹⁶ which follows excessive labor, is almost insufferable. And blame for the drunkenness so common among the working classes of all countries, may fairly be referred back to the task-masters, who compel this violation of natural laws, by the repugnant toil they impose.

Closely connected with this cause, is the last which can now be mentioned. It is the want of sufficient rest and relaxation. How much that word Re-creation means! Can we not learn from the observation of children, what a surplus of bodily vigor joy¹⁷ can give? Had men more play, they would be too full from within of animal spirits ever to feel the need of external excitement.

God's Elixir of Life is wondrously compounded of sunlight, and pure air and water; of the perfume of flowers, of music, and the continual change of hours and seasons. We drive each other to quaff the fiery fountain¹⁸ which bubbles up from hell, by robbing one another of the exhaustless animal joy, which our Creator would pour upon us from all living and moving things. To drink to fullness of the nectar which Nature distils, is to be intoxicated with health. Drunkenness is the exact opposite of this.

2. Among the *mental* causes of Intemperance, may be placed first, the want of habits of observation and reflection. The active brain sends forth along the nerves of motion, a constant, invigorating impulse, and gathers up from the sensitive nerves ever-varying impressions. But a dull brain makes the body heavy and inelastic.¹⁹ An uneasy sense of latent mental power makes the uncultivated man struggle against the brutal lethargy which he finds creeping over him. He delights in the quickening of his thoughts, which stimulants for the moment produce.

Closely connected with this cause, a second may be found in the *mechanical* nature of most kinds of labor. A slight effort of mind is required to gain skill in a branch of industry; but afterwards, there follows but a series of repeated experience.²⁰ No new lessons are learned, no new volitions made. Nature, gently,²¹ by her living laws, would stimulate the mind to ever-fresh discoveries, and fresh inventions, which

¹⁶ Harned omits the phrase "and weakness" (*ibid.*, p. 263).

¹⁷ Harned omits "joy" (*ibid.*, p. 264).

¹⁸ Harned reads "mountain" (*ibid.*, p. 264).

¹⁹ Harned omits this sentence (*ibid.*, p. 264).

²⁰ Harned reads "experiences" (*ibid.*, p. 265).

²¹ Harned reads "gentle" (*ibid.*, p. 265).

bring serene delight. But routine baffles the powers of thought; attention flags amidst unvarying toil; and reason is dizzied by a²² perpetual recurrence of the same petty details. Is it wonderful, that men so gladly escape from their noisy work-shop of life,²³ on to the high grounds of fancy and wit? Exciting drinks seem to set free their imprisoned talents, open wide prospects, and break up the plodding crowd of common thoughts. Sad is it to be obliged to confess, that in our present modes of labor, multitudes find their only hours of anything like a poetic or ideal state of mind, when met to talk with boon companions.

And this brings up to view a third mental cause of intemperance. It is the want of constant, free intercourse with other minds. Conversation is one of the most delicious stimulants which life affords. A new mind opened to us, is better than a novel. Our own familiar thoughts reflected from another's²⁴ experience, seem to gain a new gloss and brightness. Images and echoes multiply the charm of sights and sounds. But how little opportunity, life, as now arranged, allows for habitual intercourse of mind with mind. Untaught, dull from drudgery, prejudiced and proud men meet in society, oppressed with false shame and taciturn habits. Drink breaks down the barriers, brings them to an intellectual level, and quickens self-confidence, while disarming criticism. Men filled with facts and suggestions, have a conscious wealth of mind; it is a delight to them; and they feel small temptation to seek the feverish visions of intemperance, which mock their less cultivated fellows with a show of thought. They drink too often of living springs to be deceived by a mirage.

3. Among the *moral* causes of Intemperance, come first, that most prolific one, unhappy homes. How many a woman has been led to drown the degrading consciousness that she has given her life to one unworthy of her, in the delirium of intoxication! Disappointment and despair in heartless marriage are too intolerable. And how many a man is driven to the club or the hotel, by the sneer, and the scowl, and petty usurpations, of a wife! The dreariness of a home, where indifference or hate are the *Penates*,²⁵ may well account for, though they cannot excuse, a resort to temporary self-forgetfulness. Deprived of the most longed-for sources of constant excitement in reciprocated love, how easy is the surrender to a transient joy. When home, too, is merely the place, as it too often is, among the poor, where the weary partners come to pour out upon each

²² Harned reads "the" (*ibid.*, p. 265).

²³ Harned reads "workshops" for "work-shop of life" (*ibid.*, p. 265).

²⁴ Harned reads "one another's," for "another's" (*ibid.*, p. 266).

²⁵ Harned reads: "The dreariness of a home where the indifference and hate are the Penates . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 266).

other, or upon their children, the hoarded spleen of the day, and to aggravate by recriminations, care and anxiety already too oppressive, how tempting seems the careless revelry of the gin-shop and bar-room.

A second, and a very common moral source of intemperance, is the want of pure and ennobling public amusement. Even the savage shows in his passion for festive meetings, how strong is our instinct to seek social pleasures amidst a multitude. The civilized man manifests this tendency yet more. The mere presence of a crowd, gathered to behold a spectacle, is a powerful excitement, no matter how trifling is the occasion that summons them together, nor how wanting in genius and grace are the people. But most of our public gatherings are of a kind that leave a feeling of vacuity. The show and treat are poor.²⁶ It is no wonder, then, that artificial stimulants are brought in to waken an enthusiasm, which the scene itself cannot give. There is a rude address to the senses in our amusements, rather than a delicate appeal to the imagination and taste, and through them to the judgment and heart. We jostle each other in selfish scramble, because unaccustomed to refined joy. There is so little in the modes of the meeting to call out courtesy and high bred disinterestedness, that the chief thought is of selfish indulgence. The fit accompaniment of our holydays is the booth. And it need excite no surprise, that at the end of a day of pleasure, the heels of many are lighter than their heads. . . .

That Harned took the above text from the *Harbinger* article to be original Whitman material is evident from the editorial comment with which he introduces it. Harned writes:

Whitman very early in life gave much attention to . . . the Temperance cause. It is fair to assume that at one time he must have been a total abstainer. In 1842 he wrote and published a temperance novel called *Franklin Evans, the Inebriate*. . . . It is a curio, fearfully and wonderfully made, of no literary or other value, and full of preaching and tragedy.

*But Whitman did think much and wisely on the drink question. He classified the causes of intemperance as Physical, Mental and Moral. I am always glad to dwell upon this phase of Whitman's life because it has been so much misrepresented. . . . Whitman was extremely moderate in eating and drinking, and had none of the bad habits which some have attributed to him. . . .*²⁷

²⁶ Harned reads "pure" (*ibid.*, p. 267).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 262. Italics mine. Cf. Furness: "This [Harned's] paper deals largely with Whitman's ideas as to the causes and cure for intemperance" (Clifton Joseph Furness, *Walt Whitman's Workshop*, Cambridge, 1928, p. 211 n. 53). Italics mine. Furness's footnote contains evidence that he also regarded as authentic the other manuscripts which Harned reproduces in his paper.

Léon Bazalgette in his *Walt Whitman: L'Homme et son Œuvre* follows Harned. He, too, accepts this manuscript as original, as evidence that Whitman was "passionately interested" in the temperance problem, and as an indication of the temperate nature of Whitman's personal habits.²⁸

And Bazalgette goes further. He finds some unusual paragraphs in this manuscript which establish "une sorte de concordance" between the young reformer²⁹ and the later man. "Malgré le ton juvénilement outré des lignes suivantes," he writes concerning two short excerpts from the manuscript, "n'y reconnaît-on pas l'être de plénitude et de santé triomphale, qu'était en vérité le jeune apôtre, passagèrement empêtré dans le moralisme?"³⁰ And after quoting the excerpts,³¹ he develops this theme at greater length:

On peut voir d'après ce seul fragment [he writes] quelle passion déjà poussait l'homme jeune à défendre les "causes," dont il se détourna plus tard. . . . Il ne pouvait se soustraire à son tempérament excessif et généreux. Et à travers sa crise de moralisme, il demeurait au fond l'être de nature que ces lignes révèlent. . . .³²

The use which Emory Holloway and Ralph Adimari make of Whitman's manuscript on intemperance is more modest than Bazalgette's. But it is of particular interest to note that they not only assume that the manuscript is authentic, but also appear to regard it as distinctive. For, in the collection of newspaper articles which they edited under the title *New York Dissected*, they make quotations from it to suggest that similarities between these quotations and a passage from "Decent Homes for Working-Men," one of the articles which they include in their book, are indications that the latter was written by Whitman.³³

²⁸ Léon Bazalgette, *Walt Whitman: L'Homme et son Œuvre* (Paris, 1908), pp. 54-55.

²⁹ According to Bazalgette, all the manuscript notes on physique belong to the period of *Franklin Evans*, i.e., the early forties (*ibid.*, p. 54). The evidence presented in this paper proves that Bazalgette is in error.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

³¹ The excerpts which Bazalgette quotes, are: (1) The last sentence of the third paragraph of my text: "What pity . . . transient exhilaration"; and (2) the first two sentences of the seventh paragraph: "God's Elixir of Life . . . intoxicated with health" (*ibid.*, pp. 54-55).

³² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

³³ *New York Dissected*. By Walt Whitman. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Emory Holloway and Ralph Adimari (New York, 1936), pp. 99-100, 218 n. 26. It should be noted that the editors point to similarities between "Decent Homes for Working-Men" and another article, "Wicked Architecture," as their main evidence that the former was written by Whitman. See *ibid.*, pp. 14, 218 nn. 21 and 27.

This conclusion of Holloway and Adimari concerning Whitman's authorship of "Decent Homes for Working-Men," Bazalgette's conclusion concerning Whitman's nature, and Harned's conclusion concerning Whitman's interests and habits may all be correct. But these conclusions can no longer be proved to be correct on the assumption that the Whitman manuscript on intemperance is original Whitman material. For the new evidence which has been presented in this paper has proved that that assumption is contrary to fact.

The manuscript on intemperance which has been considered in the preceding section is very much longer than any other which Harned publishes in his essay. Harned introduces the remaining manuscripts with these words:

I shall now transcribe Whitman's more fragmentary notes. Let it be remembered as I proceed that I depart from his verbalism practically nowhere, except to supply certain obvious connecting phrases required to impart to the notes some semblance of order. Indeed, Whitman's style is so evident that such an explanation would not seem necessary.³⁴

Harned was sure. But he was mistaken. Indeed, in what follows, it will be shown that the manuscript material which he transcribes after making this positive statement concerning Whitman's "evident" style, consists of verbatim extracts from no fewer than seven different sources.

2. In the very first paragraph which Harned devotes to "Whitman's more fragmentary notes," he transcribes three separate manuscripts. Each of these manuscripts is a verbatim extract from a different source.³⁵

The original source of the first manuscript in this paragraph is an "Address" which was delivered at the First Anniversary Meeting of the New York City Temperance Society, on May 11, 1830, by Dr. David Hosack.³⁶

³⁴ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 268. In both the *Walt Whitman Fellowship Papers*, 8, p. 48, and in the *Conservator*, X, 68, Harned's last sentence reads: "Indeed, Whitman's style is so evident that such an explanation would not seem necessary but for the absence of the conventional quotation marks." See n. 7.

³⁵ In the text which follows, each manuscript is considered separately. Since Harned introduces the three manuscripts by remarking: "Whitman gave some attention to the study of vegetarianism, although there is no evidence that he ever adopted it" (*Complete Writings*, VIII, 268), it should be noted that only one of the manuscripts deals with that subject.

³⁶ David Hosack, "Address," *Essays on Various Subjects of Medical Science* (New York,

DR. DAVID HOSACK

As an incentive to temperance let it be recollected, that Sir Isaac Newton, when composing his celebrated treatise upon optics, confined himself to water and a vegetable diet: to this abstemious mode of living, probably may be ascribed the great age, viz. eighty-five years to which he attained. John Locke, too, died in the seventy-third year of his age; his common drink was water, which he justly considered as the cause of his life being prolonged to so great an age. . . . To this temperate mode of life, too, he was probably indebted for the increase of those intellectual powers, which gave birth to his incomparable work on the human understanding, his treatises on government and education, as well as his other writings, which do so much honour to his memory.³⁷

Whitman did not make his extract directly from Dr. Hosack's "Address." His direct source was an article entitled "Abstinence an Aid to Study," which he clipped from the *Water Cure Journal and Herald of Reforms* of May, 1848.³⁸

3. The article "Abstinence an Aid to Study," is also the source from which Whitman extracted the manuscript note which Harned reproduces next. The material which Whitman copied in this manuscript is credited by his direct source, to the *Philadelphia Journal of Health*.

1830), III, 397-417. Dr. Hosack was Professor of The Theory and Practice of Physic and Clinical Medicine in Rutgers Medical College, New York.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 407.

³⁸ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 268. The first two words and the last sentence illustrate Harned's editing. See n. 34, and the text to which the footnote refers.

³⁹ V, 70-71 (May, 1848). The *Water Cure Journal* reprinted "Abstinence an Aid to Study," from the (*Philadelphia*) *Journal of Health*, III, 202-204 (March 14, 1832).

Whitman's clipping of the reprint is in the Whitman Manuscript Collection of the Library of Congress.

WHITMAN'S MANUSCRIPTS

[He] notes that Sir Isaac Newton, when composing his celebrated treatise upon optics, confined himself to water and a vegetable diet, to which abstemious mode of living may be ascribed the great age of eighty-five, to which he attained. John Locke is instanced as another case of intellectual activity under like conditions.³⁸

PHILADELPHIA *Journal of Health*

WHITMAN'S MANUSCRIPTS

Boyle, the father of modern chemistry, and the liberal promoter of science in general, though possessed of a very delicate constitution, attained to the age of sixty-five years. His drink was water. It has been said of him, that 'the simplicity of his diet, to all appearance, preserved his life so long beyond men's expectation: and in this he was so regular, that in the course of above thirty years he neither ate nor drank to gratify the varieties of appetite, but merely to support nature.'

Euler, the famous mathematician, who attained the advanced age of seventy-six years, was strictly temperate. . . . La Place, the most original and celebrated natural philosopher, since the time of Newton . . . was enabled to continue his habits of excessive application to study until within two years of his death . . . owing to his always using very light diet, even to abstemiousness. La Place died in the seventyeighth year of his age.⁴⁰

4. The original source of the last manuscript in this paragraph is a book on *Diet and Regimen* by Dr. Dick. Whitman did not make his extract from the book itself. He copied it from an article entitled "Useful Advice," which he clipped⁴² from the *Water Cure Journal and Herald of Reforms* of October, 1848.⁴³

⁴⁰ "Abstinence an Aid to Study," *Water Cure Journal*, V, 71 (May, 1848). This article which appeared originally in the (Philadelphia) *Journal of Health*—see n. 39—quoted both the extract from Dr. Dick and the previously cited extract from Dr. Hosack, from pp. 31-32 of the "Appendix to the Anniversary Report of the Pennsylvania Temperance Society, May, 1830."

⁴¹ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 268.

⁴² The clipping is in the Whitman Manuscript Collection of the Library of Congress.

⁴³ "Useful Advice," *Water Cure Journal*, VI, 92-93 (Oct., 1848).

DR. DICK

Dr. Dick, in his celebrated work on "Diet and Regimen," says:— "Most of the diseases of men arise from effeminate life, or too great indulgence of the passions. Nature created our bodies hardy and robust, and capable of resisting the common influences of cold, and the fatigues necessary in the ordinary duties of life. We enervate and render ourselves inadequate for those duties and for resisting these even healthy influences, by a soft, luxurious, or inactive mode of life. The agriculturist, the huntsman, the manual laborer, remain till late in life full of energy and ardor. The man surrounded by plenty, or superfluity, and by all the delights of existence, falls, in the midst of them, into passive being. The manner of life of most of us is open to objection. Too close rooms by day and by night; too much nightly clothing; too many drinks calculated to debilitate the stomach; too much moral and mental excitement; too little bodily exercise, and that little most frequently in the streets of cities, not in rustic air; the too sedentary lives of many of our females, who engage, while seated the greater part of the day, in works which occupy the fingers only; late hours night and morning, instead of the reverse; unseasonable hours of our repasts, and too great intervals between them; food too multifarious and too rich; —these are the sources of much

WHITMAN'S MANUSCRIPTS

Most of the diseases arise from effeminate life, or too great indulgence of the Passions. Nature created our bodies hardy and robust and capable of resisting the common influences of cold and the fatigues necessary in the ordinary duties of life. We enervate, and render ourselves inadequate for our duties, by a soft, inactive, luxurious mode of life. The man surrounded by plenty and superfluity, and by all the delights of existence, falls in the midst of them. Too close rooms by day and night—too much nightly clothing,—too little bodily exercise,—and that not in the rustic air.⁴⁵

corporeal listlessness and thence disease."⁴⁴

5. The subject of the next manuscript is gymnastic exercises. Harned writes concerning it: "This subject of exercise is given great emphasis. Whitman did not believe much in gymnasiums."⁴⁶ However correct Harned's statement about Whitman's belief may be, it cannot be proved to be correct by the manuscript which is reproduced immediately after his assertion. For this manuscript is a verbatim extract from an open letter written by Dr. William W. Hall, editor and publisher of *Hall's Journal of Health*.

Dr. Hall's letter is one item in a prolonged controversy, in which several persons participated. For the purpose of this paper, it will be sufficient to note that *Hall's Journal of Health* was an opponent of gymnastic exercises, and the *World* (New York) an advocate; and that Dr. Hall's views were attacked in the *World* of September 19, 1860.⁴⁷ Dr. Hall replied to this attack by sending a letter to the editor. This letter was published both in the *World* of September 25, 1860,⁴⁸ and in *Hall's Journal of Health* of November of that year.⁴⁹ Whitman clipped and preserved the letter which appeared in the *World* and copied his manuscript directly from it.⁵⁰

DR. WILLIAM W. HALL

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WORLD:

. . . To sedentary persons, violent, sudden, and fitful exercise is always injurious, and such are gymnastic performances.

The exercise of the student should be regular, gentle, deliberate, always stopping short of felt fatigue.

WHITMAN'S MANUSCRIPTS

"To sedentary persons, violent, sudden and fitful exercise is always injurious, and such are gymnastic performances. The exercise of the student should be regular, gentle, deliberate, always stopping short of fatigue.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 93. In "Useful Advice," the above passage from Dr. Dick's book is quoted from the *Boston Journal of Health*. My efforts to find a copy of *Diet and Regimen* have been unsuccessful.

⁴⁶ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 268-269. Whitman's manuscript changes the original order of the first two sentences. To facilitate comparison I have reprinted these two sentences in their original sequence. Whitman's text has not been changed.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 269. ⁴⁷ *World*, Sept. 19, 1860, p. 5. ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 25, 1860, p. 6.

⁴⁹ "Physical Culture," *Hall's Journal of Health*, VII, 253-255 (Nov., 1860). Cf. "Gymnasiums," *ibid.*, 109-111 (May, 1860).

⁵⁰ Minor variations in text (which I have not deemed necessary to note) prove that Whitman's direct source was the clipping which is now in the Whitman Manuscript Collection of the Library of Congress.

One hour's joyous walk with a cheerful friend, in street, or field, or woodland, will never fail to do a greater and more unmixed good, than double the time in the most scientifically conducted gymnasium in the world.

There are individual cases where the gymnasium is of the most undeniable benefit; but the masses would be the better for having nothing to do with them.

A million times better recipe than the gymnasium for sedentary persons is:

Eat moderately and regularly, of plain, nourishing food, well prepared. Spend two or three hours every day in the open air, regardless of all weathers, in moderate untiring activities . . .

Every one knows that exercise of the body increases the circulation of the blood. The violent exercises in gymnasiums, as almost, if not universally conducted hitherto, produce a violent flow of blood, of nutrient particles to the various muscles which are brought into most active exercise, and being carried thither faster than they can be taken up, unmixed harm is the result. Hence the life-long disablements and even deaths, which have resulted from gymnastic performances and other violent exercises. . . .

Thus it is that the sudden, violent, fitful, exhaustive exercises of ordinary gymnasiums are unwise, hurtful, dangerous; and to derive

One hour's joyous walk with a cheerful friend, in street or field or woodland, will never fail to do a greater or more unmixed good, than double the time in the most scientifically conducted gymnasium in the world. There are individual cases where the gymnasium is of the most undeniable benefit, but the masses would be better for having nothing to do with it." A better receipt than the gymnasium is given—

"Eat moderately and regularly of plain nourishing food, well prepared; spend two or three hours every day in the open air regardless of all weathers, in moderate untiring activities.

Everyone knows that exercise of the body increases circulation of the blood. The violent exercises in gymnasiums, as almost if not universally conducted hitherto, produce a violent flow of blood, of nutrient particles, to the various muscles which are brought into most active exercise, and being carried thither faster than they can be taken up, unmixed harm is the result. Hence the lifelong disablements and even deaths which have resulted from gymnastic performances and other violent exercises.

Thus it is that the sudden, violent, fitful, exhaustive exercise of ordinary gymnasiums is unwise, hurtful, dangerous. To derive from

from muscular exertion a high degree of health and manly vigor, it should be moderate, continuous, regular, in the open air, and should be pleasantly remunerative beyond the mere benefits of the exercise itself. None of these conditions are fulfilled in gymnasiums as generally conducted hitherto. Physical culture is not objected to, but the manner of it . . .⁵¹

muscular exertion a high degree of health and manly vigor, it should be moderate, continuous, regular, in the open air, and should be pleasantly remunerative beyond the mere benefits of the exercise itself."⁵²

6. Walking and swimming, respectively, are the topics of the Whitman manuscripts which Harned reproduces next. Concerning the latter, Harned writes: "I could write an essay on the art of swimming from the notes which I find, but can give the subject but passing notice."⁵³ Some of the material which Harned presents on the subject consists of direct quotations from Whitman's notes; some consists of Harned's adaptations of Whitman's manuscripts. All of the direct quotations and some of the adaptations are verbatim extracts from the first page of the text of a booklet entitled *The Science of Swimming*, by "An Experienced Swimmer."⁵⁴

Although *The Science of Swimming* sold steadily and was published several times, it always appeared without an author's name on its title page. Evidence is available, however, which establishes conclusively that the anonymous author was Dr. Russell Thatcher Trall. For much of the text of *The Science of Swimming* is reprinted verbatim in both *The Hydropathic Encyclopedia*⁵⁵ and in *The Illustrated Family Gymnasium*.⁵⁶ And Dr. Trall is the sole

⁵¹ *World*, Sept. 25, 1860, p. 6.

⁵² *Complete Writings*, VIII, 269-270. To facilitate comparison, I have separated the sentences of Whitman's manuscript.

⁵³ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 271.

⁵⁴ Published by Fowler and Wells (New York, 1849). The second edition of *Leaves of Grass* (which appeared without a publisher's name on its title page) was printed by Fowler and Wells. Fowler and Wells also published several articles by Whitman in their popular magazine *Life Illustrated*; and they printed one of Whitman's anonymous reviews of the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* in their *American Phrenological Journal*. In 1849 one of the Fowlers made a phrenological reading of Whitman's head. That Whitman took his "chart of bumps" seriously is well known.

⁵⁵ Russell T. Trall, *The Hydropathic Encyclopedia* (2 vols.; New York, 1853), II, 42-47.

⁵⁶ Russell T. Trall, *The Illustrated Family Gymnasium* (2 vols.; New York, 1857), I, 37-50.

author of both works.⁵⁷

DR. RUSSELL T. TRALL

THE ART OF SWIMMING appears to be as natural to man, as it is useful, and, in some cases, necessary for the preservation of his life.

Cleanliness and exercise, both so necessary to health, are combined with a high degree of enjoyment in the practice of this art.

The importance of frequent ablutions can scarce be over-rated. In fact, the Water Cure has become a popular remedy for most of the diseases to which humanity is liable. But however excellent the various kinds of bathing may be for curing diseases, there can be no doubt that in preventing them they are still more efficacious. . . .

They who merely bathe, without being able to swim, lose half the pleasure and more than half the benefit which arises from frequent ablutions. Swimming is an exercise which brings more muscles into action than any other; and the body being supported by an equal pressure on every part, their action is harmonious—none being relaxed, and none over-strained. . . .⁵⁸

7. The verbatim evidence which has just been presented, proves beyond doubt that Whitman's manuscript on swimming is copied

⁵⁷ Verbatim extracts from *The Science of Swimming* also appeared repeatedly in the *Water Cure Journal and Herald of Reforms*, of which Dr. Trall was the editor. See, for example, VIII, 26-29 (July, 1849); XVI, 18 (July, 1853); XXIV, 27-28 (Aug., 1857). In this connection, note the reference to the "Water Cure" in the fourth sentence of the extract from *The Science of Swimming* which is given in my text.

⁵⁸ *The Science of Swimming* (New York, 1849), pp. 5-6. Whitman's copy of this booklet is in the Whitman Manuscript Collection of the Library of Congress.

⁵⁹ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 271. To facilitate comparison, I have separated some of the sentences of Whitman's manuscript.

WHITMAN'S MANUSCRIPTS

Whitman believed that the art of swimming was as natural to man, as it is useful and in some cases necessary for the preservation of life. "Cleanliness and exercise, both so necessary to health, are combined with a high degree of enjoyment in the practice of this art. The importance of frequent ablutions can scarce be overrated."

[He] was almost a believer in water as a preventive of disease and in swimming as its most practical application.

"Swimming is an exercise which brings more muscles into action than any other, and the body being supported by an equal pressure on every part the action is harmonious."⁵⁹

from Dr. Trall. That Whitman's manuscript on walking derives from Dr. Trall cannot be proved so conclusively. But it is highly probable that it does, for the similarities between this manuscript on walking and Dr. Trall's writings on the same subject are marked.

DR. RUSSELL T. TRALL

Gymnastic exercises date back to the athletic games of ancient Greece, when bodily training was a branch of school education, and every town had its gymnasium. They included *walking, running, leaping...*⁶⁰

Movements From the Spot Without Mutual Support. These exercises are classified into *Walking, Running, Leaping, Walk-and-Run and Marching Movements...* Exercises with Support (or Assistance).⁶¹

Among the active exercises which may be beneficially resorted to as pastime, are *walking, running, leaping, dancing*.⁶²

DR. RUSSELL T. TRALL

Few persons are sufficiently aware of the intimate connection . . . between propriety of bodily attitude in standing, walking &c., and the healthy actions of all our organs,—not even excepting those of the mind.

. . . an erect, easy and graceful demeanor of body [is] . . . essential

⁶⁰ Russell T. Trall, *The Illustrated Family Gymnasium*, I, x. Walking, running, and leaping are considered in detail in separate sections of the book. See pp. 30-31.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, II, 138, 148.

⁶² Russell T. Trall, *The Hydropathic Encyclopedia*, I, 369.

⁶³ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 270. The two sentences quoted above and the other sentences quoted in this column in the rest of this section constitute a single manuscript. I have separated the sentences of this manuscript in order to facilitate comparison with the writings of Dr. Trall.

WHITMAN'S MANUSCRIPTS

The persistent exercise for developing and strengthening them, of the lower legs and of the ankles and feet. No example is yet seen (not in modern times hereabouts at any rate) of the power of endurance and performance of the legs—walking, running, leaping, supporting, etc.⁶³

WHITMAN'S MANUSCRIPTS

The legs have a great deal to do even with the accomplishment of the work of the whole of the other parts of the body and give grace and impetus to it.⁶⁴

to the perfect working of all our bodily and mental machinery.

... there can be no grace of person and movement without the walk is easy, upright, and natural.⁶⁴

... the healthful, graceful and beautiful exercise of walking . . . calls into action *all* the muscles of the body.⁶⁵

And first of all in importance is a correct bodily position. The physiological observer will see very few persons in civilized society who are not more or less unnatural and inelegant in this respect. Indeed, very few persons stand, walk, sit, or lie properly. . . .

The usual error in standing and in walking is a turning in of the toes, a bending of the knees, and a protrusion of the lower abdomen, with consequent contraction of the chest and bending of the neck. . . .

Various bad habits in walking have been acquired by different persons; for example. . . .⁶⁷

"Walking, perfect walking, in man or woman, is a rare accomplishment—more rare than fine dancing, and more desirable than the finest dancing. Who ever sees a woman walk perfectly? Who ever sees a man?"⁶⁸

8. The next manuscript is introduced by Harned with these words: "Walt Whitman believed that hard study and good health could go together."⁶⁹ The manuscript reads:

Hard study is generally thought to be adverse to health; and conversely, unhealthy students are thought, or think themselves to be identical with hard students. Paleness of countenance, nervous weakness and head-

⁶⁴ R. T. Trall, "Family Gymnastics," *Water Cure Journal*, XXII, 1-2 (July, 1856). According to the editor (Dr. Trall), this article is "Extracted substantially from a work in preparation by Dr. Trall, called *The Complete Gymnasium*, soon to be published by Fowler and Wells."

⁶⁵ R. T. Trall, *The Illustrated Family Gymnasium*, I, xiii. This is the work announced in n. 64. Trall also changed his text.

⁶⁶ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 270. See n. 63.

⁶⁷ R. T. Trall, "Family Gymnastics," *Water Cure Journal*, XXII, 2 (July, 1856).

⁶⁸ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 270-271. See n. 63.

⁶⁹ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 271.

ache are cultivated or affected, because they are supposed to indicate superior intellectual gifts. Dangerous fallacy which has cost many a good fellow his life! No man, or woman either, ever killed himself or herself with hard study. Not a bit of it; but many a lazy fellow, fond of intellectual occupation, with physical inaction, has fallen a victim to disordered digestion and crazed nerves, all the time laboring under the grieved [sic] mistake that he was one of those favorites of the gods who die young, because they are of too ethereal a temper⁷⁰ to stand the rude shock of such a miserable world as this. Why the world is a brave world—worthy to be the dwelling place of the noblest creatures God ever made. It is too good for the simpleton who does not know how to take care of himself; who mistakes neglect of body for culture of mind; who goes moping and moaning about because his breakfast sits uneasily on his weakened stomach, thinking it to be proof that he is too delicate or too refined for the hardships of human condition. Up, man, dreamer, fool; go plunge into the health-giving, joy-inspiring waves of yonder ocean, while summer lasts; take a cold shower bath in winter. Walk long distances, if you have the time; swing the⁷¹ dumb bells if you have not. Cold water, vigorous exercise, hard study—these are the conditions of moral, mental and bodily health. All kinds of devils, as well as the blue devils flee before these mighty enchanters; even the leader of them all, the old Prince of Darkness, fears dumb bells, cold water, and an active brain more than he did Martin Luther's inkstand.⁷²

The foregoing manuscript is a verbatim reproduction of the text of a clipping entitled "Hard Study and Good Health," which is among the papers which Whitman preserved.⁷³ Whitman does not indicate either the date or the source of this clipping; (nor the date or the source of any other clipping which is dealt with in my paper).⁷⁴ And in this instance, my efforts to trace either the author of the text or the source from which Whitman obtained it have been unsuccessful. But the fact that Whitman preserved this clipping, considered together with the evidence in this paper concerning

⁷⁰ Harned reads "temperament." See n. 73.

⁷¹ Harned omits "the." See n. 73.

⁷² *Complete Writings*, VIII, 271-272.

⁷³ The clipping which Whitman preserved is in the Whitman Manuscript Collection of the Library of Congress. A photostatic copy is in my possession. In my text I have reproduced the material as it appears in the clipping. Harned's version does not follow the punctuation and capitalization of the original. But his text is identical—excepting only the two slight differences which are indicated in nn. 70 and 71.

⁷⁴ Cf. the numerous unidentified clippings listed in *Notes and Fragments*, ed. Richard M. Bucke (privately printed, 1899), pp. 193-211, reprinted in *Complete Writings*, X, 63-97.

the relation of the other manuscripts on physique to other clippings which Whitman preserved, appears to warrant the conclusion that the manuscript on hard study and good health is not original Whitman material.⁷⁵

9. Harned reproduces next a Whitman manuscript on "The Turn of Life." The first sentence of this manuscript is a commonplace. The second is a restatement of the title of a newspaper clipping which Whitman preserved.⁷⁶ The rest of the manuscript—the third sentence excepted—is an extract from an article published in the December, 1849, issue of the *Water Cure Journal and Herald of Reforms*, and credited by it to *The Science of Life*.⁷⁷

The Science of Life

From forty to sixty a man who has properly regulated himself may be considered as in the prime of life. His matured strength of constitution renders him almost impervious

WHITMAN'S MANUSCRIPTS

A sound mind in a sound body ripening into perfect manhood. Longevity is but a law of nature.⁷⁸ If we die early it is more likely to be our fault. Between the years of forty and sixty a man who has properly regulated himself may be considered in the prime of life. His mature strength of constitution renders him almost impervious to

⁷⁵ Whitman preserved another (unidentified) clipping on the same subject. This is entitled "Brain Work and Muscle Work," and reads: "The dyspepsia of brain-workers is generally charged to excessive mental work. From observations we are satisfied that this is a mistake. It is not too much brain work, but too little muscle work, and neglect of the commonest principles of hygiene in its relation to digestion that makes such pessimistic authors as Carlyle, such acute theologians as Calvin, such savage skeptics as Voltaire. The latter once wrote to Lord Chesterfield: 'My Lord Huntington tells me that you have a good stomach, which is worth more than a good pair of ears.' Sydney Smith declared that he could feed or starve men into virtues or vices, and that the character, talents, virtues and qualities are powerfully affected by beef, mutton, pie-crust and rich soups. Good humor helps to keep a man in good digestion, but it is not a substitute for dietetic rectitude or ample muscular exercise."

Cf. Whitman's comment on Carlyle: "Dyspepsia is to be traced in every page, and now and then fills the page. One may include among the lessons of his life . . . how behind the tally of genius and morals stands the stomach, and gives a sort of casting vote" ("Death of Thomas Carlyle," *Complete Writings*, IV, 306).

⁷⁶ The article entitled "Longevity—Is It the Law of Nature?" lists several "living witnesses that the human frame was made to endure for upward of a century." A reference to Dr. Lyman Beecher as "over eighty two years of age" establishes that the article was written in 1857. The original of this unidentified article is in the Whitman Manuscript Collection of the Library of Congress. A photostatic copy is in my possession.

⁷⁷ "The Turn of Life," *Water Cure Journal*, VIII, 172 (Dec., 1849). My efforts to find a copy of *The Science of Life* have been unsuccessful.

⁷⁸ For the source of this sentence, see n. 76 and the text to which the note refers.

to attacks of disease, and experience has given his judgment the soundness of almost infallibility. His mind is resolute, firm, and equal; all his functions are in the highest order; he assumes the mastery over business; builds up a competence on the foundation he has laid in early childhood, and passes through a life attended by many gratifications.

Having gone a year or two past sixty, he arrives at a critical period in the road of existence: the river of death flows before him. . . . But athwart this river is a viaduct called "The Turn of Life," which if crossed in safety, leads to the valley of "old age," round which the river winds . . . the "Turn of Life" is a turn either into a prolonged walk or into the grave.

The system and powers having reached their utmost expansion, now begin either to close like flowers at sunset, or break down at once. One injudicious stimulant—a single fatal excitement, may force it beyond its strength—whilst a careful supply of props, and the withdrawal of all that tends to force a plant, will sustain it in beauty and in vigor until night has entirely set.

the attacks of disease and experience has given soundness to his judgment. His mind is resolute firm and equal. All his functions are in the highest order. He assumes mastery over business, builds up a competence on the foundation he has formed in early manhood, and passes through a period attended by many gratifications.

Having gone a year or two past sixty he reaches a viaduct called the Turn of Life, which, if crossed in safety, leads to the valley of old age, round which the river winds. The system and powers having reached their utmost expansion, now begin to close like the flowers at sunset or break down at once. One injudicious stimulant, a single fatal excitement, may force it beyond its strength.⁷⁹

10. Harned concludes his essay by indicating how the Whitman manuscripts which he has presented contribute toward an understanding of both the life of the man and the work of the poet:

All that I have given in this fragmentary paper is intensely interesting to the student of *Leaves of Grass*—that poem of the body and the soul.

⁷⁹ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 273.

We can see how these early thoughts shaped Whitman's life work. The perfect man and the perfect woman was his dream of the ultimate end of creation. The man whom he aimed to put in his book was a perfect man—healthy, mentally and spiritually. That he lived his own life according to these practical views there can be no doubt. . . ."⁸⁰

"Let me close with a noble and significant note," Harned adds, and quotes the following manuscript:

Between the ages of thirty-five and eighty may be the perfection and realization of mortal⁸¹ life; rising above the previous periods in all that makes a person better, healthier, happier, more commanding, more beloved and more a realizer⁸² of love. The mind matured, the senses in full activity, the digestion even, the voice firm, the walk untired, the arms and chest sinewy and imposing, the hip joints flexible, the hands capable of many things—the complexion and blood pure, the breath sweet, the procreative power ever ready in man,⁸³ the womb power in woman—the inward organs all sweetly performing their offices—during those years the universe presents its riches, its strength, its beauty to be parts of a man, a woman.—Then the body is ripe, and the soul also and all the shows of Nature are⁸⁴ attained and the product⁸⁵ of thought in books.⁸⁶

This is the only manuscript in Harned's essay which I have been unable to trace to some other source. And (although I should perhaps be more mindful of the lesson which my own paper teaches) I must say that many things which are prominent in this manuscript—the catalogue effect, the unusual item "the hip joints flexible,"⁸⁷ and the sex references—make it sound like Whitman to me and prepare me to venture the assumption that it is an original composition. But even if the evidence concerning the originality of this manuscript were much more conclusive than it now is, a biographical interpretation of its text would seem to be unwarranted. Such an interpretation is advanced by Holloway and Adimari in their introduction to *New York Dissected*, entitled "Life Begins at Thirty-Five." They write:

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 273-274.

⁸¹ Harned reads "moral." My reading differs from Harned's in several places. I quote from the original in the Library of Congress.

⁸² Harned reads "realizee."

⁸³ Harned reads "and" after "man."

⁸⁴ Harned omits "are" and gives "Nature" in lower case.

⁸⁵ Harned reads "production."

⁸⁶ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 274.

⁸⁷ Holloway and Adimari note that this phrase is used in "I Sing the Body Electric" (*New York Dissected*, p. 199 n. 3).

Many admirers of Walt Whitman . . . fondly turn back to the early poems written before the Civil War because of their power to communicate the *joie de vivre* on so many different planes. With a perfect body, an active and intelligent mind, and an environment congenial to the talent which makes its own career, Whitman was then enjoying the happiest period of his life, and he knew it. . . . *Thomas B. Harned preserves for us an interesting bit of manuscript in which Whitman himself describes what life meant to him at this time: . . .*⁸⁸

They then quote the complete text of the manuscript which is here being considered and comment on it as follows:

It is obvious that the passage just quoted from Whitman's pen was written from personal experience, and from the very midst of that experience rather than in retrospect. He himself never lived to be eighty, and many of the details he mentions would be ridiculous if applied to old age. Perhaps he hoped always to retain the fullness of physical and imaginative power which he felt when he wrote. . . .⁸⁹

This conclusion that the manuscript "was written from [Whitman's] personal experience, and from the very midst of that experience" is, in my opinion, very far from "obvious." Indeed, the available evidence—both internal and external—makes such a conclusion highly improbable.

The most striking item of evidence in the manuscript itself is its reference to "the womb power of woman." This, obviously, could not have been written from Whitman's *personal* experience. The external evidence consists of the following interrelated sets of facts, all of which are well established:

1. Whitman, for many years, collected articles by other writers on the subjects of health, physical perfection, and longevity.⁹⁰

2. Almost all of Whitman's manuscripts on the subject of physique are verbatim extracts from such articles; the manuscripts

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1. Italics mine.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁹⁰ Whitman appears to have had a special interest in clipping lists of long-lived persons and accounts of persons who continued to be vigorous in old age. There are a good number of such clippings in the Whitman Manuscript Collection of the Library of Congress. Bucke lists some others which were included in his share of the Whitman papers: "Oldest Man in America," two pieces on "Longevity," "A Good Old Age," "Ages of Persons in England and Wales." See *Notes and Fragments*, ed. R. M. Bucke (privately printed, 1899), p. 196, item 82; p. 205, items 375 and 377; p. 206, item 387; and p. 211, item 547. Cf. also, *ibid.*, p. 82, fragment 18.

which are not verbatim extracts are adaptations; the sole possible exception is the manuscript which is here being considered.

3. All the manuscripts on this subject—the verbatim extracts, the adaptations, and the particular manuscript with which we are here concerned—were kept together by Whitman in a single collection marked “Physique.”⁹¹

4. “As a preface” to this collection, Whitman wrote in large letters: “To present a Case of the Condition of Perfect Health.”⁹²

The foregoing facts indicate that the note which is here being considered is not a manuscript written from the “very midst” of Whitman’s “personal experience.” It appears, rather, to be a draft which derives primarily from material which Whitman had collected for use in connection with the literary project noted above.

The form of this draft makes it not unreasonable to suppose that Whitman intended “To present a Case of the Condition of Perfect Health” in prose. As a collateral item, it may be noted that a different manuscript discloses that Whitman also planned to make perfect health the subject of a poem and that, in this connection, he gave himself explicit instructions to gather material from various sources. This manuscript reads:

A poem in which is minutely described the whole particulars and ensemble of a *first-rate healthy Human Body*—it looked into and through, as if it were transparent and of pure glass—and now reported in a poem—

Read the latest and best anatomical works
 talk with physicians
 study the anatomical plates
 also casts and figures in the collections of design⁹³

The instructions which Whitman gave himself in the above manuscript will surprise no one who is informed about his methods of literary composition. For the fact that Whitman—preparatory to writing his poetry—gathered information from persons who were well informed, read widely, and made many notes was established

⁹¹ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 261.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 272-273. The phrase “as a preface” is Harned’s. In the quotation from Whitman, Harned spells with small letters two words which I spell with capitals. My reading follows the original manuscript.

⁹³ *Catalogue of the Whitman Collection in the Duke University Library*, comp. Ellen Frances Frey (Durham, 1945), photostat facing p. 12. This manuscript was originally included in the Whitman material which went to R. M. Bucke.

some fifty years ago when Bucke edited (Whitman's) *Notes and Fragments*. And more recent study has revealed that Whitman sometimes adapted the materials which he gathered, and incorporated them in his own work.⁹⁴

Thus, there is both collateral and direct evidence for the hypothesis that the last manuscript in Harned's essay was derived by Whitman not from his "personal" but from his "literary" experience.

Conclusion. Whitman's manuscripts on physique have hitherto been assumed to represent his original thinking on the subject. The new evidence which has been presented in this paper proves this assumption incorrect. It shows that only one of these manuscripts *may* be original and discloses that the rest are verbatim extracts and adaptations which Whitman made from the works of eight different writers.

The evidence which has been presented also discloses the earliest dates when most of these works could have been available to Whitman. It thus proves incorrect Bazalgette's assumption that all these manuscripts belong to the early forties⁹⁵ and Harned's assertion that "many of them were made in Whitman's early youth."⁹⁶ It proves also that *not all* the notes "date back of the publication of the first edition of Leaves of Grass. . . ."⁹⁷

Thus, the new evidence in this paper makes it impossible for Whitman students, hereafter, to cite these manuscripts as expressions of Whitman's original ideas, or indications of his personal habits, or revelations of his fundamental passion, or explanations of the long foreground of his poetic career, or evident examples of his literary style.

⁹⁴ See, for example, David Goodale, "Some of Walt Whitman's Borrowings," *American Literature*, X, 202-213 (May, 1938).

⁹⁵ Léon Bazalgette, *Walt Whitman: L'Homme et son Œuvre* (Paris, 1908), p. 54.

⁹⁶ *Complete Writings*, VIII, 261.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

NOTES AND QUERIES

AN EARLY PROSE WORK OF EMERSON

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EMERSON'S PUBLICATIONS during the period of his ministry are so few¹ that the discovery of a hitherto overlooked paper of 1831, issued anonymously, is especially worthy of attention. Cooke missed it in his excellent bibliography,² and McGiffert, had he known of its existence, would certainly have made use of it in his edition of Emerson's sermon, "Hymn Books," delivered on October 2, 1831.³ Why the principal Unitarian review, founded by Dr. William Ellery Channing in 1813 as the *Christian Disciple* (the title, in 1824, was changed to the *Christian Examiner*) should not have been more carefully scrutinized by both bibliographers and editors remains a mystery. Emerson read that publication faithfully from college days onward⁴ and, indeed, made at least two contributions to it.⁵ Although the internal evidence is sufficient to establish the authorship in both instances, the penciled identifications of articles in the set of the *Christian Examiner* owned by the Watkinson Reference Library, of Hartford, provided the clue, which was later corroborated by Cushing's *Index*.⁶

When the first edition of Francis W. P. Greenwood's *Collection of Psalms and Hymns for Christian Worship* appeared in Boston in 1830, Francis Jenks, editor of the *Examiner*, apparently asked Emerson to evaluate that important work⁷ for a forthcoming issue. The review was, doubtless, prepared during Ellen's final illness, probably in January, 1831,

¹ These are: "Fame," printed on pp. 52-53 of *The Offering, for 1829* (Cambridge, 1829); a sermonette, "Right Hand of Fellowship," on pp. 29-31 of *A Sermon Delivered at the Ordination of Hersey Bradford Goodwin* (Concord, 1830); *Letter from R. W. Emerson to the Second Church and Society* (Boston [1832]).

² George Willis Cooke, *A Bibliography of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston & N. Y., 1908).

³ Arthur C. McGiffert, Jr. (ed.), *Young Emerson Speaks* (Boston, 1938), pp. 145-150, 246-247.

⁴ He discusses articles he had been reading in his letters to William Withington, dated April 27, 1822, and Jan. 29, 1823 (photostats in Columbia University Library).

⁵ See the *Christian Examiner*, X, 30-34 (March, 1831); for the second, see "Emerson's Review of *The French Revolution*," soon to be reprinted.

⁶ William Cushing, *Index to the Christian Examiner (Vols. I-LXXXVII)* (Boston, 1879), pp. 92 and 195.

⁷ By 1850 it had passed through fifty editions. In 1846 Emerson still thought it was the best collection in the English language. See McGiffert, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

and was published in March, the month following her death.⁸ Seven months later, in his sermon on the same subject, he echoed the review while urging a committee, still deliberating on the expediency of introducing a new volume of chants, to examine Greenwood's compilation with a view to adopting it at the Second Church. The following composition, with notes supplied by the present editor, provides an interesting contrast with the later sermon, both in tone and treatment, and reveals, among other evidences, that the Swedenborgian Doctrine of Correspondences, together with Coleridge's and Baron Gérando's spiritual axiom ("Like only can know like" or *Quantum sumus, scimus*) had already begun to influence Emerson's speculation. The review shows careful preparation. Its author had had a long experience with hymnody and here manifests his critical acumen. In the sermon he commends Greenwood's *Collection* chiefly for its theology and eschatology. Here he is concerned with literary criteria.

COLLECTION OF PSALMS AND HYMNS⁹

The greatest perfection to which religious poetry has yet been carried is in the "Psalms of David." The history of David gives more than its usual truth to the maxim, that the first successful efforts in any kind of composition have commonly an absolute excellence, and all succeeding works have an inferior comparative merit.¹⁰ The Bible was translated into English at a time, however unfavorable for the pure transmission of its doctrine, the most favorable in the history of the language, for its poetry. Without entering on the question of inspiration, or being too curious as to the causes of their power, we probably give the opinion of most Christians in giving our own, that these strains, through the medium of the plain English translation, do make a deeper impression on the heart, than any other religious poetry, ancient or modern. They are older than criticism, and have all the merits of that age. The images with which they abound are taken directly from nature and not borrowed from older poets, and are the proper garment¹¹ of the thoughts. It

⁸ Ellen Emerson died on Feb. 8, 1831. See Emerson's *Journals* (Boston & N. Y., 1909-1914), II, 356.

⁹ *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns for Christian Worship* (Boston: Carter & Hendee, 1830). 18mo.

¹⁰ See Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas*, chap. x, for a representative statement of this maxim. See the note on *Nature*, 38:20 (line numbering of the first edition) in the present writer's *Emerson the Essayist* (2 vols., Raleigh, N. C., 1945), I, 416.

¹¹ The term "garment" is Swedenborgian and related to the phrase, "affections clothed,"

is the poetry of a lover of nature in the morning of civilization. Civilization operates to draw men within doors, and to fix their eyes so much on works of art, as to hide the mountain and the desert and the sea. Then the love of nature is increased, and a higher interest given to the Psalm by the love of God. The most remarkable merit of this poetry certainly is, the lively and affectionate conception of God, which seems to imply of necessity the truth of the Jewish history, and, with whatever injurious errors it is coupled, is far the most distinct and affecting description of the Deity that is to be found, out of the New Testament and writings indebted to it.

This body of poetry has always commended itself to the Christian church as the best vehicle of devotional feeling down to a recent age. In the time of Henry the Eighth, Sternhold and Hopkins turned them into English verse; and it is a singular instance of the force of association, that the love of David could reconcile Milton to the wretchedness of the English version, and imprison even his genius in the same mean stanza. His paraphrases of some of the Psalms are still retained in the editions of his *Minor Poems*. It may be remarked also, that Lord Bacon had written some of the same doggrel, and so had Dr. Henry More, another of the great writers of the age of Elizabeth.¹²

The maxim of ancient philosophy, that 'the same can only be known by the same,'¹³ may be well applied to these attempts to present the Psalms in an English metre. They require a mind of kindred character to the Psalmist. Dr. Watts has excelled all his tuneful brethren in this work, because to great power of numbers he added a very fervent piety. But it was found that the best rendering of the Psalter, however useful as a book of devotion, could very imperfectly express the wants and feelings of a modern assembly. An unwarrantable perversion of the national and local imagery of David had become necessary to give it any kind of accommoda-

which describes the "Doctrine of Correspondences." See the index of *Emerson the Essayist* under all these terms, and especially I, 231-242. Emerson developed the theme of "nature as language" in his "Introductory Lecture on English Literature" (Nov. 5, 1835) and later in chap. iv of *Nature*. Analysis of the lecture appears in *Emerson the Essayist*, I, 348-352. See *Nature*, 34.4, 43.21—44.4, 93.5-8, 93.20-24, 94.1-3, and 94.13-15. See also *Journals*, III, 227 and 370.

¹² Emerson has miscalculated by a century. More's dates are 1614-1687.

¹³ He had been reading Gérando's *Histoire Comparée* as well as Coleridge in 1830. See *Emerson the Essayist*, I, 17 ff. and 78 ff. See the index. Cf. *Nature*, 94.5, 44.18, 68.5-7.

tion to the present state of the Christian church.¹⁴ It was far better to let it sing its own songs. For this reason Hymns began to be written. We shall always regret that this class of compositions, now so important by the considerable place it fills in our public worship, did not fall into better hands. It is not fit that men of common powers should write our hymns.¹⁵ If every hymn to be sung in our churches could have come from the powerful and hallowed minds that have thought for the human race, and instead of being regarded as an occasional and inferior exercise, had been the vent of their best and deepest contemplations upon God and nature, these minds would have enjoyed an influence which will never be granted to their epics and books of philosophy or criticism. It is the well known saying of a distinguished statesman, 'Let who will make the laws of a people; give me the making of their songs.'¹⁶ So it is not the Bodies of Divinity, nor the ablest religious works, whether in prose or verse, that can ever hope to enter into the heart and faith of a nation, like the familiar religious song that is in their mouth every Sunday, aided in its effect by the reverence of the Bible, the power of music, the associations of the place, and the sympathy of a congregation. Milton should have written hymns for those who speak the English tongue; and whatsoever sublime bard has sung to any people, could best have instructed them by doing this office.

But whilst we say what might have been done, and what we hope will yet be done, we do not undervalue the simple and pious strains which are now used in the church, bequeathed to us by so many excellent men. Many of our hymns possess great merit, and the Collection which has called our attention to this subject, has shown us that this department of sacred literature is richer than we supposed. Every lover of religious poetry probably thinks he can make a better hymn-book than any one he has seen; but our own confidence in this proposition has been somewhat shaken by the examination of Mr. Greenwood's work. It contains five hundred and sixty hymns, selected with taste and judgment from various

¹⁴ See McGiffert, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

¹⁶ See *North American Review*, XXIII, 140 (July, 1826): ". . . a wise man has said, 'Give me the making of the ballads, and I care not who makes the laws of a nation.' " See *Quarterly Review*, XXXIV, 367 (Sept., 1826): "Was he then a silly statesman who said, 'Let who will frame the laws of the people, so I have the making of their songs'?" Emerson assigns a variation of this quotation to "Fletcher" in Blotting Book I (Cabot's "T") [1826-1827], p. 53.

A zealous, just concern
For thine immortal praise;
A pure desire that all may learn
And glorify thy grace.—*Hymn 284.*

We are very glad to find the fine hymn from Cowper, beginning

To keep the lamp alive,
With oil we fill the bowl;
'T is water makes the willow thrive,
And grace that feeds the soul.

The Lord's unsparing hand
Supplies the living stream;
It is not at our own command,
But still derived from him.—*Hymn 323.*

There are some hymns of that decided merit that pleases every taste. The noble 'Te Deum' of Patrick, the versions of Addison or Marvell; Miss Williams's Hymn, entitled 'Devotion'; Mrs. Barbauld's version of Habakkuk, iii. 17-19; the best known verses of Watts and of Doddridge; and the fine old hymn, annually sung to the tune of St. Martin's in University Hall at Cambridge,—'Give ear, my children, to my law,' &c., are of this class; and, except the last, which we are sorry to miss, are retained in the present Collection. Most of those hymns which every lover of psalmody looks for, he will probably find. It is, in our eyes, an additional recommendation of this book, that the interpolations which have been thrust into the hymns of Watts and Doddridge, sometimes making the dead and defenceless poet say what he would abhor to say, are here exchanged for the genuine readings. And besides the justice, the poetry commonly gains by the restoration. The following beautiful verses of Watts, among others, are restored to their original simplicity and pathos.

Welcome, sweet day of rest,
That saw the Lord arise;
Welcome to this reviving breast,
And these rejoicing eyes!

The King himself comes near,
And feasts his saints to-day;

Here we may sit, and see him here,
And love, and praise, and pray.

One day amidst the place
Where my dear Lord hath been,
Is sweeter than ten thousand days
Of pleasurable sin.

My willing soul would stay
In such a frame as this;
And sit and sing herself away
To everlasting bliss.—*Hymn 26.*

FRANKLIN'S VERSION OF THE "LORD'S PRAYER":
A RESTORATION OF THE TEXT

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BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S version of the "Lord's Prayer" is a striking example of his eagerness to bring revealed religion to the scrutiny of deistic rationalism and of the unconcern for religious orthodoxy which belied his New England heritage. For almost fifty years, however, the piece has been available only in a garbled form, the faults of which have apparently gone unnoticed.

Franklin's "Lord's Prayer" was first printed by Jared Sparks in his 1840 edition of the *Works*.¹ In a footnote to the *Autobiography* Sparks remarked:

Among Franklin's papers I have found a curious manuscript in his handwriting, which contains a new version of the Lord's Prayer. The condition and appearance of the manuscript prove it to have been an early performance, but its precise date is not known. The form in which it is written is here preserved.²

Sparks then printed a transcription which, except for regularization of punctuation and filling-out of abbreviations, agrees with the manuscript now in the Library of the American Philosophical Society. John Bigelow omitted the "Lord's Prayer" from his edition in 1887-1889,³ but Albert Henry Smyth included it in the latest of the collections of Franklin's writings (1905-1907), the edition now considered to be standard.⁴ Un-

¹ *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Jared Sparks (Boston, 1840), I, 77-79.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

³ *The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. John Bigelow (New York, 1887-1889).

⁴ *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Albert Henry Smyth (New York, 1907), VII, 427-430.

fortunately, probably owing to his misplacing one of his own pages of transcript,⁵ Smyth printed a text which is highly inaccurate; and, even more unfortunately, editors of the selections from Franklin's writings reprinted for use in college classes have invariably used Smyth's text without questioning its obvious faultiness.⁶

A corrected reading of the text follows:

[Manuscript page 1]

THE LORD'S PRAYER

Old Version

1. Our Father which art in Heaven,
2. Hallowed be thy Name.
3. Thy Kingdom come.
4. Thy Will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven.
5. Give us this Day our daily Bread.
6. Forgive us our Debts as we forgive our Debtors.
7. And lead us not into Temptation, but deliver us from Evil.

New Version, by B. F.

1. Heavenly Father,
2. May all revere thee,
3. And become thy dutiful Children and faithful Subjects.
4. May thy Laws be obeyed on Earth as perfectly as they are in Heaven.
5. Provide for us this Day as thou hast hitherto daily done.
6. Forgive us our Trespasses, and enable us likewise to forgive those that offend us.
7. Keep us out of Temptation, and deliver us from Evil.

Reasons for the Change of Expression

Old Version. *Our Father which art in Heaven.*

New V.—*Heavenly Father*, is more concise, equally expressive, and better modern English.

Old.— *Hallowed be thy Name.* This seems to relate to an Observance among the Jews not to pronounce the proper or

⁵ As will be seen from a comparison of the Smyth text with the text printed below, the greatest error of the Smyth text is its transposition of the middle fifth of the text to the end. It may be suggested that Smyth or his copyist used five sheets to transcribe the text, the second sheet ending with the words "They had such Kings accordingly; but their" and the fourth sheet beginning with "Offerings were due to God. . . ." When the third sheet was moved to the end, its omission was not noticed because of the apparent fit of the end of sheet 2 and the beginning of sheet 4.

⁶ Cf. Frank Luther Mott and Chester E. Jorgenson (eds.), *Benjamin Franklin: Representative Selections* (American Writers Series, New York, 1936), pp. 414-417, and Carl Van Doren (ed.), *Benjamin Franklin and Jonathan Edwards: Selections from Their Writings* (Modern Student's Library; New York, 1920), pp. 137-139.

peculiar Name of God, they deeming it a Profanation so to do. We have in our Language no *proper Name* for God; the Word *God* being a common or general Name, expressing all chief Objects of Worship, true or false. The Word *hallowed* is almost obsolete: People now have but an imperfect Conception of the Meaning of the Petition. It is therefore proposed to change the Expression into

New. *May all revere thee.*

old.

[Manuscript page 2]

Old V. *Thy Kingdom come.* This Petition seems suited to the then Condition of the Jewish Nation. Originally their State was a Theocracy; God was their King. Dissatisfied with that kind of Government, they desired a visible earthly King in the Manner of the Nations round them. They had such Kings accordingly; but their Happiness was not increas'd by the Change, and they had reason to wish and pray for a Return of the Theocracy, or Government of God. Christians in these Times have other Ideas when they speak of the Kingdom of God, such as are perhaps more adequately express'd by

New V. *And become thy dutiful Children & faithful Subjects.*

Old V. *Thy will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven.* More explicitly,

New V. *May thy Laws be obeyed on Earth as perfectly as they are in Heaven.*

Old V. *Give us this Day our daily Bread.* Give us what is *ours*, seems to put in a Claim of Right, and to contain too little of the grateful Acknowledgment and Sense of Dependence that becomes Creatures who live on the daily Bounty of their Creator. Therefore it is changed to

New V. *Provide for us this Day, as thou hast hitherto daily done.*

Old V. *Forgive us our Debts as we forgive our Debtors.* Matthew. *Forgive us our Sins, for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us.* Luke.

Offerings were *due* to God on many Occasions by the Jewish Law, which when People could not pay, or had

forgotten as Debtors are apt to do, it was proper to pray that those Debts might be forgiven. One Liturgy uses neither the *Debtors* of Matthew, nor the *indebted* of Luke; but instead of them speaks of *those that trespass against*

[Manuscript page 3]

the

against us. Perhaps^A Considering it as a Christian Duty to forgive Debtors was by the Compilers thought an inconvenient Idea in a trading Nation. There seems however something presumptuous in this Mode of Expression, which has the Air of proposing ourselves as an Example of Goodness fit for God to imitate. *We hope you will at least be as good as we are;* you see we forgive one another, and therefore we pray that you would forgive us. Some have considered it in another Sense, *Forgive us as we forgive others;* i.e. If we do not forgive others we pray that thou wouldest not forgive us. But this being a kind of conditional *Imprecation* against ourselves, seems improper in such a Prayer; and therefore it may be better to say humbly & modestly

New. V. *Forgive us our Trespasses, and enable us likewise to forgive those that offend us.* This instead of assuming that we have already in & of ourselves the Grace of Forgiveness, acknowledges our Dependance on God, the Fountain of Mercy, for any Share we may have of it, praying that he would communicate of it to us.

Old V. *And lead us not into Temptation.* The Jews had a Notion, that God sometimes tempted, or directed or permitted the Tempting of People. Thus it was said he tempted Pharoah; directed Satan to tempt Job; and a false Prophet to tempt Ahab, &c. Under this Persuasion it was natural for them to pray that he would not put them to such severe Trials. We now suppose that Temptation, so far as it is supernatural, comes from the Devil only; and this Petition continued, conveys a Suspicion which in our present Conceptions seems unworthy of God, therefore might be altered to

New V. *Keep us out of Temptation.[†]*

^A Transcribed from the three-page manuscript in Franklin's hand, American Philosophical Society Library, Vol. 50 (1), 4. The American Philosophical Society also holds the first

“ONE COTTON, OF ACQUIA CREEK, HUSBAND
OF ANN COTTON”

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SPECULATIONS ON the authorship of “The Burwell Papers”—essentially a narrative of Bacon’s Rebellion in 1676—have been numerous. Jay B. Hubbell’s investigations appear to have decided the question;¹ Francis Burton Harrison’s work offers the most recent and most exhaustive biographical treatment.² The following conjecture of Moses Coit Tyler in 1878, although not the earliest,³ and although only a footnote, has been of seminal importance to later scholars:⁴

The authorship of these interesting mss. is still a matter of conjecture. My own opinion is that they were written by one Cotton, of Acquia Creek, husband of Ann Cotton, and author of a letter written from Jamestown, June 9, 1676, printed in *Force, Hist. Tracts*, I, No. 9. For this opinion, which I suppose to be new, the reasons cannot be given here.

page of an earlier draft of the prayer, on which there are minor revisions the results of which appear in the final draft, and a copy of the prayer on a single sheet in Franklin’s hand. The sole correction on the latter sheet shows clearly why Franklin’s version has never supplanted the standard versions; in writing “may thy Laws be obeyed on Earth as perfectly as they are in Heaven,” Franklin himself slipped into the familiar cadence of “on Earth as they are in Heaven” and had to insert “perfectly as” above the line.

¹ “John and Ann Cotton, of ‘Queen’s Creek,’ Virginia,” *American Literature*, X, 179-201 (June, 1938).

² “Footnotes upon Some XVII Century Virginians,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, L, 289-299 (October, 1942).

³ Tyler seems to have read the following statement in Charles C. Campbell’s *History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1860), p. 286 n.: “This account [the ‘Narrative of the Indian and Civil Wars in Virginia’] is evidently in the main, if not altogether, by the same hand with the letter bearing the signature of Mrs. Ann Cotton. Several passages are identical.” There is a pencil mark alongside this note in Tyler’s copy of the book; and in Tyler’s handwriting the identification “Moses Coit Tyler 1876” appears on the title page.

⁴ Moses Coit Tyler, *A History of American Literature during the Colonial Period 1607-1765* (New York, 1878), I, 79-80 n. As will appear in the course of this article, Professor Hubbell followed Tyler’s lead; and Lawrence C. Wroth gave credit to Tyler, too, in his study of “Ebenezer Cooke’s *Maryland Muse*,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n. s. XLIV, 303 (October, 1934): “So far as I have learned, Professor Tyler never recorded his reasons for this statement, but with his note as a guide it has been a relatively easy matter to show . . . that his attribution was almost certainly correct.” Of course later scholars have not hesitated to show certain errors made by Tyler. Wroth, for instance, brought to light Tyler’s mistaken identification of Ann and John Cotton’s home as “Acquia Creek,” instead of the correct “Queen’s Creek.” See *ibid.*, p. 306 n.; also Hubbell, *op. cit.*, p. 180 n. In the analysis of John Cotton’s prose style, also, Professor Hubbell disagreed with Tyler; see *ibid.*, p. 201 n.

The "reasons" for Tyler's conjecture can be shown, for they appear in the form of marginal comments on Ann and John Cotton's letters in his copy of Force's *Tracts*,⁵ where the letters were printed with other documents relating to Bacon's Rebellion.

Tyler's marginalia, all except one of which reflect on Ann Cotton's letter to "C. H." are not entirely legible. The first note—"See Elewa MS. in M S Hist"⁶—is partly meaningless; the second word has been corrected by the original writer, and moreover it runs off the page, so that at present it conveys nothing. "Identic[al] with Burwell MS." Tyler wrote against the lines starting "This strange newes put him, and those with him, shrodly to there Trumps,"⁷ and this comment, together with another, a direction to "see Burwell 316,"⁸ leads one to conclude that he was comparing Ann Cotton's letter and the version of "The Burwell Papers" published in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. The comparison is continued in another comment two pages farther on: "This is expande[d] in the old[er] MS."⁹ Tyler's next gloss is fragmentary, partly written on the edges of the paper, and partly written on

⁵ *Tracts and Other Papers, Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, From the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776*, ed. Peter Force (4 vols.; Washington, 1836-1847). Tyler wrote "Moses Coit Tyler 1876" on the title page of his copy of the first volume; that copy is now kept in the library of Northern Michigan College of Education, along with other books forming Tyler's library.

⁶ Ann Cotton, "An Account of Our Late Troubles in Virginia," *ibid.*, I, 3. The note is written in the margin opposite a passage which Tyler additionally emphasized by a vertical line and which begins "For the Indians having in the derke, slipt through the Legure. . . ." A very similar passage appears in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Boston, 1867), IX, 300, where "The Burwell Papers" were last published in Tyler's lifetime.

⁷ Cotton, *op. cit.*, p. 5. Tyler struck a vertical line alongside this passage down to the end of the sentence, "after he had caused Bacon, in those parts to be proclaimed a Rebell once more, July 29." This passage is not "identical with" but is remarkably close to that in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, IX, 308.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7, opposite the passage, "by the advice of Drummond and Lawrance (who were both excepted, in the Governours sommons, out of mercy)"; Tyler underlined "who were" and "Governours." Some of the same words, the same language generally, and the same subject appear in "The Burwell Papers," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, IX, 316. Tyler evidently made his comparisons with the version in the *Proceedings* because, as had been explained by officials of the Society (see *Proceedings*, IX, 297), that version was free of the many errors of the earlier printings in the *Collections* of the Society and in Force's *Tracts*.

⁹ Cotton, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Tyler's comments were made on the following passage, which is further marked with a marginal line: "Death summons him to more urgent affairs in to whose hands (after a short seige) he surrenders his life, leaving his commition in the custody of his Leif't Generall, one Ingram, newly comin to the countrey." This sentence corresponds to one in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, IX, 322.

the margin: "a ch[ck?] of [an]d antithesis [in] the [B]urwell MSS."¹⁰

At the end of Ann Cotton's letter Tyler wrote his first guess: "May not Mrs Cotton be the author of the Burwell MS. expanding and elaborating on the basis of this letter?"¹¹ On the opposite page, under her husband's letter, he concluded: "This is more in the style of the Burwell MSS. My conjecture is that Anne Cotton's husband was their author, and that she quoted in her own account some of her [husband's narrative]."¹²

Tyler's comments establish that, when he considered the problem of the authorship of "The Burwell Papers," he took into account both Ann Cotton's letter to "C. H." and John Cotton's letter to her.¹³ The marginalia furnish a remarkable corroboration, too, of certain inferences made sixty years later by Professor Hubbell concerning Tyler's conjecture. "M. C. Tyler must have observed certain stylistic resemblances," Professor Hubbell wrote, "between Cotton's fragmentary letter and 'The Burwell Papers.' . . . If he carefully compared 'The Burwell Papers' with Mrs. Cotton's narrative, he must have perceived that her account is little more than a condensation of his or else his narrative is an expansion of hers."¹⁴ Furthermore, Professor Hubbell's method of discovering the author of "The Burwell Papers" was parallel, one may now observe, to Tyler's procedure. For the two men, struck by the similarity of the letters and "The Burwell Papers," independently chose the same passages as the most significantly comparable.¹⁵ And the two critics followed similar notions of internal evidence; Tyler mentioned "antithesis" in comparing Ann Cotton's letter with "The Burwell Papers"; and "antithesis" figured too as an item in Professor Hubbell's evidence for the authorship of the longer narrative.¹⁶ The marginalia, in short, constitute a testimony to the soundness of the

¹⁰ Cotton, *op. cit.*, p. 10. A vertical line also marked the pertinent passage: "the Hangman being more dreadfull to the Baconians then there Generall was to the Indians; as it is counted more honourable, and less terable, to dye like a soulder, then to be hang'd like a dogg." Cf. *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, IX, 327.

¹¹ Cotton, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹³ Hubbell, *op. cit.*, p. 180, wrote that Mrs. Cotton's "Account" was a narrative "to which Tyler makes no reference."

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 181; see also *ibid.*, p. 184.

¹⁵ See especially the suggested comparison of two passages in Tyler's first note, above; and the extended comparison of the same passages in Hubbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-182.

¹⁶ See n. 10, above; Hubbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-182.

earlier scholar's judgment and the exactness of the later scholar's methods.

Most interestingly of all, Tyler's glosses enable one to reconstruct the workings of his mind in deciding that Ann Cotton's husband wrote "The Burwell Papers." They show Tyler reaching a tentative conclusion as he finished reading her letter; and they show him, evidently a few seconds later, reshaping his conclusion in the light of John Cotton's letter. Tyler's comments not only discover the "reasons" for his conjecture about the authorship of the "Narrative of the Indian and Civil Wars in Virginia"; they also show the qualities of cautiousness, responsiveness, and firmness that make his work valuable to present-day students of American literature.

MRS. HENTZ AND THE GREEN-EYED MONSTER

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IT IS USUALLY assumed that the jealousy plot, so much over-worked by propagators of sentimental fiction, is merely one of the conventions of the trade. In the stories of at least one popular ante-bellum novelist, however, it is autobiography as well. The unpublished diary of Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz, author of best-sellers in the 1850's, and the autobiography of her son, Dr. Charles A. Hentz,¹ reveal that the jealous tantrums of her Byronic heroes were drawn from life and that she herself was the pattern of the patient endurance that characterized her heroines.²

Nicholas Marcellus Hentz, the French schoolmaster whom Caroline Lee Whiting married in her New England home in 1824 and accompanied on his rolling-stone career through the Middle West and the South, was, according to his son:

of a very affectionate, kind disposition, but at the same time, one of the most nervous, jealous, suspicious characters that ever lived, I believe—From the beginning of their married life, my mother's happiness was constantly crossed & most bitterly tried by his most unreasoning and

¹ The MSS of Mrs. Hentz's diary of 1836 and Dr. Charles A. Hentz's autobiography, both unpublished, are the property of the Southern Historical Collection, Library of the University of North Carolina.

² Among Mrs. Hentz's best-sellers were *Linda, or, The Young Pilot of the Belle Creole* (1850); *Marcus Warland, or, The Long-Moss Spring* (1852); *The Planter's Northern Bride* (1854); *Robert Graham* (1855); *Ernest Linwood, or, The Inner Life of the Author* (1856).

unhappy jealousy of disposition. She very rarely attended any party, or social gathering, or received the polite attention of any gentle[man] without undergoing afterwards a stormy ordeal. She was possessed of one of the most lovely, sunny dispositions that ever existed—Was charming in person & conversation, and was always a centre of attraction wherever she went, and the attention that she drew inevitably, always excited my poor, dear father's jealous temperament to frenzy—My earliest recollections are associated with scenes of this kind, to which I was often a bewildered & frightened listener.³

In his later years Mr. Hentz used to speak of his jealous disposition as a disease, and tried to explain it by the fact that he was born during the Reign of Terror. "To the fearful agitation of his mother during the months preceding his birth, he attributed the morbid and unhappy peculiarities of his nervous system," wrote his son, adding that his excessive snuff-taking "tended to wreck his nervous system also, and ultimately brought on the hypochondriac disease that terminated his existence."⁴

By 1836, the year of Mrs. Hentz's diary, she and her husband had been residents successively of Northampton, Massachusetts; Chapel Hill, North Carolina (where Mr. Hentz was professor of modern languages and belles-lettres at the University of North Carolina); Covington, Kentucky; Cincinnati, Ohio; and finally Florence, Alabama, where they settled in 1834. Their son Charles relates his childhood memory of the incident that precipitated their departure from Cincinnati.⁵ A Colonel King, who was prominent in the literary club of which Mrs. Hentz was a member,⁶ carried his admiration of her so far as to address an improper note to her. What its contents were the son never knew, but he was sure that his mother erred in attempting to answer it instead of returning it unanswered. Her agitation made her husband suspicious, and so he laid a trap for her. After taking his gun and pretending to go fishing across the river, he shortly returned and, stealthily entering the room, found Mrs. Hentz bending over her desk, preparing to answer and return the unfortunate note. He seized upon the note

³ Dr. Charles A. Hentz, "Autobiography," pp. 18-19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

⁶ Another member of this club was Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, who had moved to Cincinnati in 1832, the same year in which the Hentzes arrived, and whose *Uncle Tom's Cabin* Mrs. Hentz was to answer in two novels, *Marcus Warland* (1852) and *The Planter's Northern Bride* (1854).

in a passion, and in the scene that followed sent for Colonel King, slapped him in the face, and "behaved like a maniac." A friend of the family, Dr. Drake, for whom Mrs. Hentz sent in this emergency, acted as peacemaker and "prevented the rupture that seemed so imminent." Mr. Hentz closed his school immediately, and the family left Cincinnati, never to return.

Over a year after leaving the congenial society of Cincinnati for the lonely frontier village of Florence, Alabama, almost within ear-shot of the Indian wars that still broke out at intervals, Mrs. Hentz found an emotional outlet in a diary, the first she had ever kept. The heavy duties of running the boarding department of Mr. Hentz's school, assisting in the teaching, and at the same time caring for her growing family gave her little freedom and privacy for writing. The literary career on which she had embarked before coming to Florence seems to have been dropped temporarily, and during the first years of her life in Alabama almost the only product of her pen was the diary.⁷ Though it is reticent in the manner of the period, it throws a certain light on those sentimental novels which, after her husband's health failed in 1847, were to bring in bread and butter for her family.

It is evident that the shadow of her little attempt at duplicity in Cincinnati and of her husband's consequent resentment hung over her still.

How inextricable are the paths of sin! Once entangled you are in the midst of briars, they eat into the heart. Would to God I could lay my hand on mine & say I had never stooped to deceit, but I do now abhor it from the bottom of my soul, & would rather incur any reproach than to stoop to subterfuge & falsehood!⁸

And again: "My spirit is gloomy & the night cloud is on my soul. Must the consequence of one transgression follow us through the

⁷ While living in Covington, Kentucky, Mrs. Hentz won a contest sponsored by a Mr. Pelley of the Boston Theater, for which she had written a play, *De Lara, or, The Moorish Bride; a Tragedy*, afterwards published in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in 1843, and, according to Caroline Mays Brevard (*The Library of Southern Literature*, VI, 2376), produced successfully at the Arch Street Theater, Philadelphia. At Covington she composed another play, *Lamorrah*, a tragedy of Indian life, and a dramatic poem, "Constance of Werdenburgh." At Cincinnati she wrote magazine articles, poems for newspapers, and a novel, *Lovell's Folly*. The diary records only one publication in 1836, the poem "Rubins [sic] and the Unknown Artist," in a Philadelphia paper.

⁸ Mrs. Hentz's diary, entry for May 14, 1836.

pilgrimage of life? Is there no Lethean wave to wash out the memory of the past?"⁹

In Florence, as Caroline Mays Brevard was to observe later, Mrs. Hentz lived a retired life.¹⁰ Apparently Mr. Hentz's jealous nature had determined her to avoid social engagements as much as possible. "We were invited to dine at the Cheatham's, but did not accept the invitation. . . . There is nothing I dread the sight of so much as an invitation to a party. It seems as if a ghost presented itself to my view & I must say 'Avaunt.'"¹¹ "Received a letter from Mr. Drake, with a Ball Ticket. It looked to me like a ghost, a spirit, an unholly shade."¹² Her chief recreation was in sharing Mr. Hentz's hobbies, which she did enthusiastically—fishing, raising silkworms, copying Olivier's work on insects, and especially collecting insects.¹³ Although she frequently recorded thoughtful gifts from him, she sometimes mentioned his coldness, too.

Must we carry to the altar of duty our purified and still burning affections, and meet there but the cold approval & toleration. Yes! all is unavailing but Heaven still guides the path of the erring! I dared to hope resentment would die over the coldness and darkness of the tomb. There is, there must be—

"One fatal remembrance, one sorrow that throws
Its bleak shade alike o'er our joys and our woes,
O'er which life nothing brighter or darker can fling
For which joy has no balm & affliction no sting."¹⁴

In several of the novels which after her husband's breakdown made her name famous throughout the country, notably in *Linda*, *Robert Graham*, and *Ernest Linwood*, Mrs. Hentz reflected the domestic experiences of these years and attempted to study the jealous man as lover and as husband. In *Robert Graham*, hero of both the novels *Linda* and *Robert Graham*, she portrayed a wildly jealous nature. In the worst tradition of melodrama this very possessive

⁹ *Ibid.*, March 6, 1836.

¹⁰ *The Library of Southern Literature*, VI, 2377.

¹¹ Mrs. Hentz's diary, May 31, 1836.

¹² *Ibid.*, March 31, 1836.

¹³ Mr. Hentz achieved a certain posthumous reputation as an entomologist. His *The Spiders of the United States: A Collection of the Arachnological Writings of N. M. Hentz* was edited by Edward Burgess with notes and descriptions by James H. Emerton, and published by the Boston Society of Natural History in 1875.

¹⁴ Mrs. Hentz's diary, March 6, 1836.

lover, having extorted Linda's promise to love no one else, even though she could not care for him, declared: "I have your promise, though, and when I go to my chamber I mean to open one of my veins and write it down in blood."¹⁵ Later, hearing that Linda had another suitor, he screamed, "He had better not cross the lion in his path!"¹⁶ Then, as he frequently did in his spasms of jealousy, he burst a blood vessel and became unconscious. When he came to his senses after one such scene Linda cried: "Oh, Robert, I forgive you . . . but the time may come when you will never forgive yourself."¹⁷

Mrs. Hentz's most serious effort to study her husband's temperament in fiction was in the character of Ernest Linwood, whose mother warned the heroine that she could never be happy married to him. "He has qualities fatal to the peace of those who love him,—fatal to his own happiness; suspicion haunts him like a dark shadow,—jealousy, like a serpent, lies coiled in his heart."¹⁸ After their marriage Ernest constantly hurt and humiliated his wife by his unreasonable suspicions and jealous tantrums. The narrative is a series of unjust accusations on the part of Ernest, alternating with melodramatic scenes of his repentance and his wife's forgiveness.

At least one of these situations was drawn partly from her own experience. A stranger boldly admired Gabriella and, when her husband was absent a moment from their box in the theater, dropped a note into her lap.

"Conceal this from your husband," said a low, quick voice scarcely above a whisper, "or his life shall be forfeit as well as mine."

To snatch up the note and hide it in my bosom, was an act as instinctive as the beating of my heart.¹⁹

Whether Mrs. Hentz had received her fatal note in Cincinnati in this fashion is not known, but the results were the same. Like her author, the heroine in fear of her husband attempted to keep the episode a secret from him. Ernest, learning of the communication, demanded to see it and staged a scene somewhat similar to that described in Dr. Charles Hentz's autobiography, with the difference

¹⁵ Hentz, *Linda*, p. 110.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

¹⁸ Hentz, *Ernest Linwood*, p. 202.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

that the stranger, being unknown, could not be produced to receive his share of the punishment.

The heroine's reflections on her situation seem even more auto-biographical than the characters or the incidents. Like Linda and like Gabriella she felt intense pity for the man whose passion so "obscured his reason that while under its dominion he was incapable of perceiving the truth." She pondered the question of what caused a jealous temperament, but nowhere seemed to find a satisfactory answer. According to Gabriella's mother, "The dark passions of Ernest are hereditary. . . . They are the phantoms that haunted his father's path and cast their chill shadows over the brief years of my married life."²⁰ Ernest himself, in one of his penitent moods, gave a pseudo-scientific rationalization: "The truth is, Gabriella, I have no self-esteem. A celebrated German phrenologist examined my head, and pronounced it decidedly deficient in the swelling organ of self-appreciation."²¹ Nowhere did Mrs. Hentz's characters offer her husband's theory of prenatal influence.

On one subject, however, she allowed her much-abused heroines, both Linda and Gabriella, to speak positively. "Could I live over again the first year of my wedded life," she made Gabriella conclude, "I would pursue a very different course of action. A passion so wild and strong as that which darkened my domestic happiness should be resisted with the energy of reason, instead of being indulged with the weakness of fear. Every sacrifice made to appease its violence only paved the way for a greater [sacrifice]."²² So she wrote in her last novel, *Ernest Linwood*, which after her death was subtitled "The Inner Life of the Author."

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 336.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association has authorized through the year 1950 a joint-subscription rate of \$8.80 for *PMLA* and *American Literature*. All checks and orders are to be addressed to Professor Lyman R. Bradley, Treasurer, 100 Washington Square East, New York, N. Y.

Both the Duke University Press and the Treasurer of the Modern Language Association have had so much difficulty with the joint subscriptions that they have decided hereafter to take only subscriptions which begin with the January or March number of *American Literature*. Those members of the Association whose subscriptions expire with other numbers may purchase the odd numbers from the Duke University Press (\$1.00 each).

The Duke University Press offers to students (graduate and undergraduate) who wish to subscribe to *American Literature* a special subscription price of \$2.00 a year. Subscriptions must be accompanied by an endorsement from the instructor in charge of the student's work in American literature. Blanks may be secured from the Duke University Press, Durham, N. C.

J. B. H.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

- A Psychograph of Mary Hunter Austin. Edna M. Rasco (Boston).
- Mark Twain and Science. Sherwood Cummings (Wisconsin).
- William Faulkner and the Negro: A Comparative Study of Inter-group Maladjustment in the United States as Presented in Faulkner's Prose and in Certain Sociological Writings. William A. Griffey (New York).
- John Fox, Jr., as a Man of Letters: A Biographical and Critical Interpretation. Mabel Tyree (Kentucky).
- Hamlin Garland and "The Mountain West." Edwin J. Neumann (Northwestern).
- Hawthorne's Use of the English and the Italian Past. Delmer Rodabaugh (Minnesota).
- Nathaniel Hawthorne's Reading. John Hicks (Indiana).
- The Theology of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Leonard J. Fick (Ohio State).
- Ring Lardner: American Humorist and Social Commentator. James R. Frakes (Pennsylvania).
- The Mind and Art of Jack London. Robert Holland (Wisconsin).
- James Russell Lowell's Writings on Public Affairs, 1861-1891. Russell L. Dunlap (North Carolina).
- Melville's Use of Color. George R. Creeger (Yale).
- Mary Moragné, Diarist and Novelist: A Study in Southern Literary Culture, 1835-1845. Delle Mullen (Tennessee).
- An Intellectual Biography of Charles Eliot Norton. Malcolm M. Marsden (Syracuse).
- William T. Porter and the *Spirit of the Times*. Norris Yates (New York).
- Samuel Sewall: A Critical Study. Theodore B. Strandness (Michigan State).
- The Life and Works of Ruth McEnery Stuart. Frances Fletcher (Louisiana State).
- Thoreau and Travel Literature. John Christie (Duke).
- Albion W. Tourgée: Novelist of the Western Reserve. John W. Munns (Western Reserve).
- Jim Tully and the "Picaresque" Novel in the United States from 1920 to 1940. Martin J. Cohn (Paris).

- Stewart Edward White: A Biographical and Critical Study. Rosemary Butte (Southern California).
- Brand Whitlock, Novelist. Juanita Kytle (New Mexico).
- The Catalogues in Whitman's Poetry: A Study of Their Sources and a Critical Examination of Their Poetic Function. Frank H. Townsend (Chicago).
- Whittier's American Intellectual Backgrounds. Joseph M. Ernest (Tennessee).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

- American Biography in the Romantic Period. Stephen J. Haselton (Columbia).
- The American Physician as Novelist. John Bowen Hamilton (North Carolina).
- French Literature and Philosophy in American Magazines, 1800-1848. Georges Joyaux (Michigan State).
- The Role of the Frontiersman in American Dramatic Literature. M. W. Tillson (Denver).
- The Materials and Methods of American Horror Fiction. Winfred S. Emmons (Louisiana State).
- The New York Novel. Eugene Abramsky (Ohio State).
- A Study of the Development of Naturalism in American Fiction as Exemplified by the Midwestern Writers E. W. Howe, Hamlin Garland, Theodore Dreiser, and Sherwood Anderson. Richard D. Welsh (Indiana).
- Literary Criticism in the *Christian Examiner*, 1824-1869. Frances Mitchell Pedigo (North Carolina).

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

- Hocquet Caritat: Enlightenment and Cosmopolitanism in Federal New York. George Gates Raddin, Jr. (Columbia, 1950).
- John Jay Chapman: The Early Years. Richard Bennett Hovey (Harvard, 1950).
- Mark Twain's Reading: A Critical Study. Harold Aspiz (California, Los Angeles, 1950).
- The Poems of T. S. Eliot, 1909-1928: A Study in Symbols and Sources. Grover C. Smith, Jr. (Columbia, 1950).
- Eternal Truth: A Study of Hawthorne's Philosophy. Benjamin Cohen (Indiana, 1950).
- William Dean Howells as Editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Robert E. Butler (Rutgers, 1950).

The Imagery of Poe's Poetry and Tales: A Chronological Interpretive Study. Hans Gottschalk (Iowa, 1949).

IV. DISSERTATION TOPICS DROPPED

The American Newsreel, 1896-1949: A Historical and Contemporary Critical Survey. Rush E. Welter (Harvard).

Midwestern Literature: Autobiographies of Boyhood and Youth. Richard K. Welsh (Indiana).

V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Patrick D. Hazard (Western Reserve) is at work on a study of the religious concepts of John Fiske.

Richard Bennett Hovey (University of Pennsylvania) is engaged in a biographical and critical study of John Jay Chapman.

Thomas H. Johnson (Lawrenceville, N. J.) is editing a variorum edition of the writings of Emily Dickinson, to be published by the Harvard University Press. In order to make the edition as definitive as possible, all persons who have knowledge that would aid in locating manuscript material relating to the life and letters of Emily Dickinson are asked to communicate with Mr. Johnson.

Lewis LEARY, *Bibliographer*

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Durham, North Carolina

BOOK REVIEWS

THE TRYING-OUT OF MOBY-DICK. By Howard P. Vincent. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1949. xvi, 400 pp. \$5.00.

Professor Vincent's study of the literary sources of *Moby-Dick* provides a fascinating guided tour through Melville's workshop as it was furnished in the years 1850-1851. The materials which were transformed into the epic are piled round us in such profusion that it seems unlikely that any important item can be missing. The author has explored exhaustively the major whaling sources, such as J. Ross Browne, Scoresby, Beale, Cheever, and Bennett. He has also ferreted out many sly short-cuts which Melville took in search of useful whaling-lore, such as the article entitled "Whale" in John Kitto's *Cyclopedias of Biblical Literature* —an article which Melville pillaged thoroughly. Professor Vincent follows the trail into unforeseen and unexpected places: now in Thomas Maurice's *Indian Antiquities: or, Dissertations, Relative to the Ancient Geographical Divisions . . . of Hindostan* (1794); now in Commodore Wilkes's *Narrative of the U. S. Expedition . . . 1838-1842* (1845); now home again to the familiar pages of the Duyckincks' *Literary World* for 29 June 1850—"an amusing anecdote" of the Duke of Wellington while he was serving as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. This is source-hunting at its best, for the quarry is nothing less than half the humor, sublimity, poetry, and metaphysics of *Moby-Dick*.

I should imagine that Professor Vincent must have found it difficult to decide how to organize his book. In essence it is a series of discursive notes and commentaries, paralleling the text of *Moby-Dick*. Probably this was, all things considered, the only way in which biographical information, source studies, and comments on the "trying-out" of the pure oil of the narrative could be satisfactorily welded together. But the method adopted has some drawbacks. Since the materials which Melville extracted from his major sources are widely scattered in the novel, Professor Vincent is not able to give a very clear total impression, in one place, of the particular impact on Melville's imagination of Beale or Scoresby or Bennett. Similarly, since he cannot stray too far from the chapters of the novel under consideration in a given section of his work, his illuminating commentaries on theme, characterization, and symbols have to be related, in general, to the content of these particular chapters. Of course this linear movement has advantages, too, and I am sure Professor Vincent had them in mind in planning the book as he did. By this

method we get a sense of Melville's struggle to concretize his theme; or, in other words, a sense of what a mighty effort was required to achieve the "trying-out" of *Moby-Dick*, paragraph by paragraph. In order to emphasize the process by which the novel came into being Professor Vincent has a good deal to say throughout his book about the problems and difficulties of the creative artist in general. Some of these passages seem to me not altogether relevant and their introduction tends to impede the expository flow.

Special mention should be made of the sixteen illustrations which ornament the book. Only a few of them have been published previously in connection with any Melville scholarship. All of them are interesting and helpful to a better understanding of *Moby-Dick*, but I was particularly pleased with the charming line drawing of the *Acushnet* and "The Matse Avatar" which illuminates with startling clarity the line in the text: "The incarnation of Vishnu in the form of Leviathan [the picture says FISH], learnedly known as the Matse Avatar." These illustrations make one daydream about a handsome edition of *Moby-Dick* with a hundred plates, chosen to reveal what wonders Melville saw while he was ransacking the books that eventually found their place in his book, having suffered a sea-change on the way.

Princeton University.

WILLARD THORP.

MELVILLE. By Geoffrey Stone. New York: Sheed and Ward. 1949.
336 pp. \$4.50.

Mr. Stone's unpretentious critical biography of Melville, one of the volumes in the Sheed and Ward series of studies of Great Writers of the World, should not be overlooked by the general reader or by the specialist in American literature. The author makes no claims as a scholar, but his scholarship is, in the main, reliable and up to date. Because he quotes abundantly from Melville's letters and journals and makes few excursions into psychoanalytical speculation, the biographical parts of Mr. Stone's book are close to the known facts of Melville's life.

The special merit of the work derives from the author's Roman Catholic point of view. Mr. Stone does not attempt to convert his subject (as partisan biographers often do), nor does he interdict him for being a Romantic and Manichaean. It is useful to have Melville's work and personality tested by Catholic dogma—for the first time, in this work, so far as I know.

The central argument of the book asserts that when, with men like Melville, "the demands of the personality are split between faith and

reason, the world itself is soon split into two antipathetic realms in which the being of the creator is involved." One of these realms, the one which is "created and dark," can be explained by reason; or so such men believe; the other, the realm of light, is beyond reason and is attainable only by faith. If, then, men like Melville, having rejected faith, find thereafter that in their exploration of the "dark realm" reason will not suffice, they soon face an intolerable dilemma. Some make a strategic retreat "in which they announce that what reason cannot answer is not worth asking. Melville did not do this; he could not harmonize, but neither would he limit, his experience. He would not make a comfortable denial of the basic conflict, and all through his work the conflict is maintained, appearing now in one set of symbols and now in another, a recurrent pattern of irreconcilables."

What Mr. Stone finds of greatest interest in Melville's stories and novels is largely determined by the extent to which they exemplify this thesis. The works most useful to him are *Mardi*, *Moby-Dick*, *Pierre*, *Clarel*, and *Billy Budd*. In his excellently reasoned criticism of *Billy Budd* Mr. Stone makes his best contribution, though not everyone will agree with his conclusions. He cannot read the story, of course, as a "testament of acceptance" in the full religious sense, for Melville insisted in it on the validity of the two orders of justice and the inevitable conflict between the two. "As in *Pierre* the two orders of time, chronometrical and horological, followed from the ambiguity at the heart of creation, so in *Billy Budd* followed the two orders of justice, earthly and heavenly."

I hope Mr. Stone has complained to his publishers about the botched reproduction of the Eaton portrait of Melville, used as a frontispiece. It makes him look as if he had contracted a filthy disease in the South Pacific and had never got rid of it.

Princeton University.

WILLARD THORP.

HERMAN MELVILLE: *A Critical Study*. By Richard Chase. New York: Macmillan. 1949. 305 pp. \$4.50.

In 1949 Mr. Chase published *Quest for Myth*, a well-documented study of writing about myth from classical times to the present. The last chapter of this work—"The Larger View"—is a restrained demonstration of the usefulness of the mythological approach to the critic of poetry. The sobriety of this chapter scarcely prepares one for the energetic up-hill and down-dale myth-hunt on which Mr. Chase now leads us through the tangles of Melville's plots and metaphors.

The question is, of course, where one is to draw the line. That Melville was familiar with the great myths and many of the minor ones and that he consciously used them one will grant readily enough. (His enigmatic remark to Mrs. Hawthorne to the effect that Hawthorne's letter in praise of *Moby-Dick* had revealed "the speciality of many of the particular allegories" was, without doubt, a little dust in the eyes tossed in the direction of that transcendental lady.) Dr. H. A. Murray has shown how much of Melville's unconscious life was transformed into the symbols and myths of *Pierre*. But how much farther can one confidently go? Is it true that the nameless foreboding which the narrator of *Typee* feels is specifically "the fear of castration"? If the lightning-rod in "The Lightning-Rod Man" is a "phallus-icon," then what becomes of the theological implications of the story? Is the *real* theme of *Billy Budd* "castration and cannibalism, the ritual murder and eating of the Host"?

Mr. Chase, it must be said, warns us what to expect. His book, the Preface acknowledges, is built around a thesis. His purpose was to rescue Melville from the "progressive" critics whose work, of late, has possessed an "unresolved religious strain" (Sedgwick and Matthiessen) and to rehabilitate him as a true liberal, the man whose thought is "free of dogma and absolutism . . . open-minded, skeptical, and humanist." To my mind Mr. Chase's "progressive" is a straw man. He certainly bears no resemblance to the great progressives of American history, to a La Follette or a Nérris. But this is not important. What is important is that Mr. Chase, in trying to accentuate Melville's liberalism, produces some of the best critical passages in his book. (The myths fade out a little when the liberalism theme comes into view.) The section on *The Confidence-Man* is excellent, as are the observations on *Israel Potter*, the Civil War poems, and *Clarel*. But the best sections have to do with the extent to which the rich American folk-life of the 1830's and 1840's influenced the language and tone of *Moby-Dick*. The greatest virtue of Mr. Chase's book is that just when you are about to toss out his newest cryptic mythological discovery, you come on such a brilliant observation as this: "At its lower levels, *Moby-Dick* is pure showmanship of the peculiarly American kind, science tacitly tending toward the fabulous, normality subtly misshaping itself into monstrosity, fact covertly throwing off images of itself and creating an elusive world of fantasy." I would have settled for less mythology and more criticism of this quality.

Princeton University.

WILLARD THORP.

MELVILLE'S USE OF THE BIBLE. By Nathalia Wright. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1949. x, 203 pp. \$3.50.

Readers who have wished enlightenment as to the extent and the subtle manifestations of the biblical influence on Melville's art will find much pleasure in *Melville's Use of the Bible*, by Nathalia Wright. Combining excellent critical sense and the results of painstaking study, Miss Wright's book provides helpful insights into Melville's spiritual life; but it is most valuable for its illumination of his imagination at work transforming biblical phrase, character, and thought into some of his most original and most telling effects. It aids one in understanding how Melville developed his varied though unique style, added an extra dimension to scenes, achieved magnitude in character, and gave a sense of vastness and terror to the universe.

Apart from the introductory and concluding chapters, the book contains chapters on "Imagery," "Characters and Types," "Themes and Plots," and "Style." In her discussion of the imagery Miss Wright points out Melville's fondness for the antique and the marvelous, the erudite and the esoteric. His admiration for kings, in spite of his democracy, gave an aristocratic cast to his world. "When invoking the spirit of equality his aim was not to degrade but to ennoble; to exalt the common multitudes, and to infuse the veins of all creatures with one royal blood." Miss Wright finds Melville's feeling for movement the keenest of his sensibilities. She discusses also his sensitiveness to mass and line, to light, and to color; one of the most interesting passages presents details to show that for Melville truth was colorless, but the humanities were green.

Noting the contrast between the infinite variety of Melville's images and the small number of character types that served him, Miss Wright observes that in Ishmael, King Ahab, and Jesus the Bible supplied prototypes for some fifteen of his characters. Likenesses to Ishmael, for instance, are pointed out in Redburn, White Jacket, Ishmael, Pierre, Israel Potter, Pitch, and Ungar. Miss Wright makes it clear that their relationship to scriptural patterns does not prevent Melville's characters from attaining lives of their own. Believing in the infinite complexity of the individual, Melville used a suggestive rather than a definitive method of characterization.

In "Themes and Plots" Miss Wright discusses what she calls the "four major Scriptural themes" in Melville's novels: "the theme of prophecy in *Moby-Dick*; the theme of wisdom literature cursorily from *Mardi* to *Billy Budd*; the theme of the Gospel ethics in *Mardi*, *Pierre*, and *The Confidence-Man*; and the theme of the Crucifixion in *Billy Budd*." Among the more notable features here are the analysis of Melville's

adaptation of the stories of Jonah and Jeremiah for Father Mapple's great sermon and the detailed account of Melville's use of the wisdom literature. The chapter on style reveals in its consideration of both minutiae and general characteristics that Melville as a literary artist had much in common with the Hebrews.

Miss Wright's book is a sound and important contribution to scholarship on Melville. One may detect a minor slip or two, as in the assertions that Pierre killed Frederick Tartan (p. 52) and that Steelkilt was flogged by the captain of his ship (p. 127), and one may object to an opinion here and there, such as the implication that *Mardi* was not one of Melville's more ambitious efforts (p. 9). But such points seem trivial indeed when one considers the scope and the quality of the book as a whole.

Purdue University.

WILLIAM BRASWELL.

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER, FRIEND OF MAN. By John A. Pollard. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company. 1949. 615 pp. \$6.00.

It is true that, as numerous reviews in popular periodicals have said, Mr. Pollard's biography of Whittier is hardly to be considered absolutely definitive if by this one has in mind stylistic luster, a dramatic three-dimensional portrait with the most artistic arrangement of highlights and shades, psychological guesses as to his love affairs and unexpressed motivations, or a complete picturing of all his associates in proper degrees of subordination. But Mr. Pollard has given scholars and serious readers incomparably the best study of Whittier's life now available. Extending his Yale dissertation ("Whittier's Early Years, 1807-1836"), completed in 1937, and making use of T. F. Currier's masterful *Bibliography*, Mr. Pollard has given us a work that is nearly exhaustive in factual detail whose precise sources are cited in seventy-six pages of notes, a work that combines sympathy with objectivity and is sober, sane, sensible.

It should be remembered that the book is a biography and neither a critical disquisition on aesthetic form nor a history of ideas in a vacuum, although Mr. Pollard does deal with Whittier's poetry and his ideas as they relate to the narrative of his life. The molding influences of his heredity and environment are handled in such a way as to allow for proportionate attention to the influence of ideas such as his native Quakerism and his strong faith in democracy and abolition which Mr. Pollard regards as "the central fact of his life." Following Whittier's own modest claims, he subordinates his poetry per se to the use he made of it along with his prose and journalistic activities in carrying out his "over-all"

objectives. He treats Whittier's editorial relations with ten newspapers (from the *American Manufacturer* in 1829 to the *National Era* in 1860) very well, and quotes liberally from hundreds of items not in his collected *Works*. Especially noteworthy is Mr. Pollard's emphasis on the fact that Whittier envisaged abolition not merely as a matter of getting Negroes emancipated but as one aspect of the still timely issue of freedom of discussion. (On this issue Russel Nye's *Fettered Freedom*, "a discussion of the civil liberties and the slavery controversy in the United States, 1830 to 1860," provides valuable orientation.) Whittier's success in arousing white people to rally to the cause was in no small measure dependent on his strategy in convincing them that if they were "denied the constitutional right of peacefully assembling to discuss the great questions pertaining to human liberty," they as well as the Negroes would be intellectually and politically enslaved. He insisted on treating "our Southern friends as intelligent and high-minded men" capable of sympathizing with such an issue, and he appealed repeatedly to the earlier tradition of free discussion in the South represented by Jefferson and Madison.

There are two matters which Mr. Pollard does not completely clarify. With Whittier's agrarian background and Quaker devotion to simple living, why was he in the early years an ardent Whig, a supporter of a manufacturing regime, and so violent an opponent of Jacksonianism? And as a pacifist, disclaiming as late as 1859 any intermeddling with slavery in the states where it existed but insisting that abolition was inevitable even if it came "by the bloody process of St. Domingo," was Whittier sincere in not realizing that constant agitation such as his would lead to bloody war? Critical analysis of individual poems was no doubt beyond Mr. Pollard's biographical province, but occasionally he has overlooked important scholarly work which would have been pertinent. Such is C. B. Williams's excellent Chicago dissertation on "The Historicity of Whittier's *Leaves from Margaret Smith's Journal*" (1933), Whittier's longest prose work, which is practically disregarded. The last half of Mr. Pollard's book supplements the earlier chronological approach by the topical, and provides broad surveys of matters such as Whittier's devotion to labor, to journalism, to the cause of feminism, to revising his work, to nature, and to religion. I wish he had presented detailed proof of his assertion that Whittier "was keenly aware of the impact, on the mind of the times, of Darwin's *On the Origin of the Species* . . . and of Spencer's . . . *Synthetic Philosophy*," but he does cite some vague remarks by Whittier about "the disastrous quarrel of religion with science" in general. But on the whole Mr. Pollard deserves the commendation

of scholars for a book which should be an indispensable quarry for further studies.

University of Wisconsin.

HARRY HAYDEN CLARK.

THE LITERARY APPRENTICESHIP OF MARK TWAIN: *With Selections from His Apprentice Writing.* By Edgar Marquess Branch. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1950. Portrait and facsimiles. 325 pp. \$4.00.

Mr. Branch has undertaken a detailed study of Mark Twain's surviving early writings, from boyhood to the sailing of the *Quaker City* excursion. Analyzing them in such detail as has never been attempted before, and need never be again, he reaches conclusions which differ in important respects from much current criticism.

Mr. Branch establishes beyond cavil the essential continuity of Mark Twain's thinking. The suffering and disasters of his closing years merely intensified ideas present in his mind from early manhood. "The difference between Mark Twain's social and philosophic thinking in 1866 and in 1900 is a difference not in values and sympathies but in experience and insight." The moralist, the reformer, and the pessimist are implicit and explicit in the Nevada and California journalist; Mr. Branch even detects chemical traces of the same thinking in the juvenile writings of the printer and the pilot.

In assessing the value of Mark Twain's Nevada journalism, Mr. Branch takes sharp issue with Bernard DeVoto's assertion that it was Washoe that matured Sam Clemens. Adducing further evidence of the influence of Dan De Quille on Mark's early work, Mr. Branch points out that "farce, caricature, and banter replaced his earlier fumbling attempts to portray authentic, humorous character. Verbal trickery was preferred to the free flowing, colloquial language he knew so well.... It is truer to say that much of what he learned in Washoe went into his mature work—often to its detriment—and that its very presence was often a mark of literary immaturity. When he left Nevada, Mark Twain was a far more practiced writer than he had been before, but too much of his practice had been along harmful lines."

But the painstaking analysis which Mr. Branch applies to Mark's Western writings does not extend to the biographical source material. As unquestioningly as Effie Mona Mack or Cyril Clemens he repeats the legends of Nevada and California folklore. He mentions De Quille's solar armor and "traveling stones" hoaxes without asking where the originals are to be found, though the version of the latter tale contained in *The Big Bonanza* bears little resemblance to the folklore version. He

accepts some of A. B. Paine's most egregious blunders, including Paine's identification of "Brown" as a fellow-passenger on the Honolulu-bound *Ajax*, though elsewhere he treats Brown as the fiction that he was. He believes that Mark's assistant on the *Call* was named Smiggy McGlural, though if Mark ever had an assistant he was not named Smiggy McGlural—that was only a nickname borrowed from a popular song. He repeats the story of Anson Burlingame's snobbish advice to Mark Twain without the leavening testimony of the contemporary letter to Will Bowen that Mark and Burlingame "made Honolulu howl," though they "only got tight once." Nor has he been alert to follow clues which editors have overlooked: e.g., in editing the Quintus Curtius Snodgrass *Letters*, Mr. Leisy failed to gloss an allusion to "Kate Coventry"; hence Mr. Branch fails to note that Sam Clemens's reading in 1860 included the novels of the then-popular G. J. Whyte-Melville. The comprehensive study of Mark Twain mythology has yet to be written.

But Mr. Branch, after all, is writing criticism, not biography. His criticism, which in the major portion of the book seems too detailed for the very slender merits of the writing it is applied to, reaches a high level in the closing section. Here he analyzes the thematic structure of *Huckleberry Finn*, particularly as it shows "one way that Mark Twain solved a major problem posed by his early writing, namely, how to achieve meaningful form." This section is interpretative criticism at its best; it makes Mr. Branch's book a notable addition to our understanding of Mark Twain as a literary craftsman.

Brooklyn College.

DeLANCEY FERGUSON.

T. S. ELIOT: *A Symposium*. Compiled by Richard March and Tambimuttu. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1949. 259 pp. \$3.50.

Poetry and Belief in the Work of T. S. Eliot. (Videnskaps-Akademis Skrifter). By Kristian Smidt. Oslo: I Kommisjon Hos Jacob Dybwad. 1949. 288 pp. 15 Kr.

The Eliot Symposium, which was an act of literary piety on his sixtieth birthday, runs from anecdote to Aristotle, from his taste in cheese to his literary affiliations, from the poet to the influence. The influence bulks largest, and this volume bears witness to his wide audience, his particular and general influence, his international authority. If most of the expected names appear, some of the contributions acquire more importance from the event than they give to it.

Although the contributors occasionally adopt the familiar approach, the reader may conclude that Eliot's personality exists more truly in his

poetry than in his private life, or else believe that he confirms his separation of man and poet. No doubt this is only to say that those who have a biographical taste will find little to nourish it in this book.

If the contributions are sometimes trivial or pretentious, they are generally interesting, occasionally instructive or even revealing. While few of the writers contribute to an understanding of Eliot's poetry, most of them help to explain an event in literary reputation. And the more one ponders this event the more extraordinary it seems, apart from the Nobel prize; but the merit of this book is in some measure to authenticate its logic. Doubtless it is appropriate that this book of homage, despite qualifications, should have more substance than is usual to its kind. Here one may discover the basis of Eliot's international reputation and the extent to which it reflects his English reputation. If it confounds the early prophecy, it confirms the hope for poetry.

Mr. Smidt's book reminds us that the international character of Eliot's intellectual resources contributes to his power to renew native traditions by an unorthodox view. This book is concerned primarily with the philosophical background of Eliot's poetry, or with the current of ideas to which he may be related, and on this subject it is our most comprehensive study. It introduces its subject by a biographical sketch, a survey of Eliot's poetic theory, an argument on poetic belief, and a definition of the meaning of his poetry. Mr. Smidt concludes, beyond the requirements of his subject, by examining the formal aspects of the poetry, its nature, and its present significance.

In discussing Eliot's poetic theory Mr. Smidt is impatient and therefore inconclusive. Eliot's mind in its discursive capacity, like Dryden's, is not given to logical construction, but to dialectical discrimination. Or, like Rémy de Gourmont, he is concerned primarily with the dissociation of ideas. Unity must be found in the fundamental tenets of his mind. Too often Mr. Smidt stops with an apparent conflict or contradiction; generally he finds the theory inadequate.

In the modern debate about poetry and belief, which Mr. Smidt attempts to resolve, the issue is confused whenever belief is divided into kinds by reference to reason and emotion, or defined in terms of one faculty or realm. Because belief goes beyond reason or involves imagination, it does not follow that it is antithetic to reason or purely emotional in character. The force of belief may derive from the fact that it explains, justifies, or gives emotional relief, but it is dangerous to limit these satisfactions, or the operation of belief, in any field. Mr. Smidt's solution, like that of Mr. Richards, seems to be merely a radical simplification of the problem. Even in poetry the degree and kind of assent by

which we are committed to any belief depends upon reason, emotion, and experience.

Since the application of philosophical ideas to Eliot's poetry depends upon the interpretation of his poems, the cogency of Mr. Smidt will vary with different readers. His interpretation sometimes invalidates their application for this reader. But the poems are commonly treated at a level of abstraction which makes his interpretation too general to be examined. Often he indicates merely the direction or end of his interpretation; sometimes he abstracts Eliot's imagery to a point where it loses all particular incidence and becomes a general symbol of dubious integrity.

This concern with philosophical backgrounds illuminates Eliot's poetry but does not explain it. As the philosophic groundwork of belief Mr. Smidt's construction is vitiated by his failure to qualify it sufficiently by Eliot's criticism of philosophy or by his theory of poetry. While neither the philosopher nor the critic will be quite satisfied with the results, nevertheless this study makes a valuable examination of the relations between philosophy and poetry in Eliot's work. Although an academic study, it aspires to the polite tradition. Occasionally, perhaps, it leans both ways; for the text may read "has somewhere said" and yet be footnoted by the precise *locus*; indeed, its closing remarks on "art" suggest that the head has betrayed the heart.

The University of Chicago.

GEORGE WILLIAMSON.

CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN: *American Gothic Novelist*. By Harry R. Warfel. Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1950. xi, 255 pp. \$4.50.

The varied and important activities of Charles Brockden Brown have never been adequately set forth. His influence as a pioneer thinker has scarcely been mentioned; the significant work that he did in fostering American literary independence has been touched on but has never been fully explained; his work as editor of three successful magazines has not yet received a just evaluation; his work as an early American literary critic has been only scantily treated; his very considerable powers as a historian, with the modern point of view, have never been the subject of book or article; and finally, though this aspect of his work has received most attention from literary scholars, his work as novelist needs re-examination and re-evaluation in the light of our present knowledge of the social and political thought of his day and its impingement upon the literary production of two continents.

For the most part Brown has been regarded merely as a link—and a weak one at that—in the chain of Gothic romancers. This label of Gothicism, pinned upon him, has done untold damage to his reputation. Professor Warfel has followed the beaten path, as the subtitle to his biography attests. But he was on surer ground when on page 7 he declared that "The outstanding contribution to fiction of this Quaker novelist is not his ideas *nor his Gothicism* [italics mine] but his psychological probing into the minds of people under various kinds of tension." Why these two divergent points of view? Brown's novels, though containing elements of Gothicism, stand squarely and vigorously in line with the revolutionary novels of purpose, with Bage, Holcroft, and Godwin.

When Professor Warfel's book was announced, I eagerly awaited the arrival of my copy, knowing, or at least hoping that, despite its unfortunate subtitle, Brown—in whom I have been especially interested for many years—had at last received full and adequate treatment. But despite its merit of being "new" and for the most part factual, I was disappointed in it. Apart from a score or so of biographical details, there was nothing new in the work, either in method of treatment or in fundamental thesis. The short, choppy chapters give the reader a sense of incoherence, incompleteness, and thinness of the work. The almost complete absence of references or citations or acknowledgments of quotations and facts puzzles and exasperates the reader. The brief bibliography does not suffice for an intelligible system of footnotes. From reading this biography, one would scarcely realize that any other scholar had ever published anything on Brown. As a matter of fact, few American writers have called forth more research in recent years. There have been scores of dissertations, theses, books, editions, and articles on Brown in the last thirty years.

Perhaps this is not the place, even if space did not preclude, to assess the numerous misleading and erroneous statements of the author; two illustrations will suffice: on page 1 we read that "To the political independence assured by the Treaty of Paris, Americans wanted to add cultural independence." Are we to understand that Americans generally or in large numbers were sympathetic to literary culture? Apparently. But if so, why on page 11 are we told that "Brown's great ambition . . . was to create . . . an American literary public sympathetic to and willing to support native authors. This effort failed, partly because of insurmountable obstacles inherent in American social structure." In an otherwise admirable chapter on Elihu Hubbard Smith, the author tells us (p. 40) that "In September, 1790, . . . Smith entered upon a year's study

of medicine in Philadelphia." And on page 41 we are informed that "as Smith pursued his medical studies under Dr. Benjamin Rush . . . he rejected the efficacy of prayer . . . , he adopted the conclusions of Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*." As a matter of fact, *The Age of Reason* was not published till 1794-1795.

But the shortcomings of this biography are its lack of proper documentation and especially its inadequate interpretations of the individual novels of Brown. The definitive study of Charles Brockden Brown's life and works and their relation to their age remains to be written.

The University of Texas.

DAVID LEE CLARK.

THE PEABODY SISTERS OF SALEM. By Louise Hall Tharp. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1950. xii, 372 pp. \$4.00.

Here at last is a book about the famous Peabody sisters of Salem, three very interesting women who touched so many of the important cultural aspects of mid-nineteenth-century America that one wonders why this book was not produced years ago. Trying to account for the reason why the reading of this biographical study of less than four hundred pages consumed so many more hours than the average biography of much greater length normally does, one concludes that it must be either remarkably good or extraordinarily bad. The considered verdict is that it is the former.

To be sure, Mrs. Tharp has an absorbing subject. She writes about Sophia Peabody, the youngest of the trio and wife of Nathaniel Hawthorne; Mary, the wife and partner of Horace Mann in his rich life; and Elizabeth, the oldest, whose ubiquitous contacts and activities enables Mrs. Tharp to introduce into her story almost every other male of importance in New England. These circumstances alone give her book a certain importance and cogency, though she leaves no doubt in the reader's mind that the three sisters are persons in their own right. She writes from deep penetration and with fine insight, and she reveals almost none of the faults that mark so many of our bad books written by women about women (or about men, for that matter). One does notice occasionally what seems like an overabundance of essentially feminine details and domestic chitchat and perhaps a too-strictly feminine interpretation of the complex of stresses and strains as well as cohesions that distinguished the Peabody ménage. Nevertheless there is about the whole an air of authenticity that is convincing. This is an achievement all the more remarkable because Mrs. Tharp handles dates very gingerly (as if strict chronology were inimical to good biography) and otherwise fol-

lows the deplorable tendency of faintly whispering something about having drawn upon rich manuscript sources. She manages to say what she has to say on that head in less than two pages—a circumstance which often leaves the serious student either guessing or forced to wade through these same scattered and voluminous manuscripts. What would have enhanced immeasurably the value of this book for the scholar is (1) more precise documentation or detailed description and location of sources and (2) a more discriminating use of quotation marks, the better to differentiate between primary sources and Mrs. Tharp's interpretation of them. It is to be doubted that much of her felicitous style would have been lost in the process. Nevertheless, the selection of her book by the Book-of-the-Month Club is a well-merited reward.

The University of Wisconsin.

HENRY A. POCHMANN.

HUNGARIAN DRAMA IN NEW YORK: *American Adaptations, 1908-1940*. By Emro Joseph Gergely. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1947. 197 pp. \$3.00.

Ferenc Molnár's Hungarian play *Az ördög* was produced on Broadway in 1908 in two different American versions with the title *The Devil*. It was very popular. The version by Oliver Herford with Edwin Stevens in the title role ran for nearly three months. William T. Larned's version, with George Arliss playing the lead, ran for nearly five months.

The popularity of *The Devil* led to a series of American adaptations of Hungarian plays. A total of fifty-three such adaptations had been produced in America by 1940. These fifty-three plays were written originally by twenty-one different Hungarian dramatists and worked over by forty-nine American playwrights. The most popular of the Hungarian dramatists was Molnár, sixteen of whose plays were adapted, including *Liliom*, *The Swan*, *The Guardsman*, and *The Play's the Thing*. Nearly two thirds of all the fifty-three plays were produced in the decade following the opening of *Liliom* in 1921.

Dr. Gergely has made a workman-like analysis of these adaptations. He gives for each play all the available data concerning authorship and the time and place of American production, and analyzes each play by telling the plot of the original Hungarian version and then retelling it as it appears in the American adaptation, noting any significant changes.

More than half of the American versions were constructed, not directly from the Hungarian, but from a German version. Nearly a third of the adapters worked neither with the Hungarian nor with the German, but with a direct English translation from the Hungarian. Only two of the

plays were translated directly from the Hungarian by the adapters themselves. It is Dr. Gergely's judgment, nevertheless, that when due allowance is made for the language barriers and the changes dictated by the taste of American audiences, "the adapters have made a fair transmission of the Hungarian plays."

The plays are in general variations on erotic themes, with the plots depending upon complications of marriage, sexual passion, and intrigue. Dr. Gergely groups them under the headings: (1) Imaginative Plays and Melodramas, (2) Satire and Social Criticism, and (3) Light Comedies and Farce. As the adapters turned the Hungarian originals into offerings for American audiences, they made most frequently three sorts of change. First, they often modified the structure of the dramas "to avoid the impressionistic methods of the originals and to build clearer and more logical patterns." Second, they omitted or softened references and distinctions depending upon knowledge of Hungarian life and social structure. The hierarchical class divisions of Hungarian life, for example, they often simplified to something nearer the American pattern. Third, they expurgated the plays or made shifts in moral emphasis designed to make them more palatable to American audiences. Many frank physical details were omitted. Mima's complaint that she had been deprived of a man for ten days was suppressed. Jolán, who in the Hungarian version of *The Devil* goes to an artist with playful abandon, in the American play "debates with her inhibitions to the very last." An unhappy wife seeking illicit affairs in the Hungarian becomes an independent young woman seeking a husband she can truly love in the American. In the Hungarian version of *A Church Mouse* the rejected mistress of a father becomes the mistress of his son, but in the American version the son becomes a brother, thus purging sin of its Continental taint.

Dr. Gergely has presented the facts for the record clearly and analyzed them in detail. In the process he has helped us to understand an interesting episode in American theatrical history and in comparative literature, and he has thrown light on the assumptions and mores of American audiences during the first four decades of the twentieth century.

New York University.

THOMAS CLARK POLLOCK.

MANAGERS IN DISTRESS: *The St. Louis Stage, 1840-1844*. By William G. B. Carson. St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation. 1949. xv, 329 pp. \$6.00.

In *The Theatre on the Frontier* (1932) Mr. Carson told the story of the St. Louis stage from its beginning in 1815 to the end of 1839. In the

present volume he carries the record through the next five years. And difficult years they were, as the title implies. The major distress resulted from a stubborn business depression of nationwide proportions, which exercised its adverse influence throughout the period covered by this book and which made some of these seasons almost equally discouraging in such centers as New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. So low did the fortunes of the St. Louis theater fall that on July 2, 1844, the box office took in only \$26.75. When the house amounted to \$173.25, the managers felt they had cause for gratification.

Probably the dismal economic situation helps to explain another source of difficulty for the managers, of which Professor Carson provides ample evidence—the almost constant friction that existed between them. Sol Smith and Noah H. Ludlow had been theatrical partners on the "Southwestern" circuit since 1835, and they maintained the relation for nearly two decades; but during the five years under consideration financial and professional misunderstanding, suspicion, and jealousy precipitated numerous quarrels and subjected the partnership to a strain that at times almost brought about a complete break.

Yet in spite of obstacles they kept the St. Louis theater going, resorting to any form of entertainment that promised to draw the semblance of a crowd. Flimsy comedies, crude melodramas, demonstrations of hypnotism, equestrian exhibitions, child actors, a dwarf who could impersonate a baboon—these and similar penny-catchers were enlisted.

At the same time Professor Carson brings out another side of the picture. The bills sometimes included such plays as *The School for Scandal*, *The Rivals*, *The Critic*, *She Stoops to Conquer*, *Venice Preserved*, and *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*; and fourteen of Shakespeare's dramas totaled forty-five performances during this half-decade. It is also worthy of note that among the American playwrights to be given a hearing were Payne, Woodworth, Noah, Bird, Willis, Conrad, and Boucicault. Moreover the resident company was generally a competent one, and some of the leading actors of the day appeared for brief starring engagements, the most conspicuous being James H. Hackett, Henry Placide, Edwin Forrest, John Brougham, Dan Marble, and William Charles Macready. On the whole, the theatrical activity of St. Louis, as set forth in this study, was creditable to that town when one compares it with the contemporary records of cities of greater size and more favorable location. For despite hindrances and shortcomings Ludlow and Smith displayed something of that heart-warming gallantry that makes surrender so rare in the theater.

Professor Carson has based his book on careful research, having made special use of newspapers and such manuscript material as the diaries,

letters, and "return book" of the two managers. He has contrived to make it a readable account, which never becomes a mere catalogue of dates, names, and titles, for it is sprinkled with details of human interest that give some life to the people concerned. His style, while somewhat given to clichés, has a liveliness that one does not always find in stage histories. It is to be hoped the author will soon produce a third installment of the annals of the St. Louis theater—one that will carry the embattled partners into the more prosperous period upon which they entered about 1845.

New Jersey College for Women.

ORAL SUMNER COAD.

PARK BENJAMIN, POET AND EDITOR. By Merle M. Hoover. New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. xiii, 229 pp. \$3.00.

POEMS OF PARK BENJAMIN. Introduction and Notes by Merle M. Hoover. New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. xiv, 209 pp. \$3.00.

GENEALOGY OF PARK BENJAMIN. By Merle M. Hoover. New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. ix, 78 pp. \$1.50.

Seldom has a declining (and obviously minor) literary figure been revived with such care as has Park Benjamin in these three handsome uniform volumes, the products of many years of patient research by Merle Hoover. Although there is, inevitably, some repetition of factual and other material in the three volumes, each is a self-contained unit that can be read independently of the others. The genealogy, clearly enough, is of rather limited appeal, but the extensive biographical study and the collection of Benjamin's poems—each a "first" in its respective field—should certainly be of interest to students of American literature and cultural history.

From the more than four hundred identifiable poems of Benjamin assembled in the Park Benjamin Collection (Columbia University Library), Mr. Hoover has chosen an even hundred for inclusion in his carefully edited *Poems of Park Benjamin*. The poems, arranged chronologically in the order of their original publication, are intended to exemplify the best of Benjamin's verse in three successive periods—1825-1835, 1836-1845, and 1846-1864. They are also chosen, as the editor indicates, to "present a cross-section of typical popular verse in America during the period of the poet's active career." To the extent that this second purpose is fulfilled, the present collection of Benjamin's verse may warrant the meticulous scholarship that has gone into its preparation. Some readers will be interested to discover that Benjamin was a prolific sonneteer—even though much of his writing was done at a time when the

form was not an especially popular one with American poets: thirty-five of the author's nearly one hundred extant sonnets will be found in *Poems of Park Benjamin*.

The opening chapter of *Park Benjamin, Poet and Editor* contains a brief account of Benjamin's ancestry, early life, and education. Later chapters describe, more fully, his literary apprenticeship, his beginnings in New England as newspaper and magazine editor, his broadening reputation, his removal to New York and a Manhattan career climaxed by his successful editorship of the *New World* (1839-1845), and his manifold further activities as literary agent, journalist, and lecturer in the years preceding his death in 1864.

If the biographer has been something more than generous in his estimate of Benjamin's personality and accomplishments, we may perhaps forgive him his partisanship. During his lifetime Benjamin was often—and sometimes justly—maligned; since his death he has been much neglected. Though we may not share Mr. Hoover's enthusiasm for his subject, we can still be grateful for the sympathy and the fullness of the revaluation he has given us.

Quite properly, Benjamin's career as journalist and editor is stressed. It was as editor, Mr. Hoover tells us, that Benjamin's life "reached its fulfillment," for in the highly personalized, brawling journalism of the pre-Civil War era, his "colorful, magnetic personality" found its most complete expression. In elaborating this thesis, the biographer gives both a detailed portrait of Park Benjamin and many interesting sidelights on the journalistic practices and ethics as well as the general literary life of a period.

The total impression of Benjamin as man and editor that emerges from Mr. Hoover's study is not, for at least one reader, an altogether pleasant one. But pleasant or not, Benjamin was, as has been said, a colorful figure, and in some ways a representative and significant though minor man of letters. Mr. Hoover's biography makes a worthwhile contribution to our knowledge of an individual writer and of the times in which he lived.

Roosevelt College.

KENDALL B. TAFT.

BRIEF MENTION

CHANGING PATTERNS IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. xi, 176 pp. \$2.50.

Changing Patterns in American Civilization consists of five lectures and a preface. The lectures are the Benjamin Franklin Lectures of 1948 as delivered at the University of Pennsylvania, and the Preface seeks to bind them together into a book. I confess the Preface seems to me to surpass the lectures in its grasp upon the significance of change in American civilization, inasmuch as President Detlev W. Bronk's "Science and Humanity" does not seem much more than a pleasant hope that science will all come out right in the end; Brand Blanshard's "The Heritage of Idealism" is mainly a statement of why there is a movement back to philosophic idealism; and George F. Thomas's "New Forms for Old Faith," though it be a survey of religious trends, tends to operate in the decorous air of the classroom rather than in the heat and sweat of religious real estate, Catholic-Protestant tension, or the present bewilderment of Protestant theological schools. The two opening essays—Dixon Wechter's provocative "The Contemporary Scene" and F. O. Matthiessen's "The Pattern of Literature—" seem to be nearer reality, albeit Mr. Matthiessen, who had, of course, the right to determine the bounds of literature, misses a good deal—for example, the craze for fantastic science fiction—by accepting classroom judgments of exclusion as final.

Mr. Spiller, however, is rightly disturbed because a country which has the power doesn't seem to know what to do with it. He writes:

The inhabitants of this continent are a heterogeneous mixture of disaffected Europeans, Africans, and Asiatics who, in a little more than three centuries, have subdued and put to their uses the resources of a vast and rich land. Without achieving a racial [cultural?] homogeneity, they have become a recognizable type in a unified nation. . . . To defend an established order requires a rationale different from that which creates revolution, and the American people have not yet developed a consistent rationale of order.

The five lectures, he says, ask a single question: "Who are we?" I don't quite feel that the lecturers ever answer the question; or, if that seems unfair, that they ever quite answer the question in terms representing a fundamental approach to the elements of the problem.

Harvard University.

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES.

JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY AS I KNEW HIM. By Minnie Belle Mitchell. Greenfield, Indiana: The Old Swimmin' Hole Press. 1949. 224 pp. \$3.50.

This memoir of Riley, prepared for the centennial of his birth, adds little to previously published biographical and reminiscent sketches. Written by the last surviving friend of his youth, the account contains only a few useful old-age memories of the Hoosier poet's early career in Greenfield, Indiana (the sign-painting and newspaper days of the early 1870's). Unfortunately Mrs. Mitchell obscures her first-hand recollections in a cloud of nostalgic remembrance and second-hand sources. Perhaps the memories were too dim and the material too scanty, but the result is a sketchy treatment of Riley's entire life, a retracing of the ground covered more thoroughly and reliably in Marcus Dickey's biography a generation ago. A few of the anecdotes of Riley's boyhood, however, do not seem to appear elsewhere, but much of the grist for this account comes from the poet's own verse and prose. A specific annoyance is Mrs. Mitchell's unobjective and uncritical use of the material. One such case in point is her sentimental exaggeration of the importance of Riley's brief summer romance with Adda Rowell when he was nineteen. Such distortions make necessary a close scrutiny of all the material and reference to the extensive notes in E. H. Eitel's edition of Riley's collected works.

Butler University.

JAMES L. WOODRESS, JR.

RADIO AND POETRY. By Milton Allen Kaplan. New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. ix, 333 pp. \$4.50.

This jaunty compilation of nonsequiturs gives melancholy evidence that the new science of "communication" as gospelled by Columbia University Teachers College has not learned how to gather facts, organize them, and comment sensibly upon them. On page 29 the title is attenuated: "we shall stress the verse drama," and in all fairness it must be said that more information on this subject appears in this book than in any other. But altogether the author's performance is as shoddy, as uselessly excited, as repetitious, as inconsistent, as pretentious, and as undependable in theoretical matters as any day's programs on any ordinary radio station. Still we are grateful for the announcement of this miracle: "It is no mere accident that in the past few years Walt Whitman has appeared on the air on seven different occasions."

University of Florida.

HARRY R. WARFEL.

EDITOR TO AUTHOR: *The Letters of Maxwell E. Perkins.* Selected and Edited, with Commentary and an Introduction by John Hall Wheelock. New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1950. xiii, 315 pp. \$3.75.

Many of these letters provide an interesting picture of the problems besetting an editor of a large publishing house: the sensitivity of authors, the howls from the public over alleged immorality in print, and so on. More important, however, is the light they shed on the careers of several authors of prominence with whom Mr. Perkins had dealings, for example, James Huneker, F. Scott Fitzgerald, James Boyd, Ernest Hemingway, Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, and, of course, Thomas Wolfe. The last letter written by Wolfe to Perkins is also printed (p. 141).

C. G.

THE MODERN AMERICAN MUSE: *A Complete Bibliography of American Verse, 1900-1925.* Compiled by Wynot R. Irish. [Syracuse, New York]: Syracuse University Press. [1950.] xii, 259 pp. \$5.00.

Working from the Copyright Office's *Catalogue of Title Entries*, the *Cumulative Book Index*, and other sources, the compiler garnered 6,906 titles of volumes of verse which he here presents with a minimum of bibliographical detail. The arrangement is alphabetical within groupings for each year, beginning with January, 1900, and ending with December, 1925.

C. G.

POEMS OF EDWIN MARKHAM. Selected and Arranged by Charles L. Wallis. New York: Harper and Brothers. [1950.] xviii, 198 pp. \$2.75.

Many of these poems appear for the first time in book form, and a few have not hitherto been published.

C. G.

CRUSADERS FOR AMERICAN LIBERALISM. By Louis Filler. Yellow Springs, Ohio: The Antioch Press. [1950.] xvi, 422 pp. \$4.00.

A reissue of one of the better studies of the muckraking period, provided with a new introduction.

C. G.

AMERICAN JOURNALISM: *A History of Newspapers in the United States through 260 Years: 1690 to 1950.* By Frank Luther Mott. Revised Edition. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1950. xiv, 835 pp. \$5.00.

This valued book, standard in its field, has been provided with a new section covering the 1940's. A few corrections and minor additions to the bibliography have also been made.

C. G.

BACKWOODS UTOPIAS: *The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America: 1663-1829.* By Arthur Eugene Bestor. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1950. x, 288 pp. \$3.50.

Primarily, this is a study of the Owenite movement in the United States, which the author intends to follow with a book on the Fourierist phase of community socialism. In an appendix he lists the various communities that were established in this country between 1663 and 1858. The study is far superior to previous dippings into its topic, is elaborately footnoted, and gives signs of remaining a standard treatise for many years. No one studying the social ideas of the early nineteenth century can afford to pass this volume by.

C. G.

LADY FERRY. By Sarah Orne Jewett. With an Introduction by Annie E. Mowrer. Waterville, Me.: Colby College Press. 1950. 61 pp. \$3.50.

A short story, once rejected by Howells for the *Atlantic Monthly*.

C. G.

LOST PLAYS OF EUGENE O'NEILL. New York: New Fathoms Press. 1950. 156 pp. \$3.00.

Four one-act plays and one in three acts, dating 1913 to 1915, are here reprinted. The longest is *Servitude*; the others are *Abortion*, *The Movie Man*, *The Sniper*, and *A Wife for a Life*. As examples of O'Neill's apprentice work they are of considerable interest to students of that dramatist, though their intrinsic merits are slight.

C. G.

THE YEARS OF WANDERING IN MANY LANDS AND CITIES. By Thomas Wolfe. New York: Charles S. Boesen. [1949.] No pagination. \$10.00.

Facsimile reproductions¹ of a few pages from Wolfe's manuscripts mentioning places he had visited and trips he had taken.

THOMAS WOLFE: *Carolina Student: A Brief Biography*. By Agatha Boyd Adams. Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Library. 1950. 92 pp. \$0.75.

An objective sketch, especially valuable for its depiction of Wolfe as a college student in Chapel Hill.

C. G.

THE OXFORD BOOK OF AMERICAN VERSE. Chosen and with an Introduction by F. O. Matthiessen. New York: Oxford University Press. 1950. lvi, 1132 pp. \$5.00.

This volume—a worthy companion to Mark Van Doren's *The Oxford Book of American Prose*—was perhaps the last work of the author of *American Renaissance* and of important studies of T. S. Eliot and Henry James. In a thoughtful Introduction Professor Matthiessen comments on the quality of many of the poets and gives his own criteria for inclusion in the anthology. He has, he indicates, included no poem on merely historical grounds and none that he dislikes. He has tried to avoid reprinting too many sonnets, and except in three justifiable instances he has reprinted no excerpts. He has included fewer poets in order to give each of them a fuller representation. The volume runs to more than 1100 pages and includes 571 selections from 51 poets. His aversion to "the kind of rhetoric that overflowed into poetry from the oratory of the Day" has led him to give less space than is customary to Holmes, Whittier, and Lowell, whom he regards as the worst offenders. Holmes emerges with only two poems; Lowell, with only extracts from *A Fable for Critics* and *The Biglow Papers*. Longfellow and Emerson fare better, and the dimly remembered Jones Very emerges with eleven poems. Sidney Lanier, however, he finds overrated and regards Henry Timrod as the best poet of the nineteenth-century South. "The two great pivotal figures in our nineteenth century," he believes are Poe and Whitman. Unlike Van Wyck Brooks, he manages to fit Poe into the national literary tradition. "Poe," he writes, "has been assimilated into American poetry through what has been made of him in France." The two "central figures" in our twentieth-century poetry seem to him Robert Frost and Eliot. Some who agree with this verdict will, however, feel

that Professor Matthiessen has given too much space to Wallace Stevens, William Carlos Williams, Marianne Moore, and others. Yet on the whole it is doubtful whether any other editor's selections from the American poets would please discriminating scholars and critics more than those which one finds in this volume.

AN EDITH WHARTON TREASURY. Edited and with an Introduction by Arthur Hobson Quinn. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. [1950.] xxxii, 582 pp. \$5.00.

The editor of *An Edith Wharton Treasury* faced the difficult problem of representing in a single volume of less than six hundred pages an author who published fourteen novels, nine novelettes, eleven volumes of short stories in addition to an autobiography and various critical and miscellaneous books. Ruling out *Ethan Frome* on account of its length and availability in inexpensive editions, Professor Quinn has included *The Age of Innocence* as a full-length novel and *The Old Maid* as a novelette. Shorter pieces which represent Mrs. Wharton as a social satirist, as a writer of ghost stories, etc., are "A Bottle of Perrier," "After Holbein," "The Lady's Maid's Bell," "Roman Fever," "The Other Two," "Madame de Treymes," "The Moving Finger," "Xingu," "Autres Temps," and "Bunner Sisters." Professor Quinn's Introduction is an enlightening survey of Mrs. Wharton's literary career.

THE COMPLETE ESSAYS AND OTHER WRITINGS OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON. Edited, with a Biographical Introduction, by Brooks Atkinson. Foreword by Tremaine McDowell. New York: The Modern Library. [1950.] xxviii, 929 pp. \$0.65.

WALDEN AND OTHER WRITINGS OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU. Edited, with an Introduction, by Brooks Atkinson. Foreword by Townsend Scudder. New York: The Modern Library. [1950.] xxiv, 732 pp. \$0.65.

The two books listed above are from the new series "Modern Library College Editions" issued by Random House, which already includes more than forty volumes in English, American, and world literature. Each volume in the series carries an introduction written by a well-known scholar or literary critic and a useful short reading list. Other American books in this attractive, well edited, low-price series are Franklin's *Autobiography and Other Writings*, Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*, Melville's *Moby-Dick*, and Whitman's *Leaves of Grass and Selected Prose*. The Emerson volume, which runs to well over nine hundred pages, includes both series of the *Essays*; *English Traits*; selections from

Representative Men, *The Conduct of Life*, and *Society and Solitude*; twenty-three poems, *Nature*, "The Lord's Supper," and about a dozen other pieces, chiefly addresses. The Thoreau volume includes all of *Walden*, more than a hundred pages from *A Week*, about sixty pages from *Cape Cod*, "The Allegash and East Branch" (somewhat condensed), "Civil Disobedience," "Slavery in Massachusetts," "A Plea for Captain John Brown," and "Life without Principle."

FOLKSONGS OF FLORIDA. Collected and Edited by Alton C. Morris. Musical Transcriptions by Leonhard Deutsch. [Foreword by Arthur Palmer Hudson.] 1950. Gainesville: University of Florida Press. xviii, 464 pp. \$7.50.

This rich and varied collection, which embraces a total of 243 folk songs, had its inception some seventeen years ago when its editor could find nothing written on the subject of Florida folk songs. It includes a total of thirty-four of the traditional English and Scottish ballads including "Lord Derwentwater" (Professor Child's No. 208), which seems not to have been found elsewhere in the United States. There are many Negro songs, three Bahaman folk songs, fourteen that seem to be Irish, shanty songs and other songs of the sea, play-party songs, even seven songs of the West. The editor's notes and introduction are admirable. The musical transcriptions are an important feature too often left out in collections of folk songs.

FOLKSONGS OF ALABAMA. Collected by Byron Arnold. University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press. 1950. xiv, 193 pp. \$4.50.

Mr. Arnold became interested in Southern folk songs soon after he went in 1938 to the University of Alabama as a member of the music faculty. Finding that the state had attracted little attention from collectors, he began work on a collection of his own. From a total of 258 songs he has printed the words and music of 153. Although he warns his readers that "the present volume is not academic in intent," Mr. Arnold has provided the minimum of necessary editorial notes. He has, however, classified the songs, not according to type, but in groups arranged under the names of the singers from whom he got them.

THE NEW NATION: A History of the United States during the Confederation 1781-1789. By Merrill Jensen. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. xviii, 434, xi pp. \$5.00.

Professor Jensen, whose *The Articles of Confederation* appeared in 1940, vigorously attacks the traditional historical interpretation of this

period. Various persons including New Dealers and advocates of world government, he contends, to further their own ends, have endorsed the traditional interpretation set forth years ago in John Fiske's *The Critical Period of American History*, which according to Charles A. Beard was written "without fear and without research." In his Preface Professor Jensen writes:

The story told by Fiske and repeated by publicists and scholars who have not worked in the field—and some who have, for that matter—is based on the assumption that this was the "critical period" of American history during which unselfish patriots rescued the new nation from impending anarchy, if not from chaos itself. The picture is one of stagnation, ineptitude, bankruptcy, corruption, and disintegration. Such a picture is at worst false and at best grossly distorted. . . . Nothing is to be gained by following a "chaos and patriots to the rescue" interpretation. We have too long ignored the fact that thoroughly patriotic Americans during the 1780's did not believe there was chaos and emphatically denied that their supposed rescuers were patriotic.

Professor Jensen is primarily concerned with political and economic matters, but his chapters on "The Betterment of Humanity" and "The Spirit of the New Nation" give an enlightening account of "the American spirit as expressed in books and sermons and newspapers . . . of the movement of people, of their effort to improve their own lot and that of less fortunate members of society, and of the role they had to play in the world at large." Professor Jensen's treatment of literary matters is suggestive, but it is surprising to find that in discussing the Connecticut Wits he makes no mention of the standard works by Leon Howard, Alexander Cowie, and Charles E. Cunningham.

On the jacket one finds this book described as "The Definitive Account of the First Years of the United States," probably to the embarrassment of the author, who in his Preface states: "Yet despite the length of the present book, it would be immodest and inaccurate to say that the history of the Confederation had been told in all its fullness. Much work still needs to be done. The history of almost every state needs re-study. The history of the evolution of the central government during the 1780's is virtually an untold story."

THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA 1861-1865. A History of the South, Volume VII. By E. Merton Coulter. [Baton Rouge]: Louisiana State University Press [Austin, Texas]: The Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas. 1950. xiv, 644 pp.
\$7.00.

Of the four volumes in the series thus far published this is one of the best, better than Professor Coulter's *The South during Reconstruction* (1947).

JEFFERSON'S IDEAS ON A UNIVERSITY LIBRARY: *Letters from the Founder of the University of Virginia to a Boston Bookseller*. Edited by Elizabeth Comette. University of Virginia, Charlottesville: The Tracy W. McGregor Library. 1950. 49 pp. \$2.00.

The fourteen letters printed in this attractive little volume are addressed to Cummings, Hilliard and Company of Boston, which as its agent bought books for the University of Virginia Library.

THE YANKEE EXODUS: *An Account of Migration from New England*. By Stewart H. Holbrook. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1950. xiv, 398 pp. \$5.00.

In his Foreword Mr. Holbrook notes that although he found "several hundred works dealing with the migrations to America of all the many different peoples of Europe, and some from Asia," he could discover "in all that welter of books only one dealing with the movements of Yankees": Lois Kimball Mathews, *The Expansion of New England* (1909), "which, though able, brought the story down only to 1860 and only as far as the east bank of the Mississippi." Mr. Holbrook might have noted the greater dearth of studies of westward-bound Pennsylvanians, Virginians, and South Carolinians. Mr. Holbrook tells his story in interesting fashion with a good deal of attention to interesting personalities. Some two thousand emigrants are at least mentioned, and of this number many are individualized. The emphasis is upon the regions west of the Mississippi, not treated by Mrs. Mathews. Mr. Holbrook devotes little space to systematic generalization about what influence the New Englanders had upon the rest of the country. Two of the most suggestive chapters deal with the educators and the inventors.

SIGNATURE OF THE SUN: *Southwest Verse, 1900-1950*. Selected and edited by Mabel Major, Texas Christian University, T. M. Pearce, University of New Mexico. Albuquerque, New Mexico: The University of New Mexico Press. [1950.] xiv, 302 pp. \$4.00.

This well-edited volume includes more than 250 poems by more than a hundred different writers who come from Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona. Among the better known authors represented are Mary Austin, Karle Wilson Baker, Witter Bynner, John Gould Fletcher, David Russell, and Stanley Vestal.

J. B. H.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check list has been prepared by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Richard E. Amacher (Rutgers University), Ashbel Brice (Duke University), Herbert Brown (Bowdoin College), James F. Dolson (Alabama Polytechnic Institute), Horst Frenz (Indiana University), John C. Gerber (University of Iowa), Chester T. Hallenbeck (Queens College), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest Marchand (San Diego State College), Thomas F. Marshall (Western Maryland College), Blake Nevius (University of California at Los Angeles), Henry F. Pommer (Allegheny College), Thelma V. Smith (Dickinson College), Herman E. Spivey (University of Kentucky), Walter Sutton (Syracuse University), and James L. Woodress (Butler University), with the co-operation of Roger M. Asselineau (University of Paris), Lars Åhnebrink (University of Upsala), Anna Maria Crinò (University of Florence), and Sigmund Skard (University of Oslo).

Items for the check list to be published in the January, 1951, issue of *American Literature* should be sent to the chairman of the committee, Lewis Leary, 4633 Duke Station, Durham, North Carolina.

I. 1609-1800

- [BARLOW, JOEL] Blau, Joseph L. "Joel Barlow, Enlightened Religionist." *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, X, 430-444 (June, 1949).
- [FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Aldridge, Alfred Owen. "The Debut of American Letters in France." *French-Am. Rev.*, III, 1-23 (Jan.-March, 1950). Writings by Franklin in the *Ephémérides du citoyen* (1765-1772). Gallacher, Stuart A. "Franklin's Way to Wealth: A Florilegium of Proverbs and Wise Sayings." *JEGP*, XLVIII, 229-251 (April, 1949). An attempt to discover "how much is strictly Franklin's, how much is not and whence he got it."
- [PAINE, THOMAS] Aldridge, Alfred Owen. "Why Did Thomas Paine Write on the Bank?" *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, XCIII, 309-315 (Sept., 1949).
- [SMITH, WILLIAM MOORE] Haviland, Thomas P. "'Attend! Be Firm! Ye Fathers of the State': An Account of the Commencement, College of Philadelphia, May 17, 1775." *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, LII, 129-137 (Spring, 1950).

Including a "Dialogue" in verse, perhaps written by William Moore Smith.

[TUCKER, NATHANIEL] Leary, Lewis. "The Published Writings of Nathaniel Tucker, 1750-1807." *Bul. Bibl.*, XX, 5-6 (Jan.-April, 1950).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Marshall, Roger P. "A Mythical Mayflower Competition: North Carolina Literature in the Half-Century Following the Revolution." *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII, 178-192 (April, 1950).

Nettleton, George H. "Sheridan's Introduction to the American Stage." *PMLA*, LXV, 163-182 (March, 1950).

Reichmann, Felix. "German Printing in Maryland: A Check List, 1768-1950." *Soc. for the Hist. of the Germans in Maryland*, 27th Report (1950), pp. 9-70.

II. 1800-1870

[EMERSON, R. W.] Baym, Max I. "Emma Lazarus and Emerson." *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII, 261-287 (June, 1949).

Having failed of integration in the wider American scene, being excluded by Emerson from the anthology *Parnassus*, Emma Lazarus became somewhat aggressively a "Semite" in her songs.

Strauch, Carl F. "The Manuscript Relationships of Emerson's 'Days.'" *PQ*, XXIX, 199-208 (April, 1950).

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Cantwell, Robert. "Hawthorne and Delia Bacon." *Am. Quar.*, I, 343-360 (Winter, 1949).

Examines Hawthorne's activities as American Consul at Liverpool, with particular reference to relations with Delia Bacon.

Cohen, B. Bernard. "A New Critical Approach to the Works of Hawthorne." *Wayne English Remembrancer*, IV, 43-47 (June, 1950).

Cowley, Malcolm. "100 Years Ago: Hawthorne Set a Great New Pattern." *N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Rev.*, Aug. 6, 1950, pp. 1, 13.

The Scarlet Letter "brought the essence of Greek tragedy to the American novel."

Davidson, Frank. "Hawthorne's Use of Pattern from *The Rambler*." *MLN*, LXIII, 545-548 (Dec., 1948).

Five sketches from the *Mosses* appear to be designed after Nos. 82 and 105 of Johnson's *Rambler*.

Flanagan, John T. "The Durable Hawthorne." *JEGP*, XLIX, 88-96 (June, 1950).

Kesselring, Marion L. "Hawthorne's Reading, 1828-1850." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, LIII, 55-71, 121-138, 173-194 (Feb., March, April, 1949).

Ringe, Donald L. "Hawthorne's Psychology of the Head and Heart." *PMLA*, LXV, 120-132 (March, 1950).

When Hawthorne's characters are examined in terms of psychology

of the head and heart, a central theme—the problem of life in an evil world—emerges from his tales and romances: Hawthorne, exploring possible solutions to the problem throughout his works, and making use of the head-heart psychology, sees man torn between these two elements in his make-up.

Shroeder, John W. "That Inward Sphere": Notes on Hawthorne's Heart Imagery and Symbolism." *PMLA*, LXV, 106-119 (March, 1950).

An investigation of one of Hawthorne's major symbols, the heart, by means of the identification of the symbol, definition of its nature, and explanation of the consequences of its use for the total meaning of his works.

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Spaulding, K. A. "A Note on *Astoria*: Irving's Use of the Robert Stuart Manuscript." *AL*, XXII, 150-157 (May, 1950).

Irving's use of Robert Stuart's "Manuscript Journal of the Third Overland Expedition in the United States" shows that he was primarily the artist, determined to tell a tale of adventure, rather than a geographer, historian, or biographer.

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Arvin, Newton. "Melville's *Mardi*." *Am. Quar.*, II, 71-81 (Spring, 1950).

Fiedler, Leslie A. "Out of the Whale." *Nation*, CLXIX, 494-496 (Nov. 19, 1949).

Giovanni, G. "Melville and Dante." *PMLA*, LXV, 329 (March, 1950).

A paragraph note, enlarging on the author's "Melville's *Pierre* and Dante's *Inferno*," *PMLA*, LXIV, 70-78 (March, 1949).

Hamalian, Leo. "Melville's Art." *Expl.*, VIII, 40 (March, 1950).

Hoffman, Dan G. "Melville's 'Story of China Aster'." *AL*, XXII, 137-149 (May, 1950).

This "seemingly independent story" restates the principal theme of *The Confidence-Man*, serves as the climax of the two subthemes that give unity to the latter half of *Moby-Dick*, and "throws out implications which make the final denouement inevitable."

Lewis, R. W. B. "Melville on Homer." *AL*, XXII, 166-177 (May, 1950).

Melville viewed the *Iliad* as "a tragedy, a dark portrait of a world at war"; the *Odyssey* as "a *Bildungsroman* in which the relation between the characters and the sequence of the events stands for growth of insight into the heart of reality."

Proctor, Page S. "A Source for the Flogging Incident in *White-Jacket*." *AL*, XXII, 176-182 (May, 1950).

William Leggett's "Brought to the Gangway," *New York Mirror*.

XI, 329-331 (April 19, 1834); reprinted in Leggett's *Naval Stories* (New York, 1834).

Schiffman, Joseph. "Melville's Final Stage, Irony: A Re-examination of *Billy Budd Criticism*." *AL*, XXII, 128-136 (May, 1950).

"*Billy Budd* is a tale of irony, penned by a writer who preferred allegory and satire to straight narrative, and who, late in life, turned to irony for his final attack upon evil."

Sealts, Merton M., Jr. "Did Melville Write 'October Mountain'?" *AL*, XXII, 178-182 (May, 1950).

Apparently this sketch does not exist; all references to it can be traced back to J. E. A. Smith's *History of Pittsfield* of 1876.

—. "Melville's Reading: A Check-List of Books Owned and Borrowed." *Harvard Lib. Bul.*, IV, 98-109 (Winter, 1950).

Concluding installment, with an analytical index to the whole check list.

Williams, Mentor L. "Some Notices and Reviews of Melville's Novels in American Religious Periodicals, 1846-1849." *AL*, XXII, 121-127 (May, 1950).

The orthodox evangelical churches resented all criticism of missionary activity, the liberal churches were not disturbed by this element of Melville's early novels, and the Catholics welcomed all accounts of the failure of Protestant missions.

[POE, E. A.] Anon. "Edgar Allan Poe." *Wiley Bul.*, XXXIII, 4-5 (Winter, 1950).

A brief account of the part played by publishers Wiley and Putnam in promoting Poe's books.

Baldini, Gabrieli. "Un poeta della nostra epoca." *La Fiera Letteraria* (Italy), No. 41 (Oct. 9, 1949), p. 1.

Beguin, Albert. "Il cenario di Edgar Allan Poe." *Il Ponte* (Italy), Déc., 1949, pp. 1497-1500.

Berti, Luigi. "Il Poe critico." *Inventario* (Italy), Summer, 1949, pp. 1-11.

Cain, L. Julien. "Edgar Poe et Valéry." *Mercure de France*, No. 1041 (May, 1950), pp. 81-94.

Lalou, René. "Edgar Poe et la France." *L'Education Nationale* (Paris), No. 4 (Jan. 26, 1950), pp. 7-8.

Parks, Edd Winfield. "Edgar Allan Poe como Crítico." *Diario de São Paulo* (Brazil), Oct. 9, 1949, p. 3.

Van Doorn, Willem. "Edgar Poe en Ulalume." *Levende Talen* (Groningen), No. 151 (1949).

[SIMMS, W. G.] Holman, C. Hugh. "Simms and the British Dramatists." *PMLA*, LXV, 346-359 (June, 1950).

[THOREAU, H. D.] Adams, Raymond. "An Early and Overlooked Defence of Thoreau." *Thoreau Soc. Bul.*, No. 32 (July, 1950), pp. 1, 2.

By Carl Benson in the *Galaxy*, II, 78-82 (September, 1866).

Allen, Francis H. "Thoreau's Arm: A Correction." *Bul. Mass. Audubon Soc.*, XXXIII, 385 (Jan., 1950).

It was Emerson, not Hoar, who said he would as soon think of taking the arm of an elm as Thoreau's.

Baatz, Wilmer H. "Henry David Thoreau." *Rochester Lib. Bul.*, V, 35-39 (Winter, 1950).

Notes on an exhibition.

Casey, Alfredo. "Tiempo y ambiente de Henry David Thoreau." *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires), Jan. 8, 1950.

Combellack, C. R. B. "Marx und Thoreau." *Die Amerikanische Rundschau*, XXVIII, 21-26 (Dec., 1949).

A translation of "Two Critics of Society," *Pacific Spectator*, III, 440-445 (Autumn, 1949).

Green, Maud Honeyman. "Raritan Bay Union, Eagleswood, New Jersey." *Proc. N. J. Hist. Soc.*, LXVIII, 1-20 (Jan., 1950).

An account of a colony which Thoreau surveyed.

Krutch, J. W. "A Kind of Pantheism." *SRL*, XXIII, 7 (June 10, 1950).

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Fabian, R. Craig. "Some Uncollected Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier to Gerritt Smith." *AL*, XXII, 158-163 (May, 1950).

Three letters written in 1840 when Whittier left the Garrisonians for the Liberal party, "the political arm of abolition which Smith helped form officially on April 1, 1840."

Taylor, C. Marshall. "Some Whittier First Editions Published in the British Isles." *Jour. Friends' Hist. Soc.*, XLII, 41-45 (1950).

Thaler, Alwin. "Tennyson and Whittier." *PQ*, XXVIII, 518-519 (Oct., 1949).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Curti, Merle. "The Reputation of America Overseas (1776-1860)." *Am. Quar.*, I, 58-82 (Spring, 1949).

Simpson, Lewis P. "The Literary Miscellany and The General Repository: Two Cambridge Periodicals of the Early Republic." *Lib. Chron. Univ. Texas*, III, 177-190 (Spring, 1950).

Dunkel, Wilbur D. "Ellen Kean's Appraisal of American Playgoers." *AL*, XXII, 163-166 (May, 1950).

Letters written by the English actress in 1846 and 1847 show her low opinion, not only of American audiences, but of American critics as well.

Articles on American Literature Appearing in Current Periodicals 387

Wish, Harvey. "Aristotle, Plato, and the Mason-Dixon Line." *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, X, 254-266 (April, 1949).

The ante-bellum South found in Aristotle a champion and symbol of its aristocratic and authoritarian slave system; Plato it regarded as a prop of Northern reformism and transcendental moonshine.

III. 1870-1900

[CABLE, G. W.] Ekstrom, Kjell. "The Cable-Howells Correspondence." *Studia Neophilologica*, XXII, 48-61 (1950).

—. "Cable's *Grandissimes* and the Creoles." *Studia Neophilologica*, XXI, 190-194 (1949).

[CHAPMAN, J. J.] Stocking, David. "John Jay Chapman and Political Reform." *Am. Quar.*, II, 62-70 (Spring, 1950).

[CLEMENS, S. L.] Clemens, Cyril. "Hervey Allen and Mark Twain." *Hobbies*, April, 1950, p. 20.

—. "Margaret Mitchell and Mark Twain." *Hobbies*, Oct., 1949, p. 140.

[CRANE, STEPHEN] Feldman, Abraham. "Crane's Title from Shakespeare." *AN&Q*, VIII, 185-186 (March, 1950).

"Murder's crimson badge" in *2 Henry VI*, Act III, scene 2, l. 200. [DICKINSON, EMILY] Campbell, Harry Modean. "Dickinson's *The Last Night That She Lived*." *Expl.*, VIII, 54 (May, 1950).

Childs, Herbert Ellsworth. "Emily Dickinson, Spinster." *Western Humanities Rev.*, III, 303-309 (Oct., 1949).

Partly because of the influence of her dominating father, Emily Dickinson was already psychologically a spinster at twenty-three when she fell in love with Charles Wadsworth; in later years she transferred her frustrated affection to her family and friends, to objects in nature, and, in imagination, to other men.

Whicher, George F. "The Deliverance of Emily Dickinson." *N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Rev.*, Aug. 13, 1950, pp. 2, 12.

[FIELD, EUGENE] Field, Roswell. "Eugene Field, A Memory." *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 147-167 (Jan., 1950).

Memories of Field recorded by his brother.

[HEARN, LAFCADIO] Espey, John J. "The Two Japans of Lafcadio Hearn." *Pacific Spect.*, IV, 342-351 (Spring, 1950).

[HOWELLS, W. D.] Ekstrom, Kjell. "The Cable-Howells Correspondence." *Studia Neophilologica*, XXII, 48-61 (1950).

[JAMES, HENRY] Bewley, Marius. "James's Debt to Hawthorne." *Scrutiny* (England), XVI, 178-195, 301-317; XVII, 14-37 (Sept., Winter, 1949; Spring, 1950).

- Beyer, William. "The State of the Theatre." *School and Soc.*, LXXI, 213-217 (April 8, 1950).
 A discussion of the current vogue of the dramatizations of novels, such as William Archibald's adaptation of *The Innocents* from Henry James's "The Turn of the Screw."
- Edel, Leon. "Henry James and *The Outcry*." *Univ. Toronto Quar.*, XVIII, 340-346 (July, 1949).
- Fadiman, Clifton. "En kommentar till 'Europa'." *Bonniers Litterära Magasin* (Stockholm), XVII, 99-100 (Feb., 1948).
- Evans, Oliver. "James's Air of Evil." *Partisan Rev.*, XVI, 175-187 (Feb., 1949).
- Greene, Graham. "Henry James." *La Table Ronde* (Paris), No. 29 (May, 1950), pp. 9-22.
- McElderry, B. R., Jr. "Henry James and 'The Whole Family'." *Pacific Spect.*, IV, 352-360 (Summer, 1950).
- Raeth, Claire J. "Henry James's Rejection of *The Sacred Fount*." *ELH*, XVI, 308-324 (Dec., 1949).
- [LAZARUS, EMMA] Baym, Max I. "Emma Lazarus and Emerson." *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII, 261-287 (June, 1949).
 See II, EMERSON, above.
- Mordell, Albert. "Some Final Words on Emma Lazarus." *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, XXXIX, 321-327 (March, 1950).
 Comments, often corrective, on recent publications dealing with Emma Lazarus.
- [SCHOOLCRAFT, H. R.] Rust, James D. "Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and George Eliot." *Michigan Hist.*, XXIV, 29-34 (March, 1950).
- [WHITMAN, WALT] Lucchese, Romeo. "Dopo Whitman la vera poesia americana." *La Fiera Letteraria* (Italy), No. 43 (Oct. 23, 1949), p. 5.
- Roos, Carl. "Walt Whitman's Letters to a Danish Friend." *Orbis Literarum*, VII, 31-60 (1949).
- [MISCELLANEOUS] Jones, H. M. "Literature and Orthodoxy in Boston after the Civil War." *Am. Quar.*, I, 149-165 (Summer, 1949).

IV. 1900-1950

- [AIKEN, CONRAD] Carlson, Eric W. "The Range of Symbolism in Poetry." *SAQ*, XLVIII, 442-451 (July, 1949).
- Hoffman, Dan G. "Poetic Symbols from the Public Domain." *So. Folklore Quar.*, XII, 294-298 (Dec., 1948).
- [ALLEN, HERVEY] Clemens, Cyril. "Hervey Allen and Mark Twain." *Hobbies*, April, 1950, p. 20.
- [ANDERSON, MAXWELL] Parks, Edd Winfield. "Maxwell Anderson."

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- Revista do Instituto Brasil-Estados Unidos* (Rio de Janeiro), VII, 18-21 (Jan.-June, 1949).
- [ANDERSON, SHERWOOD] Guido, Augusto. "Cavalli da corsa e uomini dell' Ohio." *La Fiera Letteraria* (Italy), No. 43 (Oct. 23, 1949), p. 5.
- Howe, Irving. "Sherwood Anderson and the American Myth of Power." *Tomorrow*, VIII, 52-54 (Aug., 1949).
- [BEACH, REX] Clemens, Cyril. "My Friend Rex Beach." *Hobbies*, Feb., 1950, p. 138.
- [BROOKS, CLEANTH] Strauss, Albrecht B. "The Poetic Theory of Cleanth Brooks." *Centenary Rev.*, I, 10-22 (Fall, 1949).
- [CATHER, WILLA] Cather, Willa. "The Personal Side of William Jennings Bryan." *Prairie Schooner*, XXIII, 331-337 (Winter, 1949).
- A reprint of an article from the Pittsburgh *Library*, July 14, 1900.
- [CHURCHILL, WINSTON] Hofstadter, Richard and Beatrice. "Winston Churchill: A Study in the Popular Novel." *Am. Quar.*, II, 12-28 (Spring, 1950).
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individual men: thus recent fiction has a medieval rather than a modern quality.

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Must the modern poet "become either precieux or corny?"

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"This study is an attempt to portray the true picture of the cowboy as found in the writings of contemporaries in newspapers, diaries, letters, periodicals, and also in books which, in most cases, were published before the turn of the century."

IV. GENERAL

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Evidence of "the impact on all our literatures of a massive and chaotic bombardment of works of all kinds accessible to an ever wider reading public which is avid to know them": *L'Almanach des Lettres* for 1947, for one example, lists seventy foreign writers whose works have been translated in France since the liberation; among these, American writers lead, with twenty-one names.

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Friederich, W. P., and Gohdes, Clarence. "A Department of American and Comparative Literature." *MLJ*, XXXIII, 135-137 (Feb., 1949).

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Strindberg's lack of popularity in America may be due to his naturalism, symbolism, and subjectivity.

Levin, Harry. "Definizione del realismo." *Inventario* (Italy), Autumn, 1949, pp. 8-14.

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the one person in the modern world who is willing to attempt a correlation between reason and imagination.

Pivano, E. "Letteratura negro americana." *La Rassegna d'Italia*, Nov., 1948.

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They do.

PROMETHEUS 1900

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THIS ESSAY is a study of the uses made of the Promethean legend by three young American poets of the turn of the century—Trumbull Stickney, William Vaughn Moody, and George Cabot Lodge—and of parallel concerns in the mind of their elder compatriot, Henry Adams. Since Adams was personally very close to Stickney and to Lodge, as Stickney was to Moody, there are curious personal and intellectual cross-currents within the handful of works concerned. The Promethean theme which, in one way or another, caught their imaginations, is associated with their varying sensitivities to what Adams recognized as the end of an era.

I

Stickney's poetical work of greatest scope, *Prometheus Pyrphoros*, a dramatic scene of some seven hundred lines, was written in Paris and published in the *Harvard Monthly* for November, 1900. To the best-known treatment in English of the Prometheus legend—Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*—Stickney's poem owes, directly, absolutely nothing: as Moody wrote in a prefatory note to the poem in the posthumous *Poems of Trumbull Stickney*, ". . . those who are curious to examine the sources of the *Prometheus Pyrphoros* will find them in the account given by Hesiod, supplemented in some details by that of the mythographer Apollodorus."¹ The plot of *Prometheus Pyrphoros* is simple and spare.² The dramatis personae are six: Prometheus; his brother Epimetheus; his son Deucalion; Deucalion's wife Pyrrha, who is the daughter of Epimetheus and Pandora; and—briefly at the end—"the voices of Zeus." The events of the play are thus family matters, and they are generalized only by the nature of the myth itself and by sparse references to posterity. The only important detail for which Stickney uses Apollodorus as a source supplementing Hesiod is the identification of Pyrrha as the daughter of Epimetheus and Pandora, thus drawing her more closely

¹ *The Poems of Trumbull Stickney* (Boston, 1905), p. 105.

² All references to *Prometheus Pyrphoros* are to *The Poems of Trumbull Stickney*, pp. 106-131. Mr. Henry Stickney has given me permission to quote from this volume.

into the family circle. Deucalion, Epimetheus, and Prometheus form the extremes and mean of a linear scale of attitudes towards events: Epimetheus "loves overmuch the past"; Prometheus is the "wilful soul" who "goes forward to possess"; and Deucalion, the slavish average, finds the mean position anything but golden, and "Back and forth, . . . Madden[s] between tomorrow and yesterday." The idea of time which generates this arrangement is the Newtonian absolute: time as an irreversible unidimensional process. Thus, in the structure of the cast, we have the outline for a drama which deals with progress and decay, aspiration and despair.

From the other characters, Prometheus is somewhat apart. His position at the opening of the poem indicates it: as Pyrrha and Deucalion lament the evil befallen the world, Prometheus stands listening at the door. There is no suggestion, as there is none in Hesiod, that Prometheus is a Titan, a demigod; he is addressed as "desperate man," "wretched man," and he speaks of himself as "man of the niggard earth and god at heart." He is the romantic hero, isolated, selfless, courageous, scorned by those he would redeem.

The poem begins in "*Total obscurity, nothing on the scene being distinguishable.*" The stage direction for the first speech defines the choreography of the first section: "*Deucalion, crawling in.*" The first speech states the antithesis in the basic light-darkness dialectic which is thematic for the poem:

How dark it is, how dark and miserable!

For the next 158 lines Deucalion and Pyrrha expose their darkness and misery in blank verse:

Here we lie
All hedged in with hoar and darkness, old
For staring on the sodden vacancy . . .

or

This dark can never lift, this heavy night
Which lies and stagnates infinitely. . . .
Scarce I remember how seemed the white sunlight
So debile is my memory and the brain
Clean hollowed out . . .

or

Misery and blackness unendurable
Stand in the eyes that saw, the hearth that burned.

Pyrrha is more sanguine than her husband, whose only hope is for complete dissolution, which he expresses in dissolving verbals:

Sometimes down my dark bewildered brain
Stumble fantastic hopes that—like the birds
I've found afield dismembered and undone,
Like beasts that shut their swimming eyes, and leaves
That eddy dizzily down the nervous wind—
So may we fail and fall, be swept away
From what we are.

In general, the verbs of the first section, if not passive in voice, are in some kind of middle voice, which we might call the horizontal:

Night *lies* and *stagnates* infinitely

or

The labour of our lives now *desiccates*.

There is little relief from this bleakness, except the greater bleakness which is created by reference to the vanished fire, which brings in the vertical voice, a sudden tumescence. Pyrrha says:

Flints, here—*strike* again.

And Deucalion replies:

So did I a thousand times, and nothing *leapt*.
Alas.

Deucalion is Auden's horizontal man, and a cousin of Hemingway's man that things happen to. The landscape is the wasteland, but darkness and not drought is its central symbol, and the sun and not the rain its desired agent of fertility.

Prometheus has interrupted the miserable colloquy with two brief asides:

It bursts the heart to see them suffer thus . . .

and

How horrible
Is now become their life.

At line 158 he comes forward with his message of hope, which is based upon the idea of the sovereignty of man:

We will not suffer thus, we will not go
 Darkly and despicably tumbling down
 The road of life. For we be something more;
 Nor quite in vain infinite earth obeys
 The plough we fashioned. All indeed is ours!
 We are the crown of nature and her lord.

This assertion of will is sufficiently unjustified in the context to make the reader, perhaps, sympathize with the reply of Deucalion:

O hold thy peace, desperate man.

Despite Deucalion's plea that Prometheus is only going to make matters worse, Prometheus departs in a flurry of brave words to steal back the light.

During Prometheus's absence, Epimetheus, who has been out looking for signs of day, returns in discouragement. He is the completely nostalgic man, his whole orientation fixed by memory. To beguile the time, he sings a song:

The noise in the eternal heart abates.
 The valley of the world is blotted out,
 And either end the boulders on the gates
 Are pushed across and shut.

The mountains in the dark are growing small.
 No wind is any more upon the lea.
 The stone has frittered down the waterfall
 Down rivers to the sea.

The uttermost is swelling out in void,
 In total night, more cold and emptier
 Around the ghost of that which is destroyed,
 The breath of things that were.

The world is shrunk, empty, and impotent.

The return of Prometheus with the fire is a signal for a shift of language to the vertical voice again:

Rejoice! Up! up!
 I say we have the sunlight back again.

and for an orgastic image which contrasts with the imagery of Epimetheus's bleak little song:

'T has dawned at last, such dawn as ne'er before
Tore the wide sky. From out bottomless chasms
Fountains jet glittering up into the sky
And hailstone sparks descend, tumbling like sand
Over the mountains swollen in conflagration.

It is also the occasion for the longest speech in the poem, in which Prometheus describes his ascent of Olympus through a symbolic landscape.

With the conclusion of the speech, Zeus's thunder and an ominous cloud confirm previously foreshadowed fears. Deucalion says:

Thou, wretched man, shalt be our ruin.

Prometheus replies in a speech which contains the core of his limited optimism and which ends:

Follow the rivers to the sea
And launch your enterprise! The wilful soul
Goes forward to possess, and vindicates
From strength to strength the majesty of life.

The responses of the other three to the wilful soul, as he is haled forth by the voices of Zeus to his punishment, vary according to type. Deucalion whines, Epimetheus continues his looking backward; "a great sunset fills the scene"; and Pyrrha alone is left with words of hope as the poem ends.

In so far as the action of the play is concerned, and the relationship of those characters directly concerned with the action, *Prometheus Pyrphoros* is clearly concerned with the problem of the romantic genius and of the transitional figure in need of some center of being. There are strong implications that lead to an identification of Prometheus with the kind of scientific culture-hero who had been implicit in the West since Thomas Browne saw "that naked virgin Truth half out of the pit": the kind of science-hero made out of Edison and Pasteur on the popular level. The science-hero is the Messiah of the Baconian religion: he redeems mankind in some act in the progressive struggle for the mastery of nature. And he is the scapegoat: he pays for his separation from his fellow-men with suffering: the sufferings of Edison and Pasteur are as much a part of their legend as their discoveries. For Prometheus in Stickney's

poem the dignity of man is in his mastery of "infinite earth": "we are the crown of nature and her lord." At his command, by the action of his will alone, the old world of darkness and misery vanishes and the new world of light and heat springs into being. As the price for his deed, he goes forth to

hang out in anguish crucified
Upon the giddy ramparts of the world.

In his relation to the other characters on the linear scale, he represents progress, and in this function preserves the Baconian dream of "the relief of man's estate."

It is clear enough from the poem itself, however, that those passages in which Deucalion and Epimetheus bemoan the present and lament the past are more convincing than those in which Prometheus calls upon man to will the future. Prometheus's action is as unconvincing as if Stetson, in *The Waste Land*, were to end the drought by turning a spigot. The darkness and misery are realized: the salvation is an act of will against a stubborn emotional pattern of nostalgia and melancholy. The faith in progress maintains itself but bleakly against the dissolving verbals of Deucalion's despair.

II

If we can find an analogue for Prometheus in the nineteenth-century hero of scientific progress, we can find an analogue of an equally pertinent kind for the darkness and misery against which Prometheus was fighting in certain aspects of nineteenth-century physics by which, in 1900, the idea of progress was being corroded. The development of this corrosion can be seen most clearly in the mind of Stickney's friend Henry Adams.

The eighteenth-century idea of progress was absorbed and strengthened after the middle of the nineteenth century by *Darwinismus*: not by Darwin himself, but by Tyndall and the Spencerians, who expanded Darwin's principles into an unalterable cosmic law of continuous evolution to higher forms. As Henry Adams put it, "In a literary point of view the Victorian epoch rested largely,—perhaps chiefly,—on the faith that society had but to follow where science led; to—

Move upward, working out the beast,
And let the ape and tiger die

in order to attain perfection."³ For Henry Adams the optimism of *Darwinismus* ran counter to the experience of the Adams family, which found itself and its ideals successively displaced as the century advanced, and it was against the optimism of *Darwinismus* that Henry Adams directed his attack. At the Paris Exposition of 1900 he began to perceive the extent of the revolution in physics which was to provide his most effective metaphor for the attack on the idea of progress and which led him, during the next ten years, to the study which came to fruition in the extraordinary *A Letter to American Teachers of History* (1910). The physical principle about which he was able to crystallize all his feelings around the absurdity of *Darwinismus* was the second law of thermodynamics; and *A Letter to American Teachers of History* is a superbly lucid exposition of the history of the law in the nineteenth century, of its analogues in other fields, and of its extension to the history of mankind. All of Adams's dialectic and wit are at play in this last attack upon his ancient enemy.

Adams based his exposition on the formulation of the second law of thermodynamics in Kelvin's memoir of 1852, "On a Universal Tendency in Nature to the Dissipation of Mechanical Energy":

1. There is at present in the material world a universal tendency to the dissipation of mechanical energy.
2. Any restoration of mechanical energy, without more than an equivalent of dissipation, is impossible in inanimate natural processes, and is probably never affected by means of organized matter, either endowed with vegetative life or subjected to the will of an animated creature.
3. Within a finite period of time past, the earth must have been, and within a finite period of time to come, the earth must again be, unfit for the habitation of man as at present constituted, unless operations have been, or are to be performed, which are impossible under the laws to which the known operations going on at present in the material world, are known to be subject.⁴

Over against the law of the dissipation of energy, Adams sets a passage from Tyndall showing *Darwinismus* at its most lurid:

To nature nothing can be added; from nature nothing can be taken away;

³ Henry Adams, *The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma*, with an introduction by Brooks Adams (New York, 1919), p. 159.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

the sum of her energies is constant, and the utmost man can do in pursuit of physical truth, or in the application of physical knowledge, is to shift the constituents of the never-varying total, and out of them to form another.⁵

Adams fills the pages of his argument with quotation upon quotation from works in physics, geology, botany, astronomy, and paleontology which can be used to cement the application of his central analogy. The book becomes a scientific *Grand Guignol*, filled with that gloating on future horror which was his special revenge on the present. As a sample of this grisly anthology we can take a quotation from Flammarion's *Astronomie populaire* (1905), a vision of the "heat death":

No longer will man live,—no longer will he breathe,—except in the equatorial zone, down to the day when the last tribe, already expiring in cold and hunger, shall camp by the shores of the last sea in the rays of a pale sun which will henceforward illumine an earth which is only a wandering tomb, turning around a useless light and a barren heat. Surprised by the cold, the last human family has been touched by the finger of death, and soon their bones shall be buried under the shroud of eternal ice.⁶

"Compared with the superficial and self-complacent optimism which seems to veneer the surface of society," Adams wrote, "the frequent and tragic outbursts of physicists, astronomers, geologists, biologists and sociological socialists announcing the end of the world, surpass all that could be conceived as a natural product of the time."⁷ With the ammunition provided by the Law of the Dissipation of Energy, Adams reached his triumphant conclusion: henceforward the historian will "define his profession as the science of human degradation." To the apologists of official scientific optimism, Adams has presented the converse structure, built by their very methods. If the one is acceptable, then—it is *Darwinismus* inside out.

Whether or not Stickney was a student of thermodynamics, the human situation described by him in *Prometheus Pyrphoros* is an uncanny parallel to the human situation described as ultimate in the tragic outbursts of the physicists:

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

How dark it is, how dark and miserable! . . .

This dark can never lift, this heavy night
Which lies and stagnates infinitely. No,
It cannot lift, I know not when it fell;
Scarce I remember how seemed the white sunlight,
So debile is my memory and the brain
Clean hollowed out. . . .

All around me and within
It is like pools of cold. . . .

. . . Fire is vanished irrecoverably. . . .

The uttermost is swelling out in void,
In total night, more cold and emptier
Around the ghost of that which is destroyed,
The breath of things that were.

The wasteland of Pyrrha and Deucalion is the analogue of the effect of nineteenth-century physics upon the cosmological imagination. "It isn't easy," Stickney had written of Hesiod, "in images, to expose the idea of human decadence; man is revolted by it."⁸ In Adams's cosmological poem the idea of human decadence is exposed dramatically, unambiguously, triumphantly; it is no wonder that in the earlier poem of his young friend the matter is still in doubt.

Of the extent of Stickney's direct knowledge of the scientific analogy, there is little except circumstantial evidence, but little more is necessary. The sensitive mind does not need to enroll in courses in order to react plastically to overtones of contemporary thought. Stickney was a friend of Henry Adams and saw him during the summer of 1900, when Adams was brooding over the dynamos and when Stickney was writing *Prometheus*. More direct is the evidence supplied by Stickney's association with Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, of Durkheim's school of sociology.

It was probably through Sylvain Lévi, his professor of Sanskrit at the Sorbonne, that Stickney met Henri Hubert, who was to be his warm friend for the duration of his stay in Paris and who was to become the warm friend of George Cabot Lodge and Henry Adams. At what time the meeting occurred it is difficult to say, but by 1897 Stickney's letters to his sister Lucy make frequent men-

⁸ *Les Sentences dans la poésie grecque* . . . , par T. Stickney (Paris, 1903), p. 67.

tion of him. From 1896 on, Hubert and Mauss edited the sections devoted to religious anthropology in Émile Durkheim's *L'Année sociologique*, which was founded in 1896 to provide an organ for original sociological memoirs and for information on allied fields. The essence of Durkheim's method was the rigid application of statistical method to sociological research. Durkheim used the method in his own treatise, *Le Suicide*, for which Mauss and Hubert gathered statistics; the book was published in 1897 after various sections of it had appeared in *L'Année*. "Suicide," Durkheim wrote, "is precisely one of the forms in which is evidenced the collective malady from which we suffer; that is why it will be useful to understand it."⁹ Thus Durkheim's collection of the statistics of suicide—described by the beautiful German word *Selbstmordstatistik*—was another evidence of the dissipation of vital and social energies and was given special mention in Adams's *Grand Guignol*.

Through Hubert and Mauss, Stickney became a disciple of the school of Durkheim, "plus peut-être par amitié que par raison,"¹⁰ as Hubert later wrote. For *L'Année* Stickney wrote reviews of the three volumes of Burckhardt's survey of Greek civilization. The first of these reviews appeared in Volume III of *L'Année*, published in Paris in 1900.¹¹ In the same volume appeared D. Parodi's reviews of the French translation of Brooks Adams's *Law of Civilization and Decay*,¹² and of André Lalande's *La Dissolution opposé à l'évolution dans les sciences physiques et morales*.¹³ Lalande's thesis is remarkably similar to that of Adams, and his book was used to buttress the argument in *A Letter to American Teachers of History*. Stickney, therefore, not only had the opportunity of any sensitive person to become familiar with the implications of scientific thought, but also, because of his friendships and particular situation, would have had to work hard to avoid such knowledge. Given a temperamental affinity for the destructive element, he would inevitably absorb from the scientific analogy of the heat-death some of the materials for his expression.

⁹ Émile Durkheim, *Le Suicide* (Paris, 1897), p. 9.

¹⁰ In a proofsheets of an article called "J. Trumbull Stickney," signed "H. H.," annotated in script and marked "Revue Archéologique, 1905, J." The review appeared with the quoted phrase omitted. The proofsheets is now in the papers of Mr. Henry Stickney.

¹¹ *L'Année sociologique*, III, 310-314 (1898-1899).

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 173-175.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 162-171.

III

In the dramatic structure of Stickney's poem, then, we can perceive the crumbling consciousness of Newton's world, the world of infinite progress, the world of *Darwinismus*. The action of the poem is conceived as an assertion, however bleak, of progress, but the emotional weight is on the side of the laws of dissipation and decay. In Stickney's case the matter has not yet become fully available to the mind, but is felt darkly. There is one character in *Prometheus Pyrphoros*, however, who stands completely outside of the structure of the action of the poem and thus outside of Newton's world, with its concern for progress. With progress or decay, *Darwinismus* or Henry Adams, Pandora has little concern.

In the character of Pandora, Stickney made his one significant departure from his source in Hesiod. Hesiod had made her the vehicle of the punishment visited on man by Zeus. Fashioned by the gods, endowed by Hermes with the heart of a fox and by Aphrodite with supernatural beauty, she was given to Epimetheus, who, over Prometheus's warning, accepted her and in so doing accepted the plagues with which many mythologies have surrounded the genesis of woman. In Stickney's version of Pandora there is none of this at all. Like Henry Adams's Virgin, she is a symbol of unity rather than of multiplicity, and plague is not her function. She takes no part at all in the action, nor in any of the talk about it. Her voice is heard "always as from within": she is never seen; in stage terms she is disembodied. She sings six enigmatic songs, which might be considered to have a sort of a chorus function, but it is a highly specialized one. Here is her first song, inserted into the text after about sixty lines of the antiphonal complaints of Pyrrha and Deucalion:

As a poplar feels the sun's enfolding kiss,
And softly alone on the quiet plain
Yields to him all her silver trellises,
A ghost of green in the golden rain,
And trembles lightly thro' the shining air
Nearly unseen and melting in sky
Save for a shadow in the grasses there:
So over the earth and world am I.
The lips of Gods and mortals in a dream

Have lain on my lips of a summer night:
 They fade like images down-stream,
 But I have remained behind the light.
 I give the giver more than he sought,
 And more than I give am I, much more:
 As words are to an everlasting thought,
 So less than the mother the child she bore.

Pyrrha and Deucalion hear her, and Deucalion attempts to gloss her song:

Ever since God approached her, on the ground,
 Her silence threaded by dull murmurs, lone
 She sits up stone-like 'gainst the rude house-wall.
 On hands and knees some while ago I crawled
 Up to her, and, saying our heavy troubles, passed
 Over her cool immobile face my hand;
 I kissed her eyes, I touched and held her chin:
 But all that while she said nothing to me,
 Remaining passive, silent, pitiless,
 Albeit her eyes were very wide awake.

Deucalion's gloss underlines heavily Pandora's indifference to the struggle between progress and decay in which the others are involved. She is like some Hindu temple image—"passive, silent, pitiless"—before the prayers of those bound to a life in time. It is clear from her song that she represents some kind of a feminine principle in nature: gross matter impregnated by divinity. Deucalion has said she is travailing from the embrace of Zeus: in the song Zeus is the sun, the male principle, and her relation to him is compared to that of Zeus and Danaë, who conceived of Zeus through a "golden rain." But in the process she has assumed a more primitive reality than that of her impregnator, and both Gods and mortals fade away while she remains. In three paired images, the poet attempts to specify her relations to the events of "the earth and the world." The ratios are those of the poplar "nearly unseen and melting in sky" to its "shadows in the grasses"; of an "everlasting thought" to words; and of mother to child. She is thus Madame Noumenon—the substantive principle for which Stickney's imagination had been groping since his undergraduate days—and Gods and mortals, Prometheus and Zeus, are shadowy little phenomena, prattling and tugging at her skirts.

Pandora's relation to the other characters, the way in which Deucalion describes her, and the peculiarity of her nature strongly suggest those Indian philosophies with which Stickney's mind was more and more becoming occupied. In the *Upanishads*, in the philosophical portions of the *Mahabharata*—and Stickney was to spend a large portion of 1901 in translating the *Bhagavad-Gita* into French—and in the texts of *Samkhya*, the Hindu atheism, are to be found the notions of the relation of soul to nature and of nature to spirit which come into the conception of Pandora. The idea that nature, while impregnated by spirit, is yet of a more primitive reality than spirit and that spirit exhausts itself in the act of impregnation and then begins to fade away, is common to those doctrines of the *Upanishads* which seem to be the raw material from which *Samkhya* was fashioned.¹⁴ And this is the idea which animates Pandora's first song.

Her other five songs touch on various aspects of such a conception. In the second song she focuses on that aspect of the innumerable destructions and renewals of the world which is part of the Indian systems, as it was part of the thought of Herakleitos. In her third song, with its echoes of Plato's cave—and an embarrassing amount of unsuitable language—she is “the whole and fulness” for which men weep, but which they cannot find. Her fifth song modifies the identification in the direction of *Darwinismus*, perhaps with a view of stressing the debilitated optimism of the poem's ending. Viewing her songs in this way, it is easy to see what Moody meant when he said that Stickney planned “in his own poetry I know not what new synthesis of Eastern and Western thought.”¹⁵ But the trouble is of course that East and West in *Prometheus Pyrphoros* are not synthesized. They are related to each other only in the general promiscuity of the printed page. One could remove Pandora from the poem, and the logical structure of the plot—the battle between the forces of progress and decay—would not be affected at all.

Viewed in relation to the total effect of the poem, Pandora's

¹⁴ Cf. Arthur Berriedale Keith, *The Samkhya System* (Oxford, 1918); R. Garbe, *Die Samkhyaphilosophie: Einen Darstellung des Indischen Rationalismus* (Leipzig, 1894). Stickney's copy of Garbe passed into the hands of Santayana, who selected it from among Stickney's books after his death.

¹⁵ William Vaughn Moody, “The Poems of Trumbull Stickney,” *North American Review*, CLXXXIII, 1007 (Nov. 16, 1906).

songs work nothing but destruction. She negates the importance of the contending forces, saying, in effect, "No matter, little puppets, this is all unimportant." And, as a result, the reader is inclined to agree with her. She remains alien, hostile, unresolved, and there is no accommodation in the structure of the poem for the suspended feeling.

And yet, precisely because of the central irresolution, the poem—and Pandora—remain curiously impressive. It is evident that, beneath the mechanical conventions that govern the language and the structure, there is the struggle of an intelligence, a struggle to find ways of saying things which must be said and for which there is no convention extant. Stickney, in writing a poem which seems to celebrate the act of the individual will, brought to bear those attitudes of the Indian culture by which the acts of the will were devalued. In writing a poem which seems to be an assertion of progress, he brought to bear those metaphors from science by which the idea of progress was being corroded. These acts of treachery to the intent of his own poem produce a strange result, one which is unsuccessful in itself, but in which one is conscious of new shapes and feelings hovering at the brink of articulation.

IV

In the decade following the publication of *Prometheus Pyrphoros*, Stickney's friends Moody and Lodge composed their own variations on the Promethean theme.

Moody wrote what he called "a trilogy on the Promethean theme." The three verse-plays that composed it were arranged by him in a logical order that differed from the order of their composition: *The Fire-Bringer* (1904); *The Masque of Judgment* (1900); and *The Death of Eve* (1910), of which only the first act was completed. Of the three, only *The Fire-Bringer* is of particular concern here. Though the three plays were seen by Moody as rounding out some kind of complete statement, a brief examination of *The Fire-Bringer* alone is suggestive of the whole; and, further, *The Fire-Bringer* is directly related to Stickney's *Prometheus Pyrphoros*.

"In the spring of 1902," writes Robert Morss Lovett, "while Moody was visiting Mrs. Brainerd at Cape Henry, he spoke one evening of the Promethean legend, as affording another expression of the problem of man's separation from God. This was the origin

of *The Fire-Bringer*. The next morning he started for Greece.¹⁶ Moody traveled in Greece—and in Greek dramatic literature—through the spring and early summer. Mid-July found him comfortably installed in Stickney's apartments on the Rue d'Assas in Paris, overlooking the Luxembourg Gardens. Here he stayed for a pleasant month, reading with Stickney and "chasing down an occasional Promethean hint in the Bibliothèque Nationale."¹⁷ All this time his verse-play was taking shape in his mind. He stayed with Stickney, reading, he said, the whole corpus of Greek drama, until the tenth of August, and then left for the Dolomites before coming home.

The Fire-Bringer was not finished until January, 1904, when Stickney was back at Harvard as an instructor in Greek.

The day before I got your letter advising me to read *The Fire-Bringer* to Stickney in person [Moody wrote Mrs. Brainerd], I had sent it to him, with a mention in the introductory note of what I conceived to be my indebtedness to his poem, and a letter in which I set this forth more in full, and asked him to tell me frankly whether the reference to his *Prometheus* pleased him, whether he would rather have it more specific or more casual. Today I received a letter from him, written after a first reading of the play. It is a very friendly and manly letter, imperatively urging me to omit all references to my predecessors in the handling of the myth, including himself, and to print instead a translation of the brief passages in Hesiod and Apollodorus which represent the raw material I had drawn upon. He thinks the connection between his poem and mine "of only philological interest," and finds the divergence in our handling of the characters and the action so great that—on a first reading at least—the attempt to adjust his preconceptions to my view makes my work puzzling and baffling to him. He finds the play extremely difficult, partly doubtless because of this difficulty in readjusting the lines of a settled mental picture. He calls it "a superb performance" but finds it less dramatic in the human than in the symbolic order.¹⁸

Stickney's view of the relation between the two plays is a just one. Moody's conception of the material is poles apart from Stick-

¹⁶ *Selected Poems of William Vaughn Moody*, ed., with an introduction, by Robert Morss Lovett (Boston, 1931), p. xl ix.

¹⁷ William Vaughn Moody, *Letters to Harriet*, ed. with an introduction and conclusion by Percy MacKaye (Boston, 1935), p. 118.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

ney's, and the specific indebtednesses are of little account.¹⁹ A few details of Moody's play recall Stickney's. At the opening, Pyrrha and Deukalion sit complaining of darkness. Fire is gone. Moody's handling of Pandora bears a superficial resemblance to Stickney's. In *The Fire-Bringer*, as in *Prometheus Pyrphoros*, she is a shadowy and enigmatic figure, and at first appears *below* the level on which the action is taking place. She is also a singer of somewhat gnomic songs. But Moody's Pandora and Stickney's Pandora sing about different things, and the two plays are about different things.²⁰

The action of Moody's play is based upon an aspect of the myth of Deukalion not touched by Stickney. The play begins in the darkness which follows the flood from which Deukalion, a Greek Noah, has saved himself, his family, and his people by means of an ark. Besides the immediate family group to which Stickney confined himself, there is a whole boatload of subordinate characters—choruses, Stone Men, Earth Women, old men, young men, girls. The darkness and the flood have been visited upon man not—as in *Prometheus Pyrphoros*—because Prometheus has tricked Zeus, but because—as in the Old Testament—Zeus has watched the growing corruption of the race and has decided to wipe it out and try again. The flood and the darkness are the punishment due for sin. The specific sins which Deukalion denounces are the forms of behavior of a time—such as the early twentieth century—whose structures are crumbling: the sins of “lust and wrangling,” “grief, division, terror, shame and loss.” Deukalion's reason for struggling at all, for attempting to maintain himself against the anger of Zeus, is dramatically present in the form of young Aeolus, his grandson. As in any millennial society, it is the child who receives the adoration; the child is the hostage of the future and the sanction of the present. The state of life which Deukalion desires and which he hopes may be recovered by prayer to Zeus, is the return of Time itself. The worst part of the dark present of Act I is that

Time is dead,
Drowned in the waste of waters; or it lies
Somewhere abolished in the primal mud.

¹⁹ All references to *The Fire-Bringer* are to *The Poems and Plays of William Vaughn Moody* (Boston, 1912), I, 181-274. Quotations from this volume are given by permission of, and arrangement with, the Houghton Mifflin Company.

²⁰ Professor David D. Henry, in *William Vaughn Moody: A Study* (Boston, 1934), has compiled a considerable list of parallels in detail.

Prometheus's act in restoring the light is significant in that it restores the calendar. "Be comforted," he tells the people,

it is established sure.

Light shall arise from light, day follow day,
Season meet season, with all lovely signs
And portents of the year. These shall not fail;
From their appointed dance no star shall swerve,
Nor mar one accent of one whirling strophe
Of that unfathomed chorus that they sing
Within the porch and laughing house of Life,
Which Time and Space and Change, bright caryatids,
Do meanwhile pillar up.

Stickney's Prometheus had accomplished the same result, but with no sense that the result was an unmixed blessing. Moody has absorbed a little Tyndall along with his Hesiod and Apollodorus.

In Moody's Pandora and Prometheus another vital difference between the two poems may be observed. Prometheus's act in Moody's poem is not a lonely one: Pandora helps him to it by providing him with the stalk of fennel within whose hollow is concealed the regenerant fire. The relation between Pandora and Prometheus is a sexual one:

PROMETHEUS: Thou gavest me the vessel; it is filled.

PANDORA: I am the vessel, and with thee 'tis filled.

Although at the beginning of the play Pandora was outside of the frame of action, at the point of her aid to Prometheus she enters it specifically and creatively, and the act of regeneration is partly her act. There is something here of a sort of ritual copulation by which fertility is restored. Pandora is, in essence, that abstract Woman who figures in one of Moody's worst poems ("I Am the Woman"), and Prometheus is the abstract Man. By acts instinct in their sexes—the manly act, the womanly act—they redeem their time and set the wheels of progress in motion again.

It is easy to see why Moody should have been such a popular poet in a time so desperately anxious to be reassured of the validity of its crumbling premises. The emotional situation is the reverse of that in Stickney's poem. Here, disaster is the illusion, rebirth the reality. Something of Moody as the Midwesterner is here: the

buoyance; the expansiveness; the optimism; the basic ease with which—despite qualifications—he moves within the idea of progress; the acceptance of the absolutes of Newton's world—Time and Space and Change, those "bright caryatids." The old exuberance of an earlier America is in the poem, though pasteurized and made acceptable to genteel aspiration by the full-blown academic rhetoric.

With this tone in mind, this bounce and optimism that pass through disaster with an "excelsior," the choice of Deukalion and his ark as centers of the play takes on a very precise meaning. Deukalion has guided his people over the wild waters to a new land in which a new life will flower, the old sinful ways be forgotten. He is the Pilgrim Father, who led his people across the sea from the corruption and disaster of Europe to create the American dream.

Before he departs for his Caucasian punishment, Prometheus places before the eyes of his tribe a vision of the millennium:

O rude and dazed spirits! ye shall grope
And wonder towards a knowledge and a grace
That now ye dream not of; then loneliness
Shall flee away, and enmity no more
Be spectral in the houses and the streets
Where walk your primal hearts in the large light
That floods your after-earth.

Out of these stones
I build my rumorizing city, based deep
On elemental silence; in this soil
I plant my cool vines and my shady tree
Whose roots shall feed upon the central fire.

If in such visions as these there is an innocence which knows not Baudelaire's version of the rumorizing city, the innocence of an earlier and more virginal stage of development, there is also in the whole conception more than a trace of the morality of success. Inner division is somehow morally wrong and punishable; unhappiness, perhaps, a bit of a crime. The bustling city-and-country America of the dream can be created only by discarding all these slightly shady attitudes, these culpable confusions—by the manly act, the womanly act—and then no one will be lonely or frightened or unhappy any more. The play is more coherent, emotionally, than

Stickney's poem, for despite the elaborate paraphernalia the idea of progress has not been seriously threatened at all.

v

The Promethean poems of Stickney's friend George Cabot Lodge are more directly personal than the poems of Moody or Stickney, and, in fact, more dramatic in the human order than either.

In both of his long' verse-plays, *Cain* (1904) and *Herakles* (1908),²¹ the action is built around the struggle of the central characters to *attain* Promethean stature, and the terrible price that each must pay for the absolute and unqualified liberty that is the content of Lodge's Prometheanism. *Cain*, the first and sparer of the two plays, is closer in quality to Stickney's poem than are any of the other poems in the group. The action is limited to a family group, with the voice of God, like the voices of Zeus in *Prometheus Pyrphoros*, relating the drama to a cosmic level.

The first of the three acts begins twenty-eight years after Cain's birth. Eve and Adam are contrasted. Adam is much like Stickney's Epimetheus; his mind moves remorsefully upon the brilliance of the past, and upon present desolation. Eve is optimistic. Within the limitations and transience of life she finds beauty and freedom; she hears "whispers, whispers of immortality."²² But Adam will neither hope nor rebel: God's will is just and will be done.

Cain enters and precipitates a family quarrel; he refuses to accept the authority of his father or of his father's God. Adam attacks Cain for impiety and attributes the fault to Eve, who, in an aside, accepts her alliance with Cain. Cain has started the process whereby his mother will be forced to a choice between him and his father. The act ends with Cain going "forth to light." The first condition of his freedom, a definite rejection of his father, has been fulfilled.

The second act takes place on the mountain of sacrifice, to which Cain and his pious brother Abel have brought their respective offerings. When Cain offers his sacrifice, not to the God of Abel and Adam, but to the God of his own mind,

²¹ All references to *Cain* and *Herakles* are to *The Poems and Dramas of George Cabot Lodge* (Boston, 1911), I, 229-339, and II, 179-456, respectively. Mrs. George Cabot Lodge has given me permission to quote from these volumes.

²² Is this the source of the title of T. S. Eliot's poem?

darkness falls, thunder peals, there comes a violent gust of wind, and the column of smoke from Cain's sacrifice is bent and blown straight back in his face. He recoils a step.

The voice of GOD

REJECTED!

Cain is momentarily stunned, but soon he interprets the rejection as the enlightenment his spirit had sought. God is

Not justice, but forgiveness or revenge,
Not strength but safety, not the change of growth,
Fluid unrest of free development,
But rules and customs and establishments,
Limits and lies—the servitude of man!

He tries to enlist his brother in his new freedom. In the anger which develops over the failure of his missionary activity with Abel, whom he swears he loves with a perfect love and thus cannot bear to see propagate the life of fear and slavery, he drives the knife into Abel's heart. Father-brother-God, rejected and rejecting, are destroyed in this symbolic sacrifice.

The third act shows the new alignment of Cain's relations with his mother. Though Eve, in the first shock of knowledge of the murder says, "I have no son," that secret rebelliousness which she had displayed in the first act comes to the fore:

Come to me, Child, who has slain my child!
Tragic Adventurer, come home to me!

Son and mother have reached the limit of their love. The ghost of the slain brother, the father's shadow stand between them. And Cain, by his murder become "the homeless pilgrim of the Great Idea," goes forward to pay whatever price—even crucifixion—is demanded for his freedom.

Herakles, the second of Lodge's Promethean verse-plays, is complicated by greater length and by a multitude of additional characters, but with a single exception the structure of the drama is identical with that of the earlier play. The group within which Herakles' struggle for freedom takes place includes a wife, Megara, and three sons. At the beginning of the long twelve-scene drama, Creon, the ruler of Thebes, has decided to abdicate his throne in favor of

Herakles. Creon is perhaps the one of Lodge's characters who is most carefully observed from outside, who is not so immediately identifiable as a projection of Lodge's own struggle, although he is presented as the type of all that is contemptible and time-serving, as Adam had been in the earlier play. His attempt to involve Herakles in the pattern of great place, with all its prudences and responsibilities, meets with rebuff:

Myself is yet unborn . . .
Sir, I will not serve the Gods or you!

Herakles, in a speech to Creon, dissociates himself from common humanity—

the florid animal
Which laughs and longs, is pleased and distressed,
The heart that feels and feigns, that faints and dreams,
That sorrows and is glad—the facile brain
That schemes and lies and is alert to seize
Success and is ambitious of no more
Than serviceable ingenuity
Can aptly compass—that supremely serves
To methodize the waste of the world's work
To profitable order and endow
Life's labor with a seeming worth and end—
These are not I.

Like Cain, Herakles goes forth to seek "the soul's inheritance," followed by "the POET" and "the WOMAN," who are a chorus for the success of his aspiration, which will serve as a release for mankind.

Again, the renunciation of the father-figure is the first step to freedom, and brings with it the sense of lovelessness, friendlessness, and isolation which is the mark of the Promethean figure. Herakles is conscious of some sudden revelation at hand, but he is equally conscious that that which is in him has yet to be born. In a remarkable passage he describes the stage through which he hopes to pass:

Too well I know that I contain them all—
The serpent, wolf and jackal, ape and cur,
Lion and hog:—of old the beasts are laired
In life's primeval wilderness, the dark,
Trackless and devil-haunted waste within me!—

Yet, in the mind's rapt outlook, I discern
 That in the jungle is the Householder,
 Whose patient labor has made room and home
 And let the light into his dwelling-place!
 Now, while he sleeps, it may be, in his stead
 Garrulous ghosts and fauns infest the gloom
 And in his name accomplish shameful deeds
 Shallow and eloquent sincerities,
 Profession of all faiths that falsify,
 And threadbare fashions of a masquerade—
 While from the teeming dark they snarl and whine,
 Chatter and roar and laugh, gibber and grin
 With greedy eyes and fangs—the beasts, the beasts
 Who harbour where his realm is unclaimed!

Herakles' first journey is down into the "human town" at night, where a Wildean scene in front of a tavern serves the purpose of his discovery, through his sense of guilt, of his identity with the defeated and the criminal. Here he meets the Poet and the Woman, who "recognize" him as "the light." Herakles tells them that he is

a child whose eyes are vague with sleep,
 Haunted with dreams and dazed with real light;—
 Whose mind, with dark pre-natal memories,
 Is still perplexed, and hardly yet evolved
 From ancient error. . . .

The ritual by which Herakles is to achieve his self-realization is equivalent to Cain's. He goes to Delphi, to ask his identity of the God; he breaks into the temple and discovers it empty. The God is not there. Like Cain, Herakles then concludes that the God is within him. But the ordeal is not yet over. He must make sacrifice and destroy the remainders of his old self. He returns from Delphi to Thebes, and there, in the same kind of madness at human love which drove Cain to slay his brother, "he draws his bow and kills the children as they are crying for mercy," and in so doing breaks the heart of his mother and his wife at once.

From this last ordeal, after a period of madness, Herakles appears again, "calm, grave, erect and strong." In the saddest of all the passages of this sad drama he claims his rebirth in the Whitmanesque language which clothes Lodge's apostrophes to fulfilment:

Only the soul survives—and I survive,
Hardly and terribly enough! But now,
Now with a nameless sense of faith and fear,
Of grandeur and dismay and stern resolve,
I know I am invulnerable. . . .

In me

Perfections, consummations, alchemies!
In me new life! In me exemplified!
New life, more real, self-conscious and divine—
I am the Life of life; I am the Soul;
I am the strength, the flux, the growth, the trend;
I am the future and the hope of man!

In the last scene he undertakes the rescue of Prometheus from his Caucasian torment; when Prometheus understands that his fetters are mind-forged, they drop away, and he is left standing by Herakles in chilly freedom.

Both of Lodge's plays may be approached as forms of psychomachia. Like Prometheus's vultures, they return over and over again to the theme of rebirth: the great need for it, the overpowering sense of guilt that accompanies the assassination of the shapes that tie the poet to his paternity. The heroes are indeed damned. All that they touch in human love they must in time wither and destroy, and they are trapped in the loneliness of an ego which knows nothing outside of its own remorseless needs. Like Ethan Brand or Ahab, they have committed the Unpardonable Sin. But unlike Ethan Brand or Ahab, they do not possess the full consciousness of their acts. Cain and Herakles are like infants in the cradle, who reach out to possess some glittering object at the limit of their reach and who, in touching it, shatter it into a thousand pieces on the floor: they are left crying helplessly in the darkness of their guilt, their loneliness, their frustration, and their fear. It is at the points at which the poems present a sense of the ferocity of the inner war that they are most powerful—as in Herakles' image of the soul, struggling to find itself among bestial shapes. At the points at which the heroes are depicted as having achieved their release, their perfect self-discoveries and self-realizations, the poems are empty. The envisaged goal is without content. The moment of apotheosis which Cain and Herakles approach through disciplines of destruction turns out to be little after all: their souls are infinite, God is dead. 'In the

slaughter of deity they are left alone and bleak against stark scenery, for there is no dramatic equivalent for a goal which eludes Lodge's language and swims off into the vagueness of "the light," "the life," "the secret," "the soul's inheritance," "the Great Idea." Despite the symbolic rituals of rebirth the moment is exhausted in the attempt to compel it, the bush burns but no voice comes from it, and the secret remains a secret still. You begin to be a little abashed in the face of these compulsive images, these Titanic aspirations, these Senecan slaughters, these rejected fathers, broken mothers, and heroes who are the Resurrection and the Life, and to shift a little uneasily, as if the characters had left the world of fiction and had come to lean over your shoulder and whisper too many confidences.

VI

The Promethean poems of Stickney, Moody, and Lodge reflect their various relations to what Adams had discerned in the Hall of Dynamos at the Paris Exposition at the end of an era. Prometheus can be held to be the tutelary deity of the West's attainment, through science, of almost limitless power, the enterprise of three hundred years; but his position in the imagination of the West had, by 1900, changed curiously even since Shelley's day. In Stickney's poem—almost unconsciously, by deep subversions—the task of Prometheus becomes unimportant; the idea of progress shrinks within the cyclical statement of Pandora's songs. In Moody's poem—the closest to Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*—there is a cheerful reaffirmation of the idea of progress. Although there is need for minor repairs, the foundations of the structure—Time, Space and Change, those "bright caryatids"—are in good repair. Business is fundamentally sound. In Lodge's tortured heroes we have perhaps the most direct projection of the agonies of change: the old identities destroyed by murder, the new ones assumed in renunciation and guilt.

These differences can be stated in another, and brutally oversimplified, way: for Stickney the problem of progress is primarily metaphorical, and its straight lines become confused at the still unpossessed image of the wheel; for Moody the problem is sociological, and decay can be exorcised by healthy social rituals; for Lodge, the problem is psychopathological, and can be resolved only through the ordeal of the change of personality. Moody's poem is the most facile of the four, but its facility is an indication of the

lack of serious tension at the core. In Stickney's poem and the two poems of Lodge one arrives at a sense of great constriction within the form, of a struggle, as yet unresolved, for articulation.

A late fragment of Stickney's indicates what could happen when the confusions of feeling, so marked in his poem and the two poems of Lodge, are cleared away. Here the quarrel between Prometheus and Pandora is resolved:

Time's a circumference
Whereof the segment of our station seems
A long straight line from nothing into naught.
Therefore we say "progress," "infinity"—
Dull words whose object
Hangs in the air of error and delights
Our boyish minds ahunt for butterflies.
For aspiration studies not the sky
But looks for stars; the victories of faith
Are soldered none the less with certainties,
And all the multitudinous armies decked
With banners blown ahead and flute before
March not to the desert or th' Elysian fields,
But in the track of some discovery,
The grip and cognizance of something true,
Which won resolves a better distribution
Between the dreaming mind and real truth.

I cannot understand you.

"T is because
You lean over my meaning's edge and feel
A dizziness of the things I have not said.

This beautiful fragment, with the lucid geometry of its image and the firmness of its development, could be construed as the establishment of certain poetic authority. But it was found among Stickney's papers after his death in 1904, at the age of thirty.

THE MOTHERS OF HENRY JAMES

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THE ENTHUSIASM of the past decade for Henry James has had its healthy issue: it has facilitated the clearing away of a good deal of noncritical thinking on such problems as deracination, snobbery, and the supposed failure of James to penetrate to the heart of the emotional life. It is possible, however, that criticism has diverted too much of its energy to the disposal of adverse commentary; we are left, after all this activity, with a body of critical thought markedly incomplete in at least one important dimension. The symbolic possibilities of James's writings, I suggest, have not been very thoroughly explored. We have, of course, a few studies of this matter, and their excellence (for James has proved especially rewarding here) combines with their scarcity to hint that James requires our more intensive application. Criticism is never warranted in assuming too pontifical an air, and while my subsequent discussion will often seem unreservedly dogmatic (since I intend to make out as good a case as I can), my own attitude toward my material is that of suggestion rather than of revelation. I mean to tease out a recurrent symbolic pattern which seems to me to throw real light on four of the late Jamesian tales: "The Great Good Place," "The Beast in the Jungle," "The Jolly Corner," and "Crappy Cornelius."¹

Let us put aside "The Great Good Place" for a moment and focus our attention on the last three of our four stories. These tales have enough surface resemblances in common to justify our treating them as a group. And the most striking of these unifying resemblances is the peculiar and stereotyped relation of the male protagonist, typically a mature, sensitive gentleman, to the principal female protagonist, typically a mature, sensitive gentlewoman. James him-

¹ All references to the first three of these works are from *The Novels and Tales of Henry James*, 26 vols. (New York: Scribner's, 1907-1917): "The Great Good Place," XVI, 225-263; "The Beast in the Jungle," XVII, 61-127; "The Jolly Corner," XVII, 435-485. For "Crappy Cornelius," see *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, CXIX (Oct., 1909), 690-704. Material from "The Jolly Corner" and "Crappy Cornelius" is used by permission of the Macmillan Company, which controls the copyright of these stories.

self, in an early note for his "A Round of Visits," has stated the essentials of this relationship so concisely that we cannot do better than to transfer his note into this study:

Don't I see that there is one person whom he ["he" later became Mark Monteith] has been counting upon most, inevitably a woman, a woman whom he has been occupied with, confusedly, anxiously, tenderly, whom he hasn't been sure about and as to his feeling for whom he has been by no means sure? He thinks it clears up that feeling that now, instinctively, it is to *her* his imagination turns most.²

The conditions of this passage are reflected, in various combinations, by all three of the tales immediately under consideration. John Marcher turns to May Bartram ("The Beast in the Jungle"); Spencer Brydon turns to Alice Staverton ("The Jolly Corner"); White-Mason turns to Cornelia Rasch ("Crappy Cornelia"). All of our men, in some degree, meet the criterion of feeling "confusedly, anxiously, tenderly" toward their women (there may, of course, be more confusion engendered in the reader than in the men themselves). All of these men are "by no means sure" of their feelings: despite White-Mason's interesting tenderness, he will not *marry* Cornelia; Marcher uses May Bartram, but cannot wed her; Brydon, the most remarkable of the three, may be planning to marry Alice Staverton—there is a good deal of passion of some sort involved here—but marriage is never made more than a speculative possibility.

Let us add to this certain other features of our three tales. Let us add that these men, like the protagonist of "A Round of Visits" in James's early notes,³ all carry burdens of some kind: White-Mason, the burden of modern vulgarity; Marcher, the burden of his unique and obscure destiny; Brydon, the burden of his lost self. Let us add that our three women have been involved in the respective pasts of our three men, have disappeared for several years, and have finally returned to receive, if permitted, the men's burdens. Let us add, finally, that all these oppressed gentlemen are somehow mutilated or disfigured by the weights they bear. White-Mason is

² *The Notebooks of Henry James*, ed. F. O. Matthiessen and Kenneth B. Murdock (New York, 1947), p. 159.

³ "So he wanders, so he goes—with his burden only growing heavier—looking vainly for the ideal sympathy, the waiting, expectant, responsive recipient" (*ibid.*, p. 158). Again: "He must go about with his burden for a week or ten days—trying vainly to *place* it, to dispose of it" (*ibid.*, p. 159).

"wounded, bleeding, blinded"; Marcher carries his destiny "like a hump on one's back"; Spencer Brydon's projected wound is too well known to require comment here.

We have, then, a number of parallel factors and relationships in these three tales. But we do not yet have the meaning of all this, and for this meaning we must return to the earliest story in my group, "The Great Good Place."

The narrative action of "The Great Good Place" is straightforward enough. The protagonist, George Dane, is a writer and critic of some note. Dane is overwhelmed by the press of temporal affairs; his memory often fails him; he fears that his sanity is endangered; he is, in short, overburdened by success and by the weight of the modern world. A young visitor takes Dane's place in the world: "I just dropped my burden," says Dane, "and he received it." Dane retires to a retreat, a monastery, in which he recovers his spent personality and lost energies. When his recovery is complete, Dane prepares to leave the monastery. His departure, however, takes the form of an awakening—Dane has slept all day (dreaming of his retreat) while the visitor has discharged his work for him.

There is nothing of any particular interest in this résumé of James's plot. The interest emerges when we look a little more closely into Dane's retreat. In the first place, Dane for a time loses his identity; the inmates of the Great Good Place are known to each other only as "Brother." Again, there is the physical appearance of the Place: it has a "great cloister, enclosed externally on three sides . . . opened to the south [in] its splendid fourth quarter." Too, there are Dane's physical impressions to be reckoned with. Dane experiences the "climate" of his retreat in terms of submersion: He didn't want, for the time, anything but just to *be* there, to steep in the bath. He was in the bath yet, the broad deep bath of stillness. They sat in it together now with the water up to their chins.⁴

More than identity has been lost in this dunking; the inmates may not yet, indeed, be alive:

". . . we meet—don't we?—with closed eyes."

"Ah don't speak as if we were dead!" Dane laughed.

"I shan't mind death if it's like this," his friend replied.⁵

⁴ *The Novels and Tales of Henry James*, XVI, 234.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

Intelligence and identity slowly emerge:

In the mere ecstasy of change that had at first possessed him he hadn't discriminated—had only let himself sink, as I have mentioned, down to hushed depths. Then had come the slow soft stages of intelligence and notation. . . .⁶

The reader, I imagine, will have anticipated the final crystallizing image of Dane's experience:

"I see—I see." The good Brother sighed contentedly; after which he brought out again with kindly humour: "It's a sort of kindergarten!"

"The next thing you'll be saying that we're babes at the breast!"

"Of some great mild invisible mother who stretches away into space and whose lap's the whole valley—?"

"And her bosom"—Dane completed the figure—"the noble eminence of our hill?"⁷

After this, the "high arch" through which the Brothers look immediately before Dane's awakening comes as no particular surprise to us: Dane, symbolically, was not awakened; he was reborn.

What have we seen here? When we consolidate the straight prose narrative with the running symbolic narrative, we get something like this: the burden of life (and the burden-image cited above, I suggest, is intimately related to the hump and mutilation images of our other three tales) has exhausted Dane. He returns, symbolically, to the maternal depths, dropping his burden, as he returns, both by transferring it to the young visitor and by relapsing into a condition of what we might describe as foetal dependency.⁸ Subsequently, Dane permits himself to be reborn without his burden.

Now it is my suspicion that the symbolic component of this whole process was placed in the tale consciously. The various details—the loss of identity, the presence of "Brothers" only, the gradual dawn of sense, the imagery of submersion, the image of the "great mild invisible mother," the images of death and childhood, the arch—are almost too pat to support the assumption that James was betrayed by his subconscious mind. This work has none of the stigmata common to uncontrolled fantasy literature. It is always

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 251-252.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

⁸ Yet another passage is worth citation: "It wasn't they who made the conditions, it was the conditions that made them. . . . They combined to form the large simple idea of a general refuge—an image of embracing arms, of liberal accommodation" (*ibid.*, p. 249).

something of a surprise to us, of course, when we find such deeper symbolism in the writings of men who worked before our own unpleasantly enlightened century. In many cases, of course, such symbolism has manifested itself in literature without the writer's conscious volition. But literature will afford us a long roster of authors who found it out for themselves and employed it purposefully. To this roster James may tentatively be added.

Attacked with the key of "The Great Good Place," the other three stories in my group assume a measure of coherency. The fables of Marcher, White-Mason, and Brydon represent, I suggest, the intensification of Dane's symbolic quest for the reviving deeps. The quest and the quest's object admit of wide variation. White-Mason's quest is for simple escape—an escape, possible only through the mediation of Cornelia, into the temporal and the physiological pasts. Marcher's quest, which is never completed, is for revelation—a revelation somehow open to—indeed, incorporated in—the ambiguous May. And Brydon's quest, finally, is also for revelation, and here again the mother-symbol, Alice Staverton, is somehow possessed of the illumination for which Brydon yearns. And the return to the mothers, the symbolized quest for a condition of release and security, promises at once White-Mason's discharge from modern pressure and vulgarity, the evasion of Marcher's destiny, the revelation of Brydon's hidden hurt, and the transference of the burdens represented by all three of these. The mothers, fortuitously returned out of the shadowy past, offer the advantages of "a general refuge" to each of our sensitive gentlemen.

Yet one more typical symbolic act might be worth noting here. The restorative mediation of the mother (the offer of refuge) and the protagonist's acceptance or rejection of this mediation are prefaced, in each of our four stories, by some special symbol of accessibility after restraint. Dane keeps his hands in his pockets; his return to the Place is accomplished only after he reaches out and takes the hand of his young guest. White-Mason drops his metaphoric "green shade" when he turns finally to Cornelia and away from marriage to the modern widow. May Bartram significantly observes to Marcher that "the door's open," but Marcher refuses to pass through. And Brydon, finally, leaves the door shut, encounters his "strange *alter ego*" nonetheless, and finally loses his burden in Alice's arms.

Let us give a little attention to the imagery of Spencer Brydon's tale. Brydon, in his final nocturnal visit to the "jolly corner," envisions himself in some "watery underworld." He is, indeed, at "the bottom of the sea, which showed an illumination of its own and which he even saw paved . . . with the marble squares of his childhood." Outside, Brydon glimpses the "thin admitted dawn, glimmering archwise over the whole outer door." And, finally and inevitably, he finds himself, after the period of unconsciousness which followed his encounter with his alter ego:

lifted and carefully borne as from where he had been picked up, the uttermost end of an interminable grey passage. Even with this he was suffered to rest, and what had now brought him to knowledge was the break in the long mild motion.⁹

And where is he? He is cradled in Alice's lap; she has, he observes, "brought me literally to life." Literally, indeed:

It took her but an instant to bend her face and kiss him, and something in the manner of it, and in the way her hands clasped and locked his head while he felt the cool charity and virtue of her lips, something in all this beatitude somehow answered everything. "And now I keep you," she said.

"O keep me, keep me!" he pleaded while her face still hung over him: in response to which it dropped again and stayed close, clinging close.¹⁰

Now this, of course, is in some degree the way of a maid with a man; it is also, however, the way of a mother with a babe. And Brydon's exclamations seem designedly more infantile than adult.¹¹

In two of our stories, "The Great Good Place" and "The Jolly Corner," the progression of quest, return, and rebirth is complete upon both narrative and symbolic levels. In one case, "Crapy Cornelia," the progression seems complete with only the symbolism of birth wanting; but White-Mason, it may be observed, did not

⁹ *Ibid.*, XVII, 479.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

¹¹ Is there a hint of midwifery in the character of the old Irish woman, Mrs. Muldoon? "What had next brought him back, clearly—though after how long?—was Mrs. Muldoon's voice, coming to him from quite near, from so near that he seemed presently to see her as kneeling on the ground before him while he lay looking up at her; himself not wholly on the ground, but half-raised and upheld—conscious, yes, of tenderness of support and, more particularly, of a head pillow'd in extraordinary softness and faintly [sic] refreshing fragrance" (*ibid.*, p. 478).

particularly want rebirth anyway. And in the final tale, "The Beast in the Jungle," the progression is implied and subsequently frustrated. If my suggested grouping of these works in terms of the mother-quest can be said to fail, it must be with these last two stories. I do not think that White-Mason's case, despite the want of conclusive images of return, is really very doubtful. His regressive impulses toward the past merge easily enough into regressive impulses toward Cornelia, the mother-imago.¹² Spencer Brydon's remarkable "keep me" passage with Alice may with some show of reason be compared with this passage from "Crapy Cornelia":

"'For you,'" she candidly considered. "But what—since you can't marry me!—can you do with me?"

Well, he seemed to have it all. "Everything. I can live with you—just this way."¹³

The case of Marcher and Miss Bartram is more difficult.¹⁴ It may be, indeed, that I am straining the facts, here, in an effort to round out my group of stories. As solid fact, however, I can point to May's omniscience (which she shares with Alice and Cornelia), to May's protective and overly self-renunciative care of Marcher, and to Marcher's symptomatic inability to wed May.¹⁵ I might point, too, to such passages in the story as these:

He had a screw loose for her, but she liked him in spite of it and was

¹² Cornelia has definite affinities with Alice Staverton, who also represents the mystical virtues of the past. Alice, James tells us, "lived with one maid and herself, dusted her relics and trimmed her lamps and polished her silver; she stood off, in the awful modern crush, when she could, but she sallied forth and did battle when the challenge was really to 'spirit,' the spirit she after all confessed to, proudly and a little shyly, as to that of the better time, that of *their* common, their quite far-away and antediluvian social period and order" (*ibid.*, p. 439).

¹³ *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, CXIX (Oct., 1909), 704.

¹⁴ The symbolic possibilities of May Bartram emerge most fully following her death. Marcher, after prolonged travel (a second quest?) returns to her grave, "the few square feet of earth on which he could still most live." This grave has an obvious metaphysical virtue for Marcher: "He rested without power to move, as if some spring in him, some spell vouchsafed, had suddenly been broken for ever. If he could have done that moment as he wanted he would simply have stretched himself on the slab that was ready to take him, treating it as a place prepared to receive his last sleep" (*ibid.*, XVII, 123). The conclusion of the tale finds Marcher, "instinctively" turned from the spring of the Beast, flung face-down on May's grave. The impulse to return seems fairly manifest here.

¹⁵ It is also worth notation that Dane and his companions in the Place evaded by their retreat a monster perhaps not unrelated to Marcher's lurking Beast: "they sat in silence a little, seeming pleasantly to follow, in the view of the green garden, the vague movements of the monster—madness, surrender, collapse—they had escaped" (*op. cit.*, XVI, 239).

practically, against the rest of the world, his kind wise keeper, unremunerated but fairly amused. . .¹⁶

She was dying and he would lose her; she was dying and his life would end.¹⁷

We must not push verbal echoes or suggestive parallels too far, but May as "kind keeper" assumes a potential mythic stature in the light of what we have seen before in this study, and the second passage hints even at a mother-child interdependency. But these various clues, I repeat, do not make the presence of the symbolic mother an established fact, and I must be content here merely to observe the possibility of her presence. If this tale should finally be ruled out, we still have three definite examples of the archetypal mother-quest as an integrative symbolic element in the work of Henry James. I have suggested that the theme was employed with generally full consciousness on James's part. Even if it was not so employed, of course, the problem for criticism would not be altered. James wrote these stories, and the theme is pretty certainly there. The theme itself, indeed, is perhaps the most interesting abstraction which these tales afford to critical discussion; in three of them it is symbolically crucial; it will, on some level, sum up all the elements of Dane's, White-Mason's, and Brydon's fable. And in the fourth it seems to be at least a strong marginal motif.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XVII, 81.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

¹⁸ An excellent recent analysis of this tale is David Kerner's "A Note on *The Beast in the Jungle*," *University of Kansas City Review*, XVII (Winter, 1950), 109-118.

HOWELLS AND HERNE

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HOWELLS'S FIRST NOTICE of the dramas of James A. Herne was in "The Editor's Study" of *Harper's* for June, 1890. It was a rather extensive article on the state of the American drama, and it had been occasioned by Howells's having seen a performance of Herne's *Drifting Apart*. Howells opened his article with a severe criticism of American dramatic critics for their insistence that American plays must conform to the artificial technique of the French "well-made" plays, with "their extremely neat carpentry, and their carefully adjusted and brilliantly varnished sections." The American critics, Howells said, had "been struck with the ingenious regularity of design in these contrivances" and had formed their dramatic theories upon them to such an extent that they "unanimously undervalued whatever was native or novel in the efforts of our playwrights." The result was, he continued, that American dramatists who wished to portray American life realistically on the stage had been "unnerved" and had been afraid to do more than "compromise with unreality."¹ But while he felt that this tendency to compromise was undoubtedly present in *Drifting Apart*, Howells went on to bestow the highest praise on Herne that he had ever given an American dramatist up to this time: ". . . but upon the whole he has produced a play fresh in motive, pure in tone, high in purpose, and very simple and honest in method. He is one of whom much better things may reasonably be expected, and we do not think he will disappoint even a great expectation."²

Not only had Howells spoken more enthusiastically of Herne than he had ever before spoken of an American dramatist, but twice in the article he had used the phrase "the nascent American drama." All through the seventies and early eighties, as editor of the *Atlantic*, he had ignored the American theater as something beneath critical contempt, and as late as 1887 he had written that "we have no drama, and only the faintest promise of a drama."³ The "faint

¹ *Harper's*, LXXXI, 152-157 (June, 1890).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Harper's*, LXXV, 319 (July, 1887).

promise" had been the work of such men as Harrigan, Hoyt, Burgess, and Thompson (*The Old Homestead*) in its effort to deal "simply, freely, and faithfully" with American life, and in its crude attempt to break away from "the traditional allegiance to intrigue" as that tradition was embodied in the French well-made play. Howells had commented upon the work of these men in "The Editor's Study" for July, 1889, and while admitting that their efforts were primitive, had said that they at least had made efforts toward "the right beginning of an American drama."⁴ Howells made it clear in this article that the work of these men was not intrinsically important, but that the tendency they represented was of the utmost significance for the American drama, a tendency, which, as we have seen, was soon to find a better expression in Herne's *Drifting Apart*.

Throughout this period Howells felt that the bête noire of American drama was the bondage of the American theater to the Sardou-Scribe tradition, because it fatally restricted the presentation of reality on the stage, but by 1889 he saw a promise of liberation for our drama in the good news from Europe of the attempts to establish "free theatres." There were signs of hope in the fact that "in the very home of the highly intrigued drama, where construction has been carried to the last point, it appears to have broken down at last under its own inflexibility. In Paris itself during the past winter the two greatest dramatic events were the production at the Théâtre Libre of Tolstoi's *Powers of Darkness* and Goncourt's *Germinie Lacerteux*."⁵ Van Wyck Brooks's statement that Howells "disliked the theatre as much as he liked the drama," and that "the conditions of the stage were repugnant to him"⁶ is correct only if we keep in mind that the repugnance was to the Sardoudedom to which the American theater was then in bondage. Actually Howells had such a high respect for the theater that he stated more than once that the coming American drama must originate in the theater: "In our time, as in all times, the dramatic poet should be part of the theatre."⁷ And one of the reasons why he had such high hopes of Herne was that, "Born and bred to the theatre, he brings an inti-

⁴ *Harper's*, LXXIX, 319 (July, 1889).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

⁶ *New England: Indian Summer* (New York, 1940), pp. 211-212.

⁷ *Harper's*, LXXIX, 319 (July, 1889).

mate knowledge of its possibilities to his two-fold interpretation of life as a dramatist and as an actor. He has that double equipment in art which, from Shakespeare down, has given the finest results."⁸

Readers of Howells are familiar with the unfavorable picture of the conditions of the contemporary American stage which he gives in his novel *The Story of a Play*. Godolphin, the actor-manager who exemplifies these conditions, had been trained in the "romantic tradition" of the existing theater, and he could not "simplify himself." Maxwell, the young dramatist, exclaims indignantly: "They talk about a knowledge of the stage as if it were a difficult science, instead of a very simple mechanism whose limitations and possibilities any one can seize at a glance. All that their knowledge of it comes to is clap-trap, pure and simple . . . but if you attempt anything out of their tradition they are frightened."⁹ Maxwell's utterances on the subject have all the vehemence of those of Henry James in speaking of his own difficulties with the contemporary stage conditions in England. James said: "The conditions—the theatre question generally—in this country are horrific and unspeakable—utter, and so far as I can see, irreclaimable barbarism reigns."¹⁰ Perhaps it was Howells's disgust with the existing tradition of Sardoudedom that limited his own dramatic writing largely to comedies and farces that had their greatest success with the reading public (they had first appeared in periodicals).¹¹ His only serious drama to reach the stage, his dramatization of *A Foregone Conclusion*, in 1886, had not been successful.¹²

Not only the American critics, most dramatists, the managers, but the public as well were in bondage to a tradition of meretricious unreality which rendered the truthful representation of American life on the stage impossible, he thought. That Howells despaired of the success of a serious play of social criticism on the American stage as late as 1889 is indicated by his review of the Camelot edition

⁸ *Harper's*, LXXXI, 154 (June, 1890).

⁹ *The Story of a Play* (New York, 1898), p. 77.

¹⁰ *Letters of Henry James* (New York, 1920), II, 183.

¹¹ *A Counterfeit Presentment* had first made its appearance in the *Atlantic* in Aug., 1877. While it was actually produced by Lawrence Barrett in Cincinnati in the following fall and again performed by him in December, it did not have, apparently, a history of success on the stage.

¹² See A. H. Quinn, *A History of the American Drama from the Civil War to the Present Day* (New York, 1936), pp. 66-80, for the full and authoritative treatment of Howells as a dramatist.

of Ibsen plays in this year: "These dramas are played in Europe. We fancy them offered to the fat optimism that goes to our theatres only to be 'amused'; but what our average audiences would have to say of them we will not fancy."¹³ Successful plays involving social criticism had appeared on the American stage previous to Herne's *Drifting Apart*, for Bronson Howard had produced *Young Mrs. Winthrop* (1882) and *The Henrietta* (1887), but Howells largely ignored Howard because of the latter's close adherence to the conventional well-made tradition and his enslavement to the idea of a satisfactory denouement at the expense of truth.¹⁴

The "great expectation" which Howells had felt certain Herne "would not disappoint" was fulfilled on May 4, 1891, when Herne's *Margaret Fleming* was produced in Chickering Hall in Boston. By this time Howells, who was then living at 184 Commonwealth Avenue, had met Herne, whose home, when he was not on tour, was at Ashmont, a suburb of Boston. The incidents leading up to the production of the play have been graphically related by Garland and Quinn.¹⁵ When no theater manager in Boston would permit the play to be shown in his theater, Howells joined forces with the "radical" group headed by Flower of the *Arena* and helped Herne hire Chickering Hall. Howells's name is mentioned first by Flower in his account of the fight that was waged by the Boston group to get the play on the stage.¹⁶ Howells's praise of *Margaret Fleming*, while not uncritical, was less qualified than that of the earlier *Drifting Apart*. He called the play "epoch-making," and wrote in the pages of "The Editor's Study":

Briefly, it is a story of a man who is false to his wife. He is a common, average, sensual man; but she is a very uncommon woman. In the end, after cruel suffering, she forgives him; but she no more forgets than a man could forget a wife's infidelity. He is impossible to her; the last

¹³ *Harper's*, LXXVIII, 984-985 (May, 1889). At the time this article was written, only two performances of Ibsen had occurred in America, both adaptations of *A Doll's House*, with happy endings. The first production of *A Doll's House*, unaltered and unexpurgated, was that of Mrs. Richard Mansfield in Boston on Oct. 30, 1889. As late as 1906 William Winter in *Shadows of the Stage, Third Series* said that none of the few Ibsen productions in America had been successful.

¹⁴ Howells's first notice of the work of Howard was in 1901 in connection with *Shenandoah*. See *North American Review*, CLXXII, 468-480 (March, 1901).

¹⁵ See Quinn, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-162; also Garland's articles in the *Arena* for Oct., 1891, the *Century* for Aug., 1914, and in *Roadside Meetings* (1931).

¹⁶ *Arena*, IV, 247-249 (July, 1891).

scene closes with his recognition and acceptance of the fact; and they go their different ways through life, friends, but lovers no more.

The power of this story, as presented in Mr. Herne's everyday phrases and in the naked simplicity of Mrs. Herne's acting of the wife's part, was terrific. It clutched the heart. It was common; it was pitilessly plain; it was ugly; but it was true, and it was irresistible. At times the wife preached, and that was bad; there were passages of the grossest romanticism in the piece, and yet it was a piece of great realism in its whole effect.¹⁷

It is interesting to note that present-day historians of the American drama essentially agree with Howells concerning the importance of this play and of Herne. In 1926 Montrose J. Moses said: "With W. D. Howells, Herne stands the forerunner of American realism."¹⁸ Quinn, in 1927, said that *Margaret Fleming* became "a confession of faith of the realistic movement in America,"¹⁹ and continued: ". . . on looking back we can see that 1890 now seems the beginning of an era. One has only to compare *Men and Women* of Belasco and De Mille, with *Margaret Fleming*, to see the difference between a play distinctly of that period and the work of Herne."²⁰ In the recent *Literary History of the United States* (1948), Sculley Bradley states that "Herne's *Margaret Fleming*, in 1890, marks an epoch,"²¹ and that "Herne had brought realism to the theatre."²²

But at the time Howells stood almost as much alone—among the well-known critics, at least—in championing Herne, as he had in defending Zola. William Winter, the most prominent dramatic critic of the day, called the play "a crude and completely ineffectual piece of hysterical didacticism."²³ The critic of the Boston *Transcript* said that it was "wearisome in its long-drawn-out monotony" and cited as an instance of the play's "illogicality" the conduct of

¹⁷ *Harper's*, LXXXIII, 478-479 (Aug., 1891). Garland insisted that Howells called the play "epoch-marking," not "epoch-making," and subsequent critics and scholars have generally accepted Garland's version. But a copy of the circular announcing the production of *Margaret Fleming* at Chickering Hall, Boston, May 4, 1891, now in the possession of Julie A. Herne, contains a letter from Howells to Herne in which Howells states: "I predict an epoch-making effect for it."

¹⁸ *Representative American Dramas* (Boston, 1926), p. viii.

¹⁹ Quinn; *op. cit.*, p. 140.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

²¹ *Literary History of the United States* (New York, 1948), II, 1015.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 1005.

²³ *Life of David Belasco* (New York, 1918), I, 181.

Margaret, "a monster of morality," in "coldly refusing to take her husband to her heart again even though he was humbly penitent."²⁴ Edward A. Dithmar of the New York *Times* said of the later New York performance that "the life it portrays is sordid and mean, and its effect upon a sensitive mind is depressing," and that "the stage would be a stupid and useless thing if such plays as *Margaret Fleming* were to prevail." Dithmar held Howells responsible for the appearance of the play on the New York stage. The play, he declared, "had come permanently into the public notice because that eminent and authoritative writer, William Dean Howells, has spoken very kindly, in print, of Mr. Herne as a playwright, but we doubt if it will stay."²⁵

Some of the critics cried "Ibsen," and, indeed, the play was written in an "Ibsen climate."²⁶ At least two of Herne's closest friends, Flower and Garland, were active partisans of Ibsen in the controversy then raging over Ibsen's plays, which, in the words of Garland had "amazed and enraged" the American dramatic critics.²⁷ Although Herne at the time of *Margaret Fleming* had never seen an Ibsen play on the stage, he was familiar with his plays, as Julie A. Herne states: "I know that Ibsen and the other great realists of the period—Zola, Sudermann, Howells, Hardy—were all eagerly read by the Hernes, Garland, and their friends, and were frequently and enthusiastically discussed."²⁸ The theme of the play was similar to that of *A Doll's House*; but it also bore some resemblance to that of Howells's realistic study of marital incompatibility, *A Modern Instance* (1882), a widely discussed novel, which Herne admired greatly,²⁹ and to Edward Eggleston's *Roxy* (1878). But Howells did not mention any influence of Ibsen in the play. If he had perceived any borrowing from, or imitation of, Ibsen, we may fairly assume that he would have noted it, since he was never uncritical in his admiration of Herne; and probably no American of his time

²⁴ Boston *Transcript*, May 5, 1891.

²⁵ Quoted from *The American Theatre as Seen by Its Critics* (New York, 1934), ed. M. J. Moses and J. M. Brown, pp. 143, 147.

²⁶ See Quinn, *op. cit.*, p. 140, and Dorothy S. Bucks and Arthur H. Nethercot, "Ibsen and Herne's *Margaret Fleming*: A Study of the Early Ibsen Movement in America," *American Literature*, XVII, 311-313 (Jan., 1946). See also A. H. Quinn, "Ibsen and Herne: Theory and Facts," *American Literature*, XIX, 171-177 (May, 1947).

²⁷ *Arena*, II, 72-82 (June, 1890).

²⁸ Letter to the present writer, Oct. 16, 1949.

²⁹ Julie A. Herne so states in a letter to the present writer, Jan. 6, 1950.

was more familiar with the work of the European realists, including Ibsen, than was Howells. Then, too, his integrity as a critic was as unquestioned then as it is now, and not even his great enthusiasm for realism would have silenced him if he had detected any "echoes" of Ibsen in Herne's work. In fact, Howells's only known reference to Ibsen in connection with the play was in a letter to Herne, now in the possession of Julie A. Herne, in which he said: "While it is wholly and perfectly true in our conditions, it has the same searching moral vitality as Ibsen's best work, and it is most powerfully dramatic."

What Howells found in Herne's work from beginning to end was that "authentic and native excellence," that "truth which is also beauty" which he had declared in "The Editor's Study" for March, 1890, were the "only lines that could give an enduring foundation" to the American drama.³⁰ In *Margaret Fleming* Herne had measurably attained the truthfulness, the freedom from intrigue and artificial contrivance, the reality for which Howells had long contended. In the play Howells found the same simplicity and honesty that he had praised in *Drifting Apart*—but in a far higher degree. For Herne in *Margaret Fleming* had dared to abandon the "satisfactory ending" of his previous plays, and had had the courage to follow the logic of events. He had abandoned "action" for a drama of inwardness, concentrating upon the psychological conflict, and he had given American drama a new heroine—a woman independent, frank, and intelligent. Gone were all the meretricious and artificial paraphernalia of the school of Scribe—the asides, the monologues, the formal expositions, the intricate and ingenious complications—and a new naturalism had taken possession of the American stage.

The critical controversy over Herne's realism that followed upon the production of the play, a controversy in which Howells, as we have seen, played such a prominent part, helped rather than hurt Herne's career as a dramatist, for he went on, as had Henry James, Hamlin Garland, Stephen Crane, and other realists whom Howells championed, to a successful career. Herne's feeling of gratitude was lifelong. Julie A. Herne says: "Howells' sympathy with Herne's

³⁰ *Harper's*, LXXX, 646 (March, 1890).

aims, and his generous public recognition of his work, meant a great deal to Herne.”⁸¹

Herne had felt, ever since he had read *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, that there was a good play in the novel, and as early as 1889 he had suggested that Howells and Garland dramatize it.⁸² Nothing came of the suggested collaboration, and the reason is probably indicated in Howells's letter to Henry James in 1890: “From time to time I yearn towards the stage, but I don't suppose I shall ever do anything for it. The novel is such a *free* fight, you don't want ever afterwards to be tied up to any Queensbury rules.”⁸³ Eight years later Herne still wanted the play, and Howells writes: “Paul Kester and I are dramatizing *Silas Lapham* for Herne, of *Shore Acres*. Paul gets it together, and then I revise it. So far, we've done one act, and he is to bring another this morning. It seems promising, but it all depends upon how Herne sees it. He asked for it, however, and there is a good prospect of his taking it.”⁸⁴

During the period in which the play was being written, the winter of 1897-1898, opportunities for personal conferences with Herne were slight, since he toured the entire winter in the West in *Shore Acres*, making only a few brief visits to New York. And on these occasions it was Kester who conferred with Herne; Julie A. Herne does not recall any meeting between Howells and Herne at this time.⁸⁵

As Howells's letter reveals, it was Kester who was writing the play—Howells was merely revising Kester's work. Howells could hardly have made a more inappropriate choice of dramatist than Kester, if, indeed, choice it was; for Kester, who had taken the initiative in the matter, was a young cousin of Howells on the Welsh side of the family, from Delaware, Ohio, and Howells was known for his extreme kindness to his relatives. Kester, who had had some success on the stage with such plays as *Zamar* (1893) and *The Cousin of the King* (1898), wrote wholly in the romantic “cloak and dagger” tradition, his later efforts being confined to such things as *Sweet Nell of Old Drury* and *When Knighthood Was in Flower*,

⁸¹ Letter to the present writer, Oct. 16, 1949.

⁸² Quinn, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

⁸³ *Life in Letters of William Dean Howells* (New York, 1928), II, 8.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁸⁵ Letter to the present writer, Jan. 6, 1950.

to the dramatized historical romances which were beginning to flood the stage, and of which Howells was to say that they "exposed their spiritual and intellectual nakedness on the stage."³⁶ If Howells was trying to lead the young man into a better way of life he was unsuccessful, for Kester began and ended his undistinguished career as a dramatist in the conventional romantic tradition.

Howells's final mention of the dramatization of *Silas Lapham* was in a letter to Clemens in August, 1898: "I wish I could see some of your plays, in MS. if not on the stage. I have been fool enough to do one (*Silas Lapham*) for an actor who wanted it—and doesn't. I wonder how any one can be at once so innocent and so sinful, as I am. While I was working at that thing I piled up the riches until I felt as safe from poverty as if I had laid up treasure in heaven."³⁷ The Kester dramatization of *Silas Lapham* has disappeared (Mildred Howells was unable to find it for Professor Quinn when he was writing his *History*), and it was never produced: Julie A. Herne tells why Herne rejected it: "We all³⁸ read and discussed the script and thought it disappointing. Herne suggested some changes which Howells would not consent to, and the project was dropped. I recall that my father told me that Howells said he was 'perfectly satisfied' with Kester's dramatization. I remember that we all loved the book and agreed that the play lacked the qualities that made the book great. The famous episode of the dinner, where Silas gets drunk, was the only effective scene in it, and the only one that remains in my memory."³⁹ The strong dramatic possibilities which Herne saw in *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, the most structurally perfect of all Howells's novels, with its highly individualized characters, its deep moral issue, its absorbing struggle of opposing forces, its love story, and its comedy of social disparity, were not to find

³⁶ *North American Review*, CLXXII, 468-480 (March, 1901).

³⁷ *Life in Letters*, II, p. 96.

³⁸ The close collaboration between Herne and his exceptionally talented wife, Katherine, and in his later years with his daughters, Chrystal and Julie, is probably unique in the history of the American stage. Howells was highly enthusiastic about "the rare dramatic gifts" of the Herne family and spoke of Julie as "delicately conscientious and pleasing" with "her pretty and winning art."

³⁹ Letters to the present writer, Oct. 16, 1949, and Dec. 12, 1949. During the season of 1897-1898, while he was on tour with *Shore Acres*, Herne was very busy rewriting the script of *Griffith Davenport*, which he produced the following season; the rewriting kept him busily occupied during the summer of 1898, Julie A. Herne recalls.

dramatic form until the Lillian Sabine play of 1919, which Quinn saw and found very satisfactory.⁴⁰

Howells's last notice of Herne was written during the season in which Herne was having a great success in *Sag Harbor*, the spring of 1901, the year of Herne's untimely death. The notice was typical: it was not uncritical—the play was by no means perfect—but Herne's dramas represented a great advance, and Howells was by now definitely optimistic about the future of American drama. He said: "At no period of our dramatic history—the term is rather large—has there been so much prospect and so much performance of actual and potential excellence. We have actually advanced, and things are done now by both playwrights and players, and received as matters of cool expectation, which lately would have been acclaimed as surprising triumphs."⁴¹

The true line of advance for the American drama—the road of sincerity and reality in the portrayal of the actualities of American life—had been largely pioneered by Herne; and Howells, some twelve years back, had been the first important critic to proclaim him and to fight for him and for what he represented. Unable to achieve the ideal fully in a serious drama of his own, Howells had encouraged and helped the men who, with stage experience behind them, were trying to make the American drama a serious criticism of life; and as a critic he had exercised a more important influence on the development of the American drama than he was probably aware of.

⁴⁰ Letter to the present writer, Dec. 8, 1949.

⁴¹ *North American Review*, CLXXII, 480 (March, 1901).

THE EARLIER PSYCHOLOGISTS AND POE

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I

THERE NEVER HAS BEEN much doubt that something was very much the matter with Edgar Allan Poe. A man who by his own admission frequently drank the little more than he was able to handle ("I drank,—God knows how much I drank!") and who experienced periods of actual and well-documented "insanity" late in his life, during which he saw truly terrifying horrors which were not there, and who in the same life wrote strange poems and stories which were and continue to be widely read, could hardly escape the interpretative curiosity of those who came and come after him. Modern theorists would not hesitate long before speculating if nothing were known of his erratic and tortured career, for his work alone urges that something was wrong with its author. His stories, especially, teem with excruciating torture of self and of others, swarm with beautiful dying women who become the more exquisite as the more emaciated, and frankly admit, occasionally, the hyperactive "imp of the perverse" which so often prompted them. Actually, though, a good deal has long been known, or at least believed, about that difficult life and career, and thus a list of those who have published their explanations of the trouble with Poe would take us back to his own lifetime.

This guesswork, rather enlightened at times; and rather oftener not so, has concerned itself generally with the biographical question of what was wrong with him, and the clearly related question, of concern to all serious readers—however wary of genetic fallacies—of the genesis of his work. These are proper questions. The problem of what makes people do what they do is of general and legitimate interest. Moreover, an understanding of what any piece of writing may ultimately "mean" is a thorny but crucial problem. And here an understanding of its author—when one can be gained—is often very useful. Very numerous theories attempting to explain Poe have been put forward in print steadily now for a century, and

fall into two groups: those which cannot be called in any meaningful sense "Freudian," and those which can. It is our interest here to look over a selection of explanations of the earlier kind, leaving the psychoanalytic ventures for another day. Some of the earlier attempts are silly, though once in a while charming; some are suggestive. In a rough sort of way most of them illustrate the rise of psychology in nineteenth-century America, in the hands of both amateurs and professionals, from extremely crude beginnings to a little more sophistication and knowledge, but finally to a rather dead-looking end from which a newer psychology was to claim a way out.

Nonpsychoanalytic theories about Poe by no means disappear with the nineteenth century, however, and the mention of a few of the comparatively recent ones suggests the nearly unlimited range the speculator may even now wander in. A most recent attempt to explain the man argues that he was really a frustrated actor, that the theater was a dominating influence in shaping both his personality and his work.¹ Another notion, uttered with supreme conviction a quarter-century ago, is that the original cause of all the poet's trouble lay in an unsatisfactory marriage and home life.² Then there is what seems to have been for a long time the traditional French view, dating back to Baudelaire and D'Aurevilly, both of whom enunciated it rather complacently, that the warp in the admired author came at the hands of a strictly utilitarian America not equipped to understand and appreciate him.³ Though one may be predisposed to sympathy toward this conception, remembering the fact that Poe was often rather badly treated here, it really seems a kind of wishfully chauvinistic view for the French to take, since—to cite but a single instance—Baudelaire (the "French Poe") was himself in trouble with the French law for his poetry. A last example of the diversity of attempts to explain this victim of American folkways—or simply, in this case, the meaning of his work—should be Diana Pittman's breathless revelation of 1941.⁴ This was

¹ N. Bryllion Fagin, *The Histrionic Mr. Poe* (Baltimore, 1949).

² F. D. Bond, "The Problem of Poe," *Open Court*, XXXVII, 216-223 (April, 1923).

³ Paul Yvon, "Barbey D'Aurevilly et Edgar Poe," *Mémoires de l'Académie nationale de Caen*, n. s. III, 205-221 (1926).

⁴ Diana Pittman, "Key to the Mystery of Edgar Allan Poe," *Southern Literary Messenger*, n. s. III, 367-377, 418-424 (Aug.-Sept., 1941); 502-509 (Oct.-Nov., 1941).

This was apparently the fruit of a lifetime of research. Tensely the scholar describes the

the discovery that just about all of Poe's work is really a coded allegory—of propagandist efforts in connection with British Reform. An account of the true meaning of such a tale as "The Fall of the House of Usher" best illustrates the theory in action. "Here is the decline of the British Constitution and the separation of the Church and State symbolized by twin brother and sister. Undoubtedly Poe is picturing the turbulent Parliamentary Reform era which culminated in the passage of the Reform Bill in 1832, in London." The name of Usher symbolizes the British peerage. The "tarn" is the Thames, etc. The articles sparkle with such subtleties as: "Usher improvised 'the last waltz of Von Weber' (WEBer) because he knew it was the last WEB of Tory design his fingers would ever weave."⁵

II

Simpler and in many ways less clodhoppered ingenuities go back into Poe's own day, but begin most significantly with the posthumous first edition of *The Works of the Late Edgar Allan Poe*, with the introductory essays by Lowell, Griswold, and N. P. Willis,—"these three horny-eyed dunces," an early reviewer called them somewhat harshly.⁶ It was of course Griswold's notorious "Memor" which started the trouble, because for many years writers contemplated Poe with nothing more to go on than it and his work, and very few thought to question the likeness it painted. Griswold perceived that Poe's drunkenness was pathological, but he was a stern man and quick to make it clear that the poet's defects were of character, not circumstance—the result, he felt, of too much freedom in the early years. The editor was careful to outline a personality at least part mad, but not so mad that one might not hold him responsible for his behavior, which—as Griswold gave it—needed a lot of explaining.

drama of her pursuit, her trip to England. When the ship on which she was returning to this country with her evidence was stopped by a submarine late in 1939 (in connection with some international difficulty), she responded with alacrity, and cached her notes in a life preserver. The ruse was successful, the article was written, and now "A whole field of gifted writers will be needed to complete what I have been privileged to begin. . . ."

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 503.

⁶ *The Works of the Late Edgar Allan Poe: With Notices of His Life and Genius*, by N. P. Willis, J. R. Lowell, and R. W. Griswold, III (New York, 1850). The vitriolic reviewer has been identified as John Moncure Daniel. See the *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVI, 172-187 (March, 1850).

Thus the article on which was based so much interpretation of Poe as a man—and even of the writing he did—provided plenty of material for people to try to account for, and also offered no very satisfactory theory of its own which might arrest speculation. In the same edition of the Works, moreover, N. P. Willis's "Death of Edgar A. Poe" opened the door by giving what turned out to be a suggestion for an early "theory," which, unlike Griswold's supposition (too much youthful freedom), was to be accepted and extended by others. Willis disclaimed any firsthand experience of the diabolical in Poe, but gathered that he was occasionally insane, and—perhaps without thinking much about it—remarked that he was "inhabited by both a devil and an angel."⁷ This conceivably offhand phrase was the first in a series of crude psychologies which we may call "Daemonic," the idea being that Dr. Jekyll contained a Mr. Hyde who was responsible for Jekyll's misbehavior, and for the stranger aspects of his writing.

A Scotch cleric, George Gilfillan, was quick to accept this notion; it was not that Poe was mad, exactly (for this might tend toward apology), but that he was indeed possessed by a "demon." Not that this was so unusual, said Gilfillan, giving it all he had. Poe, a genius, did not differ from other poets in kind, but in degree: "Poets as a tribe have been a rather worthless, wicked set of people; and certainly Edgar A. Poe . . . was probably *the* most worthless and wicked of all his fraternity." Without revealing what it means to be certainly probably something, he snarled: "Poe's heart was as rotten as his conduct was infamous . . . a cool, calculating, deliberate blackguard . . . a swine."⁸

Gilfillan, however forceful, did not have the last word on this theme. Years later Charles F. Briggs explained the poet in Jekyll-Hyde terms,⁹ and the prize exhibit of the school did not appear until Oliver Leigh's cleverly written book, a type of phrenological sport, came out in 1906.¹⁰ Leigh started with the observation that few faces are so irregular in each half as was Poe's, and in attempting to get at his mind by examining his face he found the contradictory temperament revealed in its dissimilar halves. By conscienc-

⁷ *Works*, I, xiv.

⁸ George Gilfillan, *A Third Gallery of Poets* (New York, 1855), pp. 326-327.

⁹ Charles F. Briggs, "The Personality of Poe," *Independent*, XXIX, 1-2 (Dec., 1877).

¹⁰ Oliver Leigh, *Edgar Allan Poe: The Man: The Master: The Martyr* (Chicago, 1906).

tiously manipulating some pictures according to the author's directions, the reader can scrutinize the representations to get a clear perception—whatever he intends to do with it—that the two sides of the poet's head—especially of the forehead—matched very badly indeed. The swelled side was the source of the unbalance, the grotesque and strange, explained Mr. Leigh; the square side housed the builder and technician.

Not all the people who saw a "split" in Poe carried it so far. Back in 1853 R. H. Stoddard found the poet's temperament peculiar and decided it was that the man had brain but no heart. This led to depravity, insanity, and the production of sick and morbid work. But Stoddard was not so complacent about this as to think that such writing had nothing to say to the sane, and in a sentence which sounds remarkably like the psychoanalysts who were to come almost three-quarters of a century later he speculated that this kind of literature "mercilessly exposes the depths and secrets of the heart, laying bare to the eyes of all what but few are strong enough to survey unharmed—the black gulfs and chasms of our spiritual nature."¹¹

Griswold's "Memoir" received further dignifying from another quarter. In 1857 Andrew Wilson, of the faculty at the University of Edinburgh, rejuvenated the search for an explanation of Poe in his "Infanti Perduti."¹² He had little to add for himself on the subject of Poe's "Insanity," but apparently he stimulated others to speculate anew. One reaction, somewhat delayed, was a loud scoffing. In Ireland, James Purves read Wilson, and termed the notion that Poe was insane "nonsensical," for the somewhat puzzling reason that to call the man this would take his "manliness" from him. Purves became no less confusing as he proceeded with Poe, arguing that, besides, madness "always shows itself in the man's writings, and who will in the wide world be found to assert that he wrote anything which shows signs of such a disease?" The suspicion that Purves might have had Poe confused with some other writer, perhaps Pope, is quickly weakened when he shows

¹¹ R. H. Stoddard, "Edgar Allan Poe," *National Magazine*, II, 200 (March, 1853). Stoddard was anticipated here by a line in Lowell's "Fable for Critics" (1848) which remarked of Poe: "the heart somehow seems all squeezed out by the mind. . . ."

¹² Andrew Wilson, "Infanti Perduti," *Edinburgh Essays*, by Members of the University (Edinburgh, 1857).

himself informed correctly of the author's nationality by claiming more greatness for his poet than for Emerson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, or Lowell. He concluded that Poe is perhaps "the universal American genius,"¹³ and thus by making the American writer sane he manages to unsettle all his compatriots, a trade about which many of them may be uncomfortable.

III

From Wilson and Griswold, however, also came the work of a psychologist, Henry Maudsley, and with his notions we move to a group of writers whose speculations may in some loose sense be called "scientific." For the most part they represent rather determined efforts—chiefly of the nineteenth century—to regard mental peculiarities in a rigidly mechanistic way. Maudsley himself was Medical Superintendent of the Manchester Royal Lunatic Hospital, and a famous psychologist, although for him a mental disease was a "brain" disease, and the only causes for lunacy he could admit—like overwork or the overexertion of some function—probably sound more physiological than "psychological" today. But such theories are hard to assess, with contemporary scientists often in flat disagreement with each other on such questions as the significance, say, of heredity. One school would flatly deny that insanity, drunkenness, and the like can be inherited; another group flatly denies the denial.¹⁴

However such questions are eventually decided by medical research, Dr. Maudsley was not hesitant with the facts as he saw them. He was dissatisfied with those who failed to find extenuating circumstances for Poe's character, black as it seemed. These circumstances, he argued, are to be found in his *heredity*, for "infirmities of mind are transmitted from parent to child by a law as sure and constant as any physical infirmity."¹⁵ Moral disease descends from parent to child as surely as does consumption; Maudsley quoted no less an authority than the established scientist Nathaniel Hawthorne, in order to back himself up in this. He also considered the period

¹³ James Purves, "Edgar Allan Poe's Works," *Dublin University Magazine*, LXXXVI, 296-306 (Sept., 1875).

¹⁴ See, for example, Amram Scheinfeld, *You and Heredity* (New York, 1939), and George W. Gray, "Brain Storms and Brain Waves," *The Advancing Front of Medicine* (New York, 1941).

¹⁵ Henry Maudsley, M.D., "Edgar Allan Poe," *American Journal of Insanity*, XVII, 167 (Oct., 1860).

of Mrs. Poe's gestation, for "before the child is born, it is certain that its after-constitution may be seriously affected by its mother's state of mind." A sudden fright in the mother may become a "permanent and, as it were, a natural constitutional defect in the offspring."¹⁶ Be this as it may (there are medical persons who would support something like this notion today), Dr. Maudsley, after noting one more source of trouble (the lack of a faith in God), considered the matter closed. Many have agreed with him, for the theory that the strange personality which produced the strange writing was the result of a defective heredity has the supreme advantage that it is easy, and seems to stop further troublesome speculation. And thus presumably it is that it has become rather traditional with biographers and critics (Émile Lauvrière and Mary Phillips, to name only two) who wish to write about Poe but who do not really wish to bother with trying to find out what was the matter with him. Such works speak of "innate psycho-neurosis" or "hypersensitive nerve heritage," sometimes condescend to mention with a shudder less glib explanations, and rush along. Even John W. Robertson in "A Psychopathic Study" of Poe, published in 1921, can really go no farther than this. Dr. Robertson, an experienced neurologist, insisted that he had "'psychologized' many thousands of insane persons" but could himself not go beyond, etiologically, a "bad heredity." This, he felt, led to alcoholism, which finally damaged the brain.¹⁷

On the problem of alcohol, Poe himself had something to say. One psychiatrist has regretted that Poe did not enter the field of science "where his psychological gifts and uncanny insight might have given us so much sound discovery rather than rich pleasure,"¹⁸ and an earlier writer, Dr. William Lee Howard, credited Poe with a scientific discovery of great value in that he was the first to define the disease, dipsomania, from which he suffered.¹⁹ Actually, what the poet had done was very early to make a distinction which has today become so accepted as to be commonplace. He said, "my enemies referred the insanity to the drink rather than the drink to

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 167-168.

¹⁷ John W. Robertson, M.D., *Edgar A. Poe* (San Francisco, 1921).

¹⁸ Arthur N. Foxe, M.D., "Poe as Hypnotist," *Psychoanalytic Review*, XXVIII, 525 (Oct., 1941).

¹⁹ William Lee Howard, M.D., "Poe and His Misunderstood Personality," *Arena*, XXXI, 78 (Jan., 1904).

the insanity"—a perception which waited a long time to be generally recognized as such.

Arvède Barine in her *Essais de littérature pathologique* devoted a chapter to "L'Alcool: Edgar Poe." Citing medical "authority" she regarded the poet's alcoholism as a "simple poisoning," "a particular form of instinctive monomania," whose origin lies in heredity, and which provided Poe with some of his strange effects. She laid part of the blame on uncomprehending compatriots so newly come to intellectual life, but she found the "organic malformation" the chief source of his peculiar genius. When Poe, in refutation of the charge that his work was too much influenced by certain foreign writers, claimed that terror was "not of Germany, but of the soul," "il disait vrai."²⁰ Norman Douglas has taken a simpler but similar view, thinking it probable that some of Poe's "best writings are the direct result of alcohol";²¹ W. C. Brownell thought that alcohol was doubtless responsible for most of the writer's troubles, and also fancied that he saw pronounced effects of its use on the writing.²²

Brownell, however, protested that aesthetic effects produced by drink are quite inferior to those which can be produced by drugs; and despite the fact that there exists no certain evidence that Poe habitually used drugs (and there are reasons to think that he did not), Jeanette Marks's *Genius and Disaster: Studies in Drugs and Genius* traced many of Poe's personal difficulties and much of his work to the habit. "Every paragraph of 'The Fall of the House of Usher' writes itself down as drug work," in her opinion.²³

Marks attributed the actual insanity, not to drugs alone, but to their impact on the "brain lesion" which Poe's physician, Dr. Mott, diagnosed at his death. Others have accepted this diagnosis (mostly on faith): apparently this is part of an attempt to demolish the last vestiges of the "supernatural," wherever they might be found, by

²⁰ Arvède Barine, "Essais de Littérature Pathologique: L'Alcool: Edgar Poe," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, CXLII, 336-373 (July, 1897).

²¹ Norman Douglas, "Edgar Allan Poe from an English Point of View," *Putnam's Monthly*, V, 436 (Jan., 1909).

²² W. C. Brownell, *American Prose Masters* (New York, 1909), p. 230.

²³ Jeanette Marks, *Genius and Disaster: Studies in Drugs and Genius* (New York, 1925), p. 21. Thomas Dunn English, M.D., may be cited as evidence that Poe did not use drugs habitually. English knew the poet rather well, and did not like him very much, but he thought this charge a "baseless slander." See his "Reminiscences of Poe," *Independent*, XLVIII, 1-2 (Oct., 1896).

discovering purely tangible, physical causes for all abnormal behavior. It is odd, in this connection, that no one seems to have made very much of the possibility of attributing Poe's trouble to syphilis—perhaps congenital—for the disease could not be diagnosed in his lifetime, and his behavior suggested what we now know as late symptoms of that ailment. Instead, there is the theory of "cerebral" or "psychic" epilepsy.

Francis G. Fairchild was the first to urge this theory, and he attributed both Poe's writing and conduct to it, even to the point of finding his later tales based upon hallucinations incident to that malady. No one could have written "Usher," the theorist felt, without either being subject to the disease, or else anticipating "all the discoveries and observations of the last quarter of a century" since it was written. Anticipating more modern psychologists himself, Fairchild had the idea that if we knew the exact order of production of the poems and stories, it would not be difficult to construct "a kind of psychological biography" of their author. He believed that the disease was inherited, cited a "learned master in psychological medicine," one Dr. Anstie, and let the problem go.²⁴

Dr. W. L. Howard called Poe's difficulty "psychic epilepsy," finding the dipsomaniacal attacks "symptoms of disorganized brain cells . . . poisoned at irregular intervals by the bi-products of the physiologic system which are retained in the body through a lack of perfect functioning of the nerve cells' faulty metabolism. These toxic materials are accumulative, and when they reach a certain potency, overpower the will . . . and we have temporary insanity. . . ."²⁵ Phrases like poisonous "bi-products of the physiologic system" are pretty vague, but it may well be that the layman is not competent to judge such a medical hypothesis. And, with such an analysis as this, we enter into a controversy that seems at present to exist over the question of the physiological origins of mental abnormality, for Dr. Howard's words sound very like a primitive statement of a modern theory which argues that there is much evidence to show that a predisposition to epilepsy may indeed be inherited, and that epilepsy itself *is* an effect of disordered body chemistry.²⁶

²⁴ Francis G. Fairchild, "A Mad Man of Letters," *Scribner's Monthly*, X, 690-699 (Oct., 1875).

²⁵ Howard, "Poe and His Misunderstood Personality," p. 79.

²⁶ Gray, "Brain Storms and Brain Waves."

Yet, although the literary man may be incompetent to judge of such matters, he nevertheless might feel with Benjamin Franklin that "this doctrine tho' it might be true, was not very useful"—not useful, that is, for literary purposes. Poe certainly did not write while suffering the kind of attack Howard had in mind, and since Fairchild did not show in any way just how "epileptic hallucinations" are the basis of the later tales, one may remain skeptical. Some theories (alcoholism, drug addiction) might have thrown light on the writing, but in the hands of the theorists did not go past assertion into demonstration; this one also seems not to. And so on such a negative note our search comes here somewhat abruptly to a halt, with the rather discouraging conclusion that no really useful answer to the reader's question of the trouble with Poe may be found in the practitioners of pre-Freudian psychology.

IV

But there is still a way of accounting for Poe's work, at least, which is well within the province of literary people. This way seems at first to say nothing at all about the man's personality, but possibly a great deal about how his poems and tales became what they are. It is concerned primarily with showing the literary forces which influenced the work; the efforts of various scholars in this direction have satisfied many students of Poe. In this connection, for example, Palmer Cobb showed the influence of Hoffmann (and possibly of Ann Radcliffe) on the American.²⁷ Killis Campbell has found many likely sources for a good deal of Poe's work in the newspapers and magazines which were available to the author.²⁸ The relevance of such traditional research here is that it provides at least a partial alternative to the purely "psychological" origins given by other writers: perhaps the lover of Berenice pulled all the teeth out of the dead girl's mouth, not because Poe used drugs or alcohol or was possessed of a demon or epilepsy, but because he had read of such an event in a Baltimore newspaper,²⁹ thought the idea rather horrible—as might any one—and wanted, after the fashion

²⁷ Palmer Cobb, "The Influence of E. T. A. Hoffmann on the Tales of Edgar Allan Poe," *University of North Carolina Studies in Philology*, III (Chapel Hill, 1908).

²⁸ Killis Campbell, *The Mind of Poe and Other Studies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933). See also the first chapter of Margaret Alterton's *Origins of Poe's Critical Theory*, *University of Iowa Studies*, II (April, 1925).

²⁹ There was such an account. See Campbell, *The Mind of Poe*, p. 167.

of the time—and to get money—to write a horror story. His own burlesque, "How to Write a Blackwood Article," might be taken to support such a view, and this was substantially the notion of Napier Wilt, who once introduced a little evidence to show that Poe often wrote his stories for the exclusive purpose of making money. "If the use of horror in fiction can be taken as an indication of horror in the mind of the author," he commented, "then most of the tale-writers of the first half of the nineteenth century were verging on insanity."³⁰

It is not hard to find flaws in this apparently sobering argument. If we exclude those authors whose use of horror was patently perfunctory and mechanical, and who are now therefore largely forgotten, it would indeed be possible to construct a long list of writers of the period who were "verging on insanity." In addition, Wilt took at full face value Poe's word that he often wrote only to make money; he ignored the rather personal poems without showing why they should be more personal than the stories; he assumed that what a man may have done for money is of necessity not revealing of himself; and he ignored the fact that there *was* horror in Poe's mind, according to his own insistence which was corroborated by others, and that he *was* in his last years at least occasionally "out of" that mind.³¹

However, this general approach can be meaningful, and while still concerning themselves with literary influences other critics have widened it and made it more subtle. Van Wyck Brooks, for example, first mentioned a bad heredity, a bad early environment, and even perhaps a bad gestation, as possible causes of the nervous derangement which was to show up in the morbid and obsessive images to be found in the poems and tales of Poe, but he urged that this writing also sprang from a literary mood of the period. "A young woman dying of consumption . . . one might say, was a typical reality of the time. . . . Poe was quite in the tone of the time in presenting 'the death of a beautiful woman' as the most poetic of all themes."³²

³⁰ Napier Wilt, "Poe's Attitude Toward His Tales: A New Document," *Modern Philology*, XXV, 105 (Aug., 1927).

³¹ This fact is convincingly documented. See, for example John Sartain, "Some Reminiscences of Edgar Allan Poe," *Lippincott's Monthly*, XLIII, 411-415 (March, 1889).

³² Van Wyck Brooks, *The World of Washington Irving* (New York, 1944), p. 354.

The monumental effort in this direction, however, is Mario Praz's *The Romantic Agony*,³³ that monstrous compendium of curious erudition. To speak here only of the lines devoted off and on in the book to Poe, the burden of Praz's effort can be made to claim that however unlikely it might at first appear, Poe's "terror" was *not* so much of the "soul," but was indeed of Germany—and several other countries. The Italian scholar found the sources for literature in literature, and in the taste of a "Romantic" or "Decadent" period.

A complete list of all the "abnormal tendencies" which a psychologist might leap on in Poe but which Praz shows also to have been epidemic in the period would be very long. The poet's obsession, for instance, with beautiful, dying ladies might seem very personal, possibly tracing back to his own experiences of this event, yet there are heroines before Poe who are admired for—and not despite—their sick bodies. In the same way, beauty tainted with pain, corruption, horror, and death was, as we well know, all over Europe a century ago. The heavy overtone of incest in Roderick Usher's concern for his dying twin sister Madeline may bear some relation to the man who called his sick child-wife (who was his cousin) "Sis," but the subject of incest was everywhere, too; the love of brother and sister was a favorite German theme. Art's imitation of life is reciprocated: "there are some who even go so far as to say that Byron's incest with his half-sister was a plagiarism."³⁴ Byron, an early favorite of the man who created Roderick, was never so happy, according to Praz, as when he could see shadows of death blighting a love affair, and he could only feel love for one who closely resembled him. Baudelaire wrote, "Chez les Incas on aimait sa soeur; contentez-vous de votre cousine,"³⁵ almost defining Poe's marriage, from one point of view.

And so it goes. The fascination in Poe with what we should call both sadism and masochism might seem to lead to conclusions about his separate human problems, but sadism was the *mal du*

³³ Mario Praz, *The Romantic Agony* (London, 1933).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

³⁵ Quoted by Praz, *op. cit.*, p. 146. If it should be argued that this all misses the odd "sexlessness" of Poe's writing, then Praz can be called on to show that even this peculiar mixture of the immediately sexless and yet ultimately lascivious (however sterile) has also many precedents.

siecle; Poe's remark on his own "perversity" (in "The Black Cat") might equally well have been made by any number of people who wrote fiction both before and after him. Poe's persecuted women, perhaps so revealing of his own difficulties, were part of a whole tradition which started with *Clarissa Harlowe*, as Praz effectively demonstrates, and soon went berserk in France. Almost all of Poe can be found not only in many other writers but also even in Delacroix, who had never read Poe until Baudelaire called his attention to the resemblance, whereupon the painter investigated and then agreed that it was a fact.³⁶

But however impressive such a thesis may be when supported by a plethora of evidence, there is one problem which such an approach as this can of course not deal with, and that is how it happens that Longfellow, another widely read poet, wrote "Evangeline" instead of "Ulalume," and Cooper, instead of creating Roderick Usher, came up with Natty Bumppo. Praz—speaking of a writer's *predisposition* to receive morbid notions—must have known this, but he cannot say why one man is so "predisposed" when another is not, and thus the question seems ultimately to fall back onto the lap of the psychologist who, ideally, could say why. That this man did not rest comfortably under this burden, however, should be apparent by now. It was not until the interpretation of literature and writers was undertaken by people equipped with newer doctrines than nineteenth-century psychology could avail itself of, that the psychologist—now become psychoanalyst—would be ready to shake the burden from his lap, place it on the couch, and attempt new answers to the old problem of the trouble with Edgar Poe.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

EMILY DICKINSON AND SIR THOMAS BROWNE

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I

ON APRIL 25, 1862, in her second letter to Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Emily Dickinson made the most explicit statement regarding her reading that is to be found in her literary remains. On April 15 she had mailed him her famous request for advice about the writing of verse, and apparently Colonel Higginson in his reply had asked about her reading. "You inquire my books," she answered. "For poets, I have Keats, and Mr. and Mrs. Browning. For prose, Mr. Ruskin, Sir Thomas Browne, and the Revelations."¹

Although she referred to Robert Browning at least four other times in her published letters,² and to Mrs. Browning three times³ in addition to the two poems she wrote about Mrs. Browning,⁴ and to the Book of Revelation in two other letters to Higginson,⁵ there are no further references in any of her writings to Keats, Ruskin, or Sir Thomas Browne. No complete investigation of the problem of Emily Dickinson can afford to ignore the possible influence upon her of all these six and of all other authors whom she mentions, but it is curious that such a bookish person—she continually refers to authors and books in her correspondence—should give these three a kind of parade listing here and never mention them again.

Miss Dickinson's chief biographer, Professor George F. Whicher, inferred from her statement and from Browne's activities and mental qualities that Sir Thomas "was obviously her spiritual kinsman."⁶ Whicher quoted approvingly from the Swarthmore College honors

¹ Mabel Loomis Todd (ed.), *Letters of Emily Dickinson* (New York and London, 1931), p. 273.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 225, 277, 300, 302.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 221, 278, 287.

⁴ Martha Dickinson Bianchi and Alfred Leete Hampson (eds.), *The Poems of Emily Dickinson* (Boston, 1937), pp. 253; lxxxvii; 394: xxxiii.

⁵ *Letters*, pp. 301, 312.

⁶ *This Was a Poet* (New York and London, 1939), p. 211.

thesis of Miss Margery McKay, who first drew attention to some of the supposed parallels between Browne and Emily Dickinson.⁷ Similarly Professor Henry W. Wells stated that

Very naturally she fell under the spell of Thomas Browne's powerful imagination, by which her poems are influenced much as by Shakespeare. Too original to be a mere copyist, she fully assimilated her own reading in both authors.⁸

In short, the most reliable students of Emily Dickinson have believed that there is some sort of textual, spiritual, or psychological relationship between her and Sir Thomas Browne. This article is therefore an attempt at a more detailed inquiry than any yet made into the possibility and nature of this relationship.⁹

II

In another letter to Colonel Higginson, Miss Dickinson has indicated to us her fastidiousness in regard to borrowing: "I marked a line in one verse, because I met it after I made it, and I never consciously touch a paint mixed by another person."¹⁰ To an honest writer it is, of course, a matter of principle not to use any combination of words derived from another writer. Careful readers of Emily Dickinson's poems will probably agree that she was even

⁷ Margery McKay Cridland, "'Amazing Sense': The Application of a New Method to the Poetry of Emily Dickinson." Swarthmore College MS thesis, 1936. The discussion of Sir Thomas Browne is in the section called "Definition," pp. 1-10, inserted between pp. 21 and 22. In addition to the copy in the Swarthmore Library, another copy, according to Whicher, is in the Jones Library at Amherst.

⁸ *Introduction to Emily Dickinson* (Chicago, 1947), p. 127.

⁹ In what form was Browne probably available to Miss Dickinson? Five of the editions of his works published in the nineteenth century were British and three were American. Of these eight, the ones most likely to have been in her father's library at Amherst were Wilkin's collected edition (1835 and 1836); a collection of Browne's miscellaneous works issued in 1831 at Cambridge (Massachusetts) by Hilliard and Brown as Vol. III of the *Library of the Old English Prose Writers*; and the edition of *Religio Medici* and other works edited by James T. Fields and published at Boston by Ticknor and Fields in 1862. (See Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Sir Thomas Browne Kt., M.D.*, Cambridge Univ. Press [1924], pp. 25-29, 76.) Examination of the Fields edition shows that it was prepared late in 1861 and published early in 1862. An interesting speculation arises: Mr. Edward Dickinson might have bought it before April 25, the date of the letter to Higginson. If so, Emily Dickinson thus might have mentioned to Higginson only her *current* reading, i.e., Browne, Ruskin, the Brownings, etc.

The question could probably be settled by a search in the extant Dickinson library, but a letter (1949) to the then heir and owner brought no reply. Perhaps, now that a large portion of the Dickinson manuscripts and possessions are at Harvard, this and many other questions about Emily Dickinson can be answered.

¹⁰ *Letters*, p. 278.

more chary of using other people's words than were other poets. This self-reliance is obvious both in her technique and in her subject matter. Evidently, for example, she was a lifelong reader of Shakespeare, but there are no incontrovertible examples of Shakespeare's influence in her verse. It would be a source of surprise, then, to find her unmistakably borrowing an idea or a phrase from Sir Thomas Browne.¹¹ Nevertheless there are certain possible verbal echoes of Sir Thomas in her poetry.

1. *The underside of God's divinity.* Whicher¹² called attention to the similarity between the passage

parts of His far plan
That baffled me—the underside
Of His divinity.¹³

and a similar passage in Section 13 of the *Religio Medici*: "we are ignorant of the back-parts or lower side of his divinity."¹⁴ But in a letter of April 25, 1949, Professor Whicher stated that both authors may be referring to the parent passage in Exodus 33: 23: "... and thou shalt see my back parts: but my face shall not be seen." The phrase "of His divinity" and the words "lower side" in Browne and "underside" in Emily Dickinson are, however, not in Scripture. The tone of the two passages indicates the sort of playful *lèse majesté* that is characteristic of both authors. She may have taken the wording from Browne.

2. *Circumference.* Miss McKay first pointed out the interesting uses of the word "circumference" in both authors.¹⁵ It is difficult to ascertain the exact meaning in each place of this and other words found in both authors. Both of them seem to give "circumference" a range of meaning from the basic *bound* or *circuit* of a circle, to the *area* or *space* that the circle encloses, to, in Miss Dickinson, a kind of transcendental space-time, as in the poem:

Time feels so vast
That were it not for an Eternity
I fear me this Circumference
Engross my Finity

¹¹ Cf. Whicher, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-224.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Poems*, p. 297: xxxix.

¹⁴ Geoffrey Keynes (ed.), *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne* (London and New York, 1928-1931), I, 18. All references to Browne's works are to this edition.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. a-d.

To His exclusion
 Who prepares by rudiments of size
 For the stupendous volume
 Of his Diameter.¹⁶

At any rate, "circumference" is one of her favorite words. She used it oftener than Browne and carried it further from its basic meaning, but we cannot say that she unmistakably took it from Browne.

3. *Hermetic*. Possibly this word, although so far as I know it occurs only once in Emily Dickinson, is a closer indication that she used Browne than any other. In Section 14 of *Religio Medici* Browne says: "That allegorical description of Hermes pleaseth me beyond all the Metaphysical definitions of Divines." Hermes is glossed "Sphaera, cuius centrum ubique, circumferentia nullibi."¹⁷ Hermes is Hermes Trismegistus, the Egyptian god Thoth. The adjective "hermetic" can mean "pertaining to Hermes," or the Hermetic books of the third century A.D., or "pertaining to occult science, especially alchemy," or the airtight closure of a vessel.¹⁸ Emily Dickinson used the word in an eight-line poem:

Strong draughts of their refreshing minds
 To drink, enables mine
 Through desert or the wilderness,
 As bore it sealed wine—
 To go elastic, or as One
 The camel's trait attained.
 How powerful the stimulus
 Of an hermetic mind!¹⁹

Here "hermetic" may be an offshoot of "refreshing" in the first line and may mean occult, magical, alchemical, and thus refreshing, stimulating. This may be the best echo of Sir Thomas in her work because "hermetic" is so unusual a word.

4. *Atom*. The magnificent poem "Of all the souls that stand create" ends with the two lines:

¹⁶ *Poems*, p. 391: xxvi. I have studied thirteen other uses of the word (there may be more): p. 25: 1; p. 68: iii; p. 229: xxii; pp. 331-332: c; p. 386: xxi; p. 401: xlvi; p. 446: cxv; and in Mabel Loomis Todd and Millicent Todd Bingham (eds.), *Bolts of Melody* (New York and London, 1945), p. 190: 353; p. 204: 386; p. 227: 432; p. 279: 557; p. 286: 577. Among Browne's uses of the word in *Religio Medici* are I, 8, 14, 64.

¹⁷ I, 14. There is another reference in *Christian Morals*, Part III, sec. 2.

¹⁸ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed.; NED.

¹⁹ P. 281: xi. I have substituted a period for a comma after "attained."

Behold the atom I preferred
To all the lists of clay!²⁰

Here "atom" presumably stands for an individual, a person, possibly the Reverend Charles Wadsworth, in the sense that an individual piece of (human) clay is metaphorically "a very minute portion, a particle, a jot."²¹ So in "No crowd that has occurred"²² atoms are pieces of dust that arise on Resurrection Day and are provided with faces. Similarly in "The chemical conviction"²³ the atoms seem to be the dead who are visible in heaven. But in another poem²⁴ the word apparently has something like its basic meaning of "the smallest particle." Of three prominent uses in Sir Thomas Browne one undoubtedly has this basic meaning²⁵ and two in *Religio Medici* probably refer to theological particularity; that is, atomizing or breaking up into sects.²⁶ Thus again there is a noticeable sharing of a word, and again Emily Dickinson has transmuted the word into something metaphorically strange.

5. *Periphrasis*. This word occurs in Section 10 of *Religio Medici*: "Where there is an obscurity too deep for our Reason, 'tis good to sit down with a description, periphrasis, or adumbration."²⁷ And it occurs in a poem about death:

While simple-hearted neighbors
 Chat of the "early dead,"
We, prone to periphrasis,
 Remark that birds have fled.²⁸

It is such an unusual word, particularly in poetry, that one suspects she ran across it in Browne.

6. *Peru, Potosi*. One of Emily Dickinson's tricks is to use bizarre place-names, many from South America. Probably she chose them for euphony, but these two words were to her symbols of great wealth.²⁹ Sir Thomas also used Peru as a symbol of wealth: "I have not Peru in my desires, but a competence."³⁰ He referred to "the bowels of Potosi, and regions toward the Centre";³¹ and Miss Dick-

²⁰ P. 137: xix.

²¹ NED.

²² Pp. 331-332: c.

²³ *Bolts of Melody*, p. 209: 396.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 190: 353.

²⁵ *Hydriotaphia*, IV, 26.

²⁶ I, 29, 68.

²⁷ I, 14.

²⁸ P. 209: cxx.

²⁹ For Peru: pp. 137-138: xxi; 354: cxxxv.

³⁰ *Hydriotaphia*, chap. i (IV, 7).

³¹ I, 96.

inson spoke "Of 'Potosi' and the mines."³²

7. *Freckled human nature.* This phrase is in the poem "What soft, cherubic creatures."³³ The possible analogue is Browne's reference to "this speckled face of honesty in the world."³⁴

8. *An ecstasy.* One of Emily Dickinson's tricks of phrasing is to use the indefinite article *a* or *an* with a noun that does not ordinarily carry a singular article. One thinks immediately of "a clover," "a hay." She also uses the article with abstract or semiabstract and collective nouns. So did Sir Thomas. One poem begins:

A throe upon the features,
A hurry in the breath,
An ecstasy of parting
Denominated "Death,"—

An anguish at the mention³⁵

And so on. Ecstasy was a favorite word of hers; there may be other instances of its use with the article. Compare Browne's "I could never hear the Ave-Mary Bell without an elevation."³⁶ We even find ecstasy used in this way: ". . . for who can speak of Eternity without a soloecism, or think thereof without an Extasic?"³⁷

Unless it is unmistakable, evidence from parallel passages must never be taken too seriously. This is particularly true when the passages consist of single words. I merely offer the foregoing examples (in greatly condensed form for reasons of space) as an indication that Miss Dickinson's reading of Browne was apparently close enough so that echoes of his prose melodies haunt her verse.

III

In addition to purely verbal echoes, what indications are there that Emily Dickinson read Sir Thomas Browne for his ideas, for his attitude toward life? Does she seem to have valued him as an intellectual and spiritual leader?

As is well known, Emily Dickinson received an adequate primary and secondary education, but in the higher learning she was self-taught. Immediately after describing her reading, she wrote

³² P. 31: lxiii.

³³ P. 58: cxxx.

³⁴ *Christian Morals*, Part II, sec. 7 (I, 125).

³⁶ I, 7.

³⁵ P. 193: lxxviii.

³⁷ I, 15.

to Higginson, "I went to school, but in your manner of the phrase had no education."³⁸ Such philosophy and theology as she had she acquired through her reading and through the influence of the church. Perhaps it is not fair to compare her to Sir Thomas Browne, who, an Oxonian and a Doctor of Medicine, was one of the most erudite men of his time. The number of his interests is no less amazing than the range of authors from whom he quoted.

Accordingly, it is well to remember that as a professional scientist and physician, Sir Thomas was familiar with all the authorities from Aristotle to his own day; and as an amateur philosopher and theologian, he was a Platonist who had read Plato.³⁹ Emily Dickinson was also a Platonist, but she probably derived her Platonism from the Transcendentalist thought of her time: from the contemporary winds of discussion that blew to Amherst in the form of lecturers at the college and books and periodicals that came via the mail.⁴⁰

Her Platonism was essentially an ontological monism: a tendency to stress idea, spirit, rather than matter.⁴¹ She tended to equate God with Infinity or Eternity, as in:

"Eternity is *Then*,"
We say, as of a station.
Meanwhile he is so near
He joins me in my ramble.⁴²

This is Emersonian, as is "Nature is what we see,"⁴³ a poem that Emerson himself might have written.

It is difficult to ascertain and compare the exact degrees of idealism of Emily Dickinson and Sir Thomas Browne. Her attitude

³⁸ *Letters*, p. 273. For a description of her formal education, see Whicher, *op. cit.*, chaps. iii and iv.

³⁹ Douglas Bush calls him a major, irregular Platonist (*English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, 1945, p. 331).

⁴⁰ Professor Whicher's chapter on the influence of Emerson upon her contains a discussion of the attitude of official Amherst toward Emerson, Theodore Parker, and other lights of Transcendentalism (*op. cit.*, chap. xi).

⁴¹ Harry Hayden Clark (*Major American Poets* [New York, 1936], pp. 897, 901) calls this dualism. I take it that we mean the same thing as in Emerson's *Nature*; a dualism of matter and spirit in which matter is a transitory, imperfect form of the only reality, which is spirit or idea.

⁴² *Poems*, p. 227: xvi.

⁴³ P. 233: xxxiv. For other examples see p. 167: xxiv; p. 232: xxxii; and in *Bolts of Melody*, p. 223: 431.

toward metaphysical problems was, however, somewhat more sophisticated than that of Browne, who said of Eternity that it

is indivisible and all together, the last Trump is already sounded, the reprobates in the flame, and the blessed in Abraham's bosom. . . . a thousand years to God are but as one day; for, to speak like a Philosopher, those continued instances of time which flow into a thousand years, make not to him one moment: what to us is to come, to his Eternity is present, his whole duration being but one permanent point, without Succession, Parts, Flux, or Division.⁴⁴

There is nothing in this that either Emerson or Miss Dickinson would have disagreed with, but they might have commented that Browne tends to separate God and Eternity; to them the two were one. Miss Dickinson probably derived inspiration from the *Religio Medici*; but precisely because she was somewhat familiar with nineteenth-century metaphysical speculation, her ideas transcended Browne's.

Most commentators have assumed that Emily Dickinson rejected the Calvinist Congregational church of her fathers, in spirit if not by overt act. When she spoke of her family (in the same classic letter to Higginson), she said: "They are religious, except me, and address an eclipse, every morning, whom they call their 'Father.'" The most elaborate and ingenious discussion based upon her supposed rejection of Calvinism is that of Allen Tate, who observed that like Shakespeare she wrote her poems at the exact time when the intellectual climate (with her, the Puritan tradition) was changing, and that such a time constitutes "the perfect literary situation."⁴⁵

Without adopting all of Mr. Tate's implications, one can agree with his chief point. Nevertheless no one has as yet made a close study of Miss Dickinson's poems and letters to determine the range and limitation of her religious ideas. No such study can be attempted here, but a tentative generalization is possible.

Emily Dickinson's rejection of her church was a rejection of all the paraphernalia of religion except the concept of immortal life. In spite of her statement to Higginson, she was more intensely religious than many present-day "modernist" Protestants. There

⁴⁴ *Religio Medici*, sec. 11 (I, 16).

⁴⁵ "Emily Dickinson," in *Reactionary Essays on Poetry and Ideas* (New York, 1936), pp. 3-25; also reprinted in Guy A. Cardwell (ed.), *Readings from the Americas* (New York, 1947), pp. 232-246.

is nothing about justification in her poems, nothing about sanctification, almost nothing about predestination, very little about Christian ethics. There is everything about God's grace, about a dead person's passage to the next world, about heaven and the souls that inhabit it.⁴⁶

She had two reasons for being interested in immortality. In addition to the natural interest of all Christians, there was the interest caused by her own peculiar trouble, her inability to unite in this life with the Reverend Charles Wadsworth and her wonder as to whether such a union is possible in another world.⁴⁷

Here is a resemblance to Sir Thomas Browne. Browne was an easygoing Church of Englander with a serene faith in salvation and no concern about moot theological questions. This serenity is the substance of the famous "O altitudo!" passage: "Certum est quia impossibile est."⁴⁸ All, including the salvation of Thomas Browne, is in the power of God, Who will also preserve His faithful Church of England from enemies without and controversies within. Browne was, in essence if not technically, a broad churchman, a man of latitude. His life spanned the whole Puritan Revolution. He quietly practiced his profession in Norwich, outlived the Commonwealth, and rejoiced when His Majesty Charles II ascended his rightful throne.

God's salvation awaits, and immortal life with Him is sure. Both authors believed this, but with Browne, unhampered by Puritan doubts, it was a kind of *laissez-faire* assurance. Miss Dickinson, a daughter of the Puritans, was not quite so sure. One gets the feeling that she recurs to the idea too often and protests too much. She may have read Sir Thomas Browne in order to bolster her faith with his calm certainty.

Before a Christian enters into God's Kingdom, he passes through the experience of death. This topic Browne mentioned frequently; Miss Dickinson stressed it again and again. She wanted to know about the look of a dead person, about the manner of his death, about his last moments, about the grave where his mortal remains

⁴⁶ Evidence for this statement abounds in her poems; death and immortality constitute almost the only subject of Part Four, "Time and Eternity," in *Poems* (pp. 157-219), and of "Creatures Clad in Miracle," not to mention the five immediately preceding subsections on death, in *Bolts of Melody* (pp. 215-223).

⁴⁷ Whicher, *op. cit.*, chap. vi. For one specimen of this wonder, see the major poem "I cannot live with you" (*Poems*, p. 133: xiii).

⁴⁸ I, 13; see also sections 5 and 6.

are laid.⁴⁹ One aspect of death she saw fit to ignore: although she wrote much about graves, she nowhere expresses an interest in bodily decay, in what happens within the grave. Her reflections never dwell upon "the smell of mortality." This to Dr. Browne was of absorbing professional and antiquarian interest.⁵⁰ It was the subject of his one undoubted contribution to science.⁵¹ But in Browne, Miss Dickinson could also find a calm acceptance of death: "I would not die, but care not to be dead."⁵² They were alike in their interest in death, but their thoughts dwelt upon different aspects; to neither was it a horror.

The most obvious resemblance between Browne and Miss Dickinson is in their wit and humor. The sources of the humor of both authors have been studied and described;⁵³ I shall merely try to compare their methods in one or two generalizations and examples.

In spite of their essentially serious ideas, both were witty souls. Like many great humorists, they took a sidelong view of life. Each one had a favorite word which may well be used to describe this approach. In Browne the word is "asquint": "those vulgar heads that look asquint on the face of truth."⁵⁴ Emily Dickinson used the word "oblique": "That oblique belief which we call conjecture."⁵⁵ The words epitomize their common habit of looking at human affairs indirectly in order to see therein life's ironic pathos and humorous incongruity.

Their strange use of the noun with the indefinite article has been noticed above. Both authors apparently liked to employ nouns for full-dress effect and also liked to burlesque the solemnity of large nouns. One notable example in *Bolts of Melody* is the poem inspired by Genesis 5:24—"And Enoch walked with God: and he was not: for God took him." In an eight-line humorous comment on the monosyllabic unpretentiousness of this statement, the poet deliberately uses eight polysyllabic nouns.⁵⁶ Mostly she did this

⁴⁹ Evident in poem after poem; see particularly the first five subheads of "The White Exploit" (*Bolts of Melody*, pp. 182-214).

⁵⁰ See *Hydriotaphia, Brampton Urns*, and various places in his other works.

⁵¹ Adipocere, a waxy substance formed in dead bodies. See Egon Stephen Merton, *Science and Imagination in Sir Thomas Browne* (New York, 1949), p. 128; also G. K. Chalmers, "Sir Thomas Browne, True Scientist," *Osiris*, II (1936); pp. 28 ff.

⁵² *Religio Medici*, sec. 44. See also sections 37-43.

⁵³ Notably by Professor Whicher (*op. cit.*, chap. x); the latest discussion of Browne's prose art is in Merton, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-119. See also Cleanth Brooks, *Modern Poetry and the Tradition* (Chapel Hill, 1939), pp. 220-223; and Bush, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

⁵⁴ *Religio Medici*, sec. 3.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199: 372.

⁵⁶ *Bolts of Melody*, p. 218: 418.

sort of thing less consciously, as did Browne. She delighted in the great abstractions, especially those ending in *-tion*: *exhilaration, revelation, perception, extinction*. So did Browne: "In bivious theorems, and Janus-faced doctrines, let considerations state the determination. Look upon opinions as thou dost the moon, and choose not the dark hemisphere for thy contemplation."⁵⁷ The flavor of their styles is not unlike. Much of it consists of a similarly witty use of words.

In addition to "ingenious and unforeseen verbal combinations"⁵⁸ both authors loved the ingenious and unforeseen combination of ideas which is paradox. In Browne the chief springboard for paradox has been said to be the idea that what is unreasonable to reason is reasonable to faith.⁵⁹ So he declares:

... I was not only before myself, but Adam, that is, in the idea of God, and the decree of that synod held from all eternity: and in this sense, I say, the world was before the creation, and at an end before it had a beginning; and thus was I dead before I was alive: though my grave be England, my dying place was paradise: and Eve miscarried of me, before she conceived of Cain.⁶⁰

Should I be afraid of life? asks Miss Dickinson in an Emersonian poem already listed.

Of life? 'Twere odd I fear a thing
That comprehendeth me
In one or more existences
At Deity's decree.⁶¹

Paradoxes as well as the use of great words for humorous effect and for the fun of using them are among the marks of a sophisticated mind. No doubt it is this sophistication that has made the students of Emily Dickinson believe that Sir Thomas Browne was her master. She may have felt that Browne was in temperament her forerunner, the only literary mind in her past with whom she had a sense of kinship. It is a tribute to her originality that her debt to Browne cannot be more specifically determined until, at length, more of the mists that still veil her life "are carved away."

⁵⁷ *Christian Morals*, Part III, sec. 3.

⁵⁸ Whicher, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

⁵⁹ Margaret L. Wiley, "Sir Thomas Browne and the Genesis of Paradox," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, IX, 319 (June, 1948).

⁶⁰ *Religio Medici*, sec. 59.

⁶¹ *Poems*, p. 167: xxiv.

THE BIRTH AND DEATH OF A SATIRIST: EUGENE FIELD AND CHICAGO'S GROWING PAINS

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IF EUGENE FIELD is remembered at all today, it is as the author of "Little Boy Blue," "Wynken, Blinken, and Nod," and a few other children's poems. That he is so little known at present is the fate of a man who was first and last a journalist, and is also a reflection of the ephemeral quality of most of his verses and prose tales, which rival the rhymes of Edgar Guest in insipidity and sentimentality. There was, however, another side to Field's work. He produced an enormous quantity of satiric prose paragraphs and sketches, which gained him much of his reputation as a wit and humorist and which have qualities that his verse never had: vigor, spice, and a sometimes exquisite and often clever sense of what can be done with the right word in the right place. The most important aspect of these sketches and squibs, however, is their purpose; for the majority of them are pungent topical satire.

I

In order to appreciate the quality and the limitations of Field's satiric humor, it is necessary to consider the conditions under which it was written. For twelve years (1883 to 1895) Field ground out an average of two thousand words a day for his column, "Sharps and Flats," in the Chicago *Daily News*. One would naturally expect to find many deficiencies in such an enormous and rapidly produced volume of material, and plenty are to be found. The bulk of his comment, in the earlier and more vigorous years of the column, was devoted to the cultural oddities of the adolescent city, and to the ludicrous efforts of Chicago's newly rich porkpackers to acquire "culture" and to possess things of beauty and virtù.¹

It is somewhat difficult to form an accurate notion of what cul-

¹ More extended accounts of the history of the column may be found in Charles H. Dennis, *Eugene Field's Creative Years* (New York, 1924), chaps. iv, vii-x, xii; and in Slason Thompson, *Life of Eugene Field* (New York, 1927), chaps. vii, xi-xiii. The two accounts often differ slightly on minor points; both volumes consist of personal reminiscences, rather than accurate biography.

tural Chicago really must have been like in those lush days, and therefore of the amount of exaggeration in Field's account. But an instructive parallel to Field's lambastings exists in a survey of Chicago's literary accomplishments by William Morton Payne, a prominent and serious magazine writer of the nineties. Writing in the *New England Magazine*, he says rather plaintively at the outset that "no community is *à priori* open to reproach for having chosen to express itself in other than literary forms,"² and is forced to admit frankly that Chicago is in the main a city where

the arrogant self-assertion and dull philistinism of the American character are more clearly typified than perhaps anywhere else in the land. . . . The Chicago of the present is . . . so overshadowed by the commercial spirit that the delicate plants of literary culture, even where they have taken root, have found it difficult to obtain the light and air necessary for their continued existence.³

Payne gives a lengthy list of cultural clubs, publishing houses, lyceums, books, and authors. Only three or four of the authors—such as H. B. Fuller—are remembered today, and the literary works include everything between boards; few are classifiable as belles-lettres, none are memorable. It appears that the clubs are dedicated to snobbery as much as to culture. In short, the reader reaches the conclusion that though valiant efforts were being made to mend matters, the Chicago of the early nineties had scarcely emerged from provincialism and was far from being culturally of age.

An inkling of the tone Field was to take in his attack on Chicago's cultural pretensions can be gained by examining the *Tribune Primer*, a collection of the parodies of a children's first reader which he wrote in his Denver days:

Here we have a Lady. She was at a Party last Night, and the Paper spoke of her as the Amiable and Accomplished Wife of our Respected Fellow Citizen. Our Respected Fellow Citizen is now as Full as a Tick, and his Amiable and Accomplished Wife is Walloping him with the Rolling Pin. The lady appears to be more Accomplished than Amiable.⁴

The *Primer* as a whole is in bad taste and not particularly amusing. Yet it is decidedly robust, reminding one to some extent of

² William M. Payne, "Literary Chicago," *New England Magazine*, VII, 683 (Feb., 1893).

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 683-684.

⁴ *The Complete Tribune Primer* (Boston, 1901), p. 89.

Mark Twain's early productions. This robust vein was developed, refined, and pointed as Field began his comments on Chicago, and his fame grew until the publisher Ticknor felt that it would be a profitable venture to bring out a volume of Field's work. The result was *Culture's Garland*, which appeared in 1887 with a laudatory introduction by Julian Hawthorne.

Culture's Garland is subtitled "Memoranda of the Gradual Rise of Literature, Art, Music and Society in Chicago and Other Western Ganglia." It has a gallows as a colophon, and on one of the fly-leaves appears the "garland": "A Chicago literary circle: in the similitude of a laurel wreath." It is a garland of sausages.⁵ The task of making adequate illustrative comment on the volume is a difficult one. Field's fancy was inexhaustible, and he approached his game from many paths. Perhaps the device he uses most frequently is the imitation of a bit of cultural news. Sometimes the "news" in the item is entirely apocryphal; sometimes Field deals with the imaginary sayings and doings of real Chicagoans, such as Potter Palmer and Pullman; again he writes bogus book reviews and literary notes. Perhaps the best way to show his method and material is to examine a few of the more representative squibs, such as "Chicago Palmistry." In this it appears that a young palmist, Mr. Heron-Allen, is "making a barrel of money in Chicago." The aristocrats are all flocking to his salon; he has had to invent a new system of description for the Chicago hand, of which a diagram is appended. Every Chicago hand, it seems, has a prominent Pork-Line. Also a *Mons Prudentiae*, and a *Mons Asinorum*; if the pork-line veers toward the latter, it indicates that the possessor is inclined to take fliers in wheat, etc. Then there is the sand-line. "In a great many instances it is so strongly marked that its shadow is plainly outlined on the back of the hand."⁶ This is because Chicagoans exhibit "the most sand of anyone." The literary line causes the wearer to "inquire into the mysteries of summer philosophy . . . and to have the seaside novels rebound in half-calf."

The line D is common to the Chicago hand: it argues a fondness for the fine arts, for music, and for all articles of vertoo—such as piano-fortes, folding-beds, wax flowers, race-horses, perfumery, \$4 opera, pug dogs,

⁵ See Dennis, *Eugene Field's Creative Years*, p. 154, for a possibly inaccurate account of the history of these embellishments.

⁶ Eugene Field, *Culture's Garland* (Boston, 1887), pp. 22-23.

statuary, Browning's poems, dyspepsia, and lawn-tennis. Of late this art-line has got so deep in a great many Chicago hands, that it had to be sewed up by a doctor.⁷

The last line, which is visible about the wrist three times a day, is found among those who have become wealthy—and cultured—rather suddenly. It is known as the water-line.

This brief sketch gives one an idea of the style, tone, and approach of much of Field's satire. The humor is heavy-handed; there is not the slightest doubt of what the satirist is getting at. On the other hand, there is as little doubt of its irritating effect on the pork-packers. The original idea of palmistry is a clever way of introducing the satirical comment, and the author chooses his materials well for telling effect—as in the list of "articles of vertoo." However slapdash the writing may be, it shows that Field was capable of a vigor and energy which he did not demonstrate in the poems and fairy-tales.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of *Culture's Garland* is the astonishing number and variety of the devices Field uses to start off his sketches. In his pose as slightly bewildered or deadpan recorder of events or as passionate defender of Chicago culture, he deals with dramatic performances, opera, new books, the visits of literary notables, the reactions of Chicagoans to Eastern or European culture, various activities of Chicago cultural or literary groups, and the bons mots or adventures of the local *cognoscenti*. One trick to which he was particularly addicted was the writing of atrocious verse which he ascribed to various celebrities, local or otherwise, such as one Judge Cooley, whose juvenilia he professed to have discovered; Helena Modjeska; and William Dean Howells. Field was never craven in his use of the names of real persons; while some of the names in *Culture's Garland* are indubitably fictitious, here is an example of what Field could say when he was in the mood:

Still, Chicago is hardly in a position to criticize Philadelphia unprejudicedly. Chicago has been so unfortunate as to become the adopted home of three of Philadelphia's most enterprising sons.

One of these gentlemen is Mr. Joseph C. Mackin, who, owing to

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

circumstances over which he has no control, is temporarily absent from this city.

Another is Mr. Gallagher, who ought to be absent, but isn't.

The third is Mr. Charles T. Yerkes.⁸

Probably Field's most sustained attack on a single person was that directed against Pullman. He concocted a news item to the effect that Umberto Primo of Italy had created "our esteemed fellow-townsman, Col. George M. Pullman" a *marchese*, or, as more adapted to the exigencies of Chicago pronunciation, a "markeesy." Pullman, he said, had constructed a magnificent sleeping-car for that monarch, and, he hinted, was recompensed in the Italian manner with a marquisate in lieu of more substantial reward. Mr. Pullman might also style himself a chevalier, but "we are inclined to think that markeesy sounds just a trifle more bong tong than sheevalya, and we hope that Mr. Pullman will choose that title."⁹ Field designed a coat of arms for the markeesy, which featured two Pullman porters, demandant, and a pillow with a bedbug on it. He also described the projected ceremony of investment in the most ridiculous terms, commented on the Dante and Tasso boom resulting from the event, suggested that the markeesy wear a Boston garter instead of the customary badge of rank, condoled with him on the failure of the Italian olive crop, and deprecated the local envy which had produced the scurrilous rhyme:

When the party is breezy and wheezy,
And palpably greasy, it's easy
To coax or to wring,
From a weak-minded king,
The titular prize of markeesy.¹⁰

The irony of the whole performance is superb, however unsubtle it is, and one may be sure that it made Pullman writhe. The markeesy makes a frequent appearance in Field's column, usually contemplating a display of art with honest bewilderment. The reader cannot wonder at Field's sincere hatred of cultural pretension; he can, however, marvel at Field's violence, his lack of good taste, and the fact that he got away with it. His biographers are unanimous in asserting that for years he kept the *haut monde* of

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

Chicago, including all his friends, in a state of perpetual fidgets, each fearing that he would be lampooned next; and the situation gained in seriousness from the realistic appearance of some of the "news items" and the fact that gullible Eastern journals sometimes reprinted them as news.

When Field left personalities alone and commented on more general matters, he usually had a justifiable grievance, and his performance improved commensurately. A good example of his more refined irony is one of his briefest paragraphs, which says much in little:

It is understood that the private dinners given to Mr. Lowell during his stay here have called for an expenditure of not less than forty thousand dollars. Yet there are carping critics who say that Chicago is not a great literary centre.¹¹

Field seldom managed to maintain the same level of taste even within the limits of a single sketch; the rapidity with which he wrote and the ephemeral nature of his material would have prevented him from polishing, even had he had the inclination to do so. Within a single paragraph one can often find two such antipodal specimens of wit as these:

We do not know what an eroica symphony is; but in our most cultured circles, it is believed that eroica is a misprint for erotica. . . . The fact that she [Miss Aus der Ohe] is unmarried should forever set at rest the rumor that she is the original Ohe mamma.¹²

It is indeed remarkable that, writing as hastily as he did, he was able to produce so much that was truly satirical and truly amusing.

The topics of Field's satire may be divided for convenience into several categories. There are general comments on the state of Chicago taste; single attacks on specific persons such as Pullman (though these people may be regarded partly as representatives of the general state of affairs); feuds and practical jokes, such as those perpetrated on Howells, Edward Bok, Charles Dudley Warner, and Edmund Clarence Stedman;¹³ political satire (which is difficult to

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹³ Field declared that Bok was to wed "the favorite granddaughter of Lydia Pinkham," confused Warner with a maker of patent medicines and declared that he was to lecture on either "Some Golden Remedies" or "The Theory that Ben Jonson Did Not Write 'Rasselias'" (a slap at a lecture of Lowell's), and said that Stedman would be welcomed to Chicago with

grasp without an intimate knowledge of Chicago politics at the time); and a most interesting series of sketches attacking Hamlin Garland, Howells, and the "veritists."¹⁴ The satire of the first class bulks largest, has the most lasting interest, and is perhaps the most important to the student of cultural history.

Field never tires of contrasting commercialism and culture, or of finding new and diverting ways in which to do it. It is impossible to go into detail concerning all the affectations he dissects, but mention should be made of some of his most interesting paragraphs. For example, he proposes to condense music in the cause of efficiency:

... much as we revere Mr. Beethoven's memory, we do not fancy having fifty-five minute chunks of his musty opus hurled at us. . . . Nothing is more criminal hereabouts than a waste of time; and it is no wonder, then, that the *crème de la crème* of our élite lift up their hands, and groan, when they discover that it takes as long to play a classic symphony as it does to slaughter a carload of Missouri razorbacks, or an invoice of prairie-racers from Kansas.¹⁵

He describes a new invention, a folding-bed which looks like a bookcase filled with the classics in the daytime; he gives a Chicago man's version of the lives of Dante and Socrates; he satirizes the city's French attainments in "Oon Criteek de Bernhardt" and "Oon Conversarzyony Frongsay"; he comments ironically on Mr. Winston of Chicago, who got himself made a brigadier general of militia so that he might have a gorgeous uniform to wear as ambassador to Persia. He once caused the publisher McClurg great pain by heralding the appearance of the apple of McClurg's eye, a volume of the fragments of Sappho, simultaneously with the appearance of Adam Forepaugh's circus. The latter, he said, had more of the sort of poetry that appealed.

"Sappho was a gamey old girl, you know. . . . If that woman had lived in Chicago, she would have been tabooed. . . ."

And what rhythm—be it Sapphic, or choriambic, or Ionic a minore—is

a parade including "two hundred Chicago poets afoot . . . nine white stallions representing the Muses . . . the Blue Island Avenue Shelley Club." Dennis's and Thompson's biographies describe these and many other practical jokes, with their sequels and ramifications.

¹⁴ See Dennis, *Eugene Field's Creative Years*, chap. x, for a history of the controversy.

¹⁵ *Culture's Garland*, pp. 147-149, *passim*.

to be compared with the symphonic poetry of a shapely female balanced upon one delicate toe on the bristling back of a fiery, untamed palfrey that whoops round and round to the music of the band . . . ? If our bosoms swell with delight to see the quiet and palatial homes of our cultured society overflowing with the most expensive wallpapers and the costliest articles of virtue . . . vaster still must be the pride, the rapture we feel when we behold our intellect and our culture paying the tribute of adoration to the circus. Viewing these enlivening scenes, why may we not cry in the words of Sappho, "Wealth without thee, Worth, is a shameless creature; but the mixture of both is the height of happiness"?¹⁶

The satire of the two volumes entitled *Sharps and Flats* in the posthumous *Works* is culled mostly from the columns of Field's later years; it is less clumsy and in better taste, but it is also less energetic. One of the best items is the description of the Arcadian simplicity of Washington under President Cleveland's Jeffersonian reforms, where, for example, the Postmaster General sorts the mail; another is the ironical "Recipe for a Nominating Speech," which is as pointed today as when it was written. Occasionally the old tone returns, as in the paragraph dealing with a literary club:

At the meeting of the West Side Literary Lyceum last week the question "Are Homer's poems better reading than Will Carleton's?" was debated. The negative was sustained by a vote of 47 to 5. On this occasion Miss Mamie Buskirk read an exquisite original poem entitled "Hope."¹⁷

One could go on indefinitely, citing amusing and biting comments from Field; but those quoted are sufficient to display the principal qualities of his work. It flicks at a multitude of stupidities, and with no light hand. It is vigorous, but uneven; it runs the gamut of wit from clumsy puns to ironical understatement. It is completely merciless, and the effect Field's biographers say it had can be deduced from its complete lack of ambiguity. Moreover, Field often displays in it a talent for burlesque and parody, as in his imitation of Midwestern journalistic "high style" in the Sappho paragraph quoted above. He knows how to use words when he is willing to exercise his ability; his vocabulary is sizable. And it is impossible not to be convinced of Field's sincerity, even though it is hard to decide how deeply his convictions ran.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 251-253, *passim*.

¹⁷ *Sharps and Flats*, ed. Slason Thompson (*The Works of Eugene Field*, New York, 1901, Vol. XII), pp. 105 f.

II

Having examined Field's satire and seen something of its effect, we may legitimately wonder what sources it had in Field himself. What was his true attitude toward culture and toward Chicago? Why did his satire decrease in venom and robustness as the years passed? How did he regard his own satire, and where did he place it with respect to the rest of his work—the poems, sentimental stories, and fairy tales? What was his cultural background, and to what school of literature may he truly be said to have belonged?

In the first place, he had an excellent education. He went to the private school of the Reverend Mr. Tufts in Massachusetts; he attended Williams College, Knox College in Illinois, and Missouri State College; he spent his patrimony in a "grand tour" of Europe before settling down to work. His father was a brilliant lawyer who had been a precocious scholar and who had an excellent knowledge of French, German, Latin, and Greek; he is said to have obliged his sons to correspond with him in Latin.¹⁸ Field himself had a passionate love of Horace, and published a translation of some of the odes, epodes, and epistles with his brother, as *Echoes from the Sabine Farm*. He also cherished a project of writing a life of Horace. He was interested in "Old English," and although the clumsiness of his attempts to reproduce the language of Chaucer in verse or prose is apparent, their frequency in his writings indicates his preoccupation with older literature. He wrote some of his poems in Greek characters as a joke. In his later years he became an ardent bibliophile; his works bristle with references to rare old editions, and he composed an entire volume, *The Love Affairs of a Bibliomaniac*, on which he was engaged at his death.

Yet in this volume, in the translations of Horace, and in the imitations of Chaucer's English, a great deal of the dilettante appears; Field seems to be a lover of books, rather than of what is in them. His Horatian poems do not differ materially in quality from those of his brother; they are no neater or more appealing; they are only somewhat more audacious and slangy. Cleverness is there, but not much intellect. This, too, is a fault of his fairy tales. They have a certain elegance and charm of diction, but on the whole they are

¹⁸ Eugene Field and Roswell M. Field, *Echoes from the Sabine Farm* (*Works*, New York, 1901, Vol. VI), p. ix.

merely a feebler version of such Oscar Wilde tales as "The Nightingale and the Rose." Of his poetry it is unnecessary to speak; it is merely meretricious. Stedman calls him "a complex American, with the obstreperous *bizarrie* of the frontier and the artistic delicacy of our oldest culture always at odds within him,"¹⁹ which is no doubt true; but the conflict was certainly not a deep one. Part of this lack of depth may be ascribed to the fact that much of his work was for a newspaper column; but in no part whatever of his nonsatirical work does Field exhibit anything more profound than charm or verbal cleverness.

Field made several statements on his literary and intellectual attitudes, which are of some help in classifying him. One is a short piece called "An Auto-Analysis," supposed to have been written to answer questions which were continually being asked him. The sincerity of the statements is perhaps questionable, but one may also question how a man of culture, taste, and intellect could be willing to publish some of the following information about himself: he adores dolls; his favorite hymn is "Bounding Billows"; he is very fond of Andersen and believes in ghosts, witches, and fairies; his favorite poems include "We Are Seven" and "Lead, Kindly Light"; he dislikes Dante and Byron, politics, sculpture, and painting; and in twenty-two years of journalism he has written only in reverential praise of womanhood.²⁰

Moreover, Field frequently exhibited a sort of sleazy and escapist romanticism. In 1893 Hamlin Garland engaged in a debate at the Chicago Literary Congress with Mrs. Catherwood, the author of several popular historical novels, on the merits of realism and romanticism. Field immediately took up the defense of Mrs. Catherwood. Garland, he said, was under the baleful realistic influence of Mr. Howells; but he (Field) preferred Mrs. Catherwood's embroidery needle and lance to Garland's dung fork.²¹

Mr. Garland's heroes sweat and do not wear socks; his heroines eat cold huckleberry pie and are so unfeminine as not to call a cow "he." . . . it is proper that we should add that we have for Mr. Garland personally the

¹⁹ *The Holy Cross and Other Tales* (*Works*, New York, 1901, Vol. V), p. xii.

²⁰ "An Auto-Analysis" in *The Complete Tribune Primer* (Boston, 1901), pp. 3-8.

²¹ For a description of Garland's impact on Chicago, see J. S. Goldstein, "Two Literary Radicals: Garland and Markham in Chicago, 1893," *American Literature*, XVII, 152-160 (May, 1945).

warmest affection, and we admire his work, too, very, very much; it is wonderful photography.²²

Six columns in all were devoted to the controversy, and Field spared no pains to make Garland look ridiculous. Of course, Field was to some extent on the side of good sense; if Garland at that period resembled the portrait H. B. Fuller gives of him in "The Downfall of Abner Joyce," he was indeed a fit subject for a certain amount of ridicule.²³ But the important point is that Field was not content merely to ridicule the excesses of the veritists; he cried out for knights in armor.

He made some much more revelatory comments in the same year when interviewed by Garland. How accurate and truthful the interview may be is open to question, but the statements may be taken for what they are worth. Field never thought, he said, of writing about his own expériences as a city editor; "things have to get pretty misty before I can use 'em; I'm not like you fellows [the veritists]."²⁴ He protested that he had never called his verse poetry, and he was glad that his *Tribune Primer* was a rarity; he hated sham and fraud, and had "jumped on that crowd of faddists." He had never claimed to be anything but a newspaperman. His best work was along the lines of satire; he had "stood for manliness and honesty." He was not a reformer, but a lover of romance, past or future. "The present don't interest me—at least not taken as it is. . . . I don't care to deal with the raw material myself. I like the archaic."²⁴

If Field (or Garland) may be believed, he had a most modest view of all his work, thought his satire his best effort, and felt almost a terror—at least a complete incapacity—at coping with things as they are. On the other hand, his satire is often couched in tones of realism so blunt as to be in bad taste. And according to Caroline Ticknor, writing some years after the fact, he had a higher opinion of his fantasy and verse than of his satire. He wanted the tales and sentimental verses to go into the projected Ticknor book (*Culture's Garland*) and wanted the introduction to be written by Stedman. He became contemptuous of the whole project when

²² *Sharps and Flats*, ed. Thompson (*Works*, XI), 48-49.

²³ Henry B. Fuller, *Under the Skylights* (New York, 1901), pp. 3-139.

²⁴ Hamlin Garland, "A Dialogue between Eugene Field and Hamlin Garland," *McClure's Magazine*, I, 202 (Aug., 1893).

neither plan succeeded, and would later have been happy to see *Culture's Garland* out of the way.

Eugene Field's delight at the appearance of his first little book was that of an enthusiastic schoolboy, but his attitude toward this early volume changed completely after the publication of his later works, and *Culture's Garland* was recalled by its author, who was then as keen in his desire to destroy all available copies as he had been to launch his first volume, for the preface of which he had wished to make Stedman responsible.²⁵

The best summary of Field's intellectual position would probably run somewhat as follows: while not a profound thinker or the possessor of deep-rooted convictions, he had a good cultural training and a vague though strong devotion to "culture" in the sense of good books, works of art, and general polish. He had a strong dislike of sham and fraud, and in his early years as a journalist he possessed a hoydenish sense of humor and a verbal brilliancy which he directed against the gaucheries he saw in the snobbish Chicago aristocracy. However, he was also strongly sentimental and escapist; the culture he wanted was a remote thing of the library and the studio, unconnected with life as it is lived. As the years passed he retreated into book-collecting and fantasy; since his heart was not in his satire as Swift's was, he ceased to face life in his work as soon as he could manage to escape from it. His manner became more genteel, and his earlier Western vigor withered away. His indignation at humanity was superficial and spasmodic; thus, having no real basis, it was easily swept away when he discovered the delights of literary trifling. His lack of sincerity was his greatest defect; without sincerity there was no barrier to his becoming lost in the spurious genteel.

It is only fair, however, to note that most of the reviewers of his time agreed with him. They were almost unanimous in praising his tender tales of affection or fantasy and his exquisite and graceful verses; they passed over his satire with a blush or at most a condescending nod for its robust cleverness. The anonymous reviewer of the *Nation*, however, once gave a strikingly modern summary of Field, and maintained, as most modern readers would, that his satire is the only part of his work that has any vitality in it:

A born humorist, writing verse and prosé for a newspaper in a com-

²⁵ Caroline Ticknor, "Edmund Clarence Stedman and Eugene Field," *Bookman*, XXVII, 151 (April, 1908).

munity as yet too entirely devoted to money-getting to be even provincial, Mr. Field began by writing some very amusing caricatures of Chicago life and manners. "Culture's Garland" is very broad humor. . . . for ourselves we are inclined to think that laughter, and not solemn laudation, would be to Mr. Field's shade the most refreshing tribute. . . .

He evidently never regarded himself altogether seriously, and it bored him to be so regarded. He wrote, day by day, whatever came into his head, and his more ambitious attempts . . . are often marred by an indifference of taste. . . . In fact, Mr. Field's Horace will never seem tolerable to those who know what others have done in the same vein. Mr. Field's talent was distinctly imitative, he is a literary mimic . . . a caricaturist. . . . His pathos . . . is also quite as loose [as his humor]. . . . His children's poems reek of the nursery. . . . Many of them are just the sort of doggerel which a gifted nurse might be able to compose. Whether they can hold their place as literature may be doubted. . . . To make Mr. Field a solemn classic is a pious effort on the part of his publishers, to which everyone who loves a joke will wish godspeed.²⁶

What, then, are we to think of Field's satire? It is certainly not great literature. On the other hand, it undoubtedly played a part in jolting Chicago out of its crassness, its abject reverence for the East, its flamboyant display, its intellectual poverty and pretension, and its bad taste. Historically, Field's work furnishes a commentary on one phase of America's cultural development, and gives a detailed picture of the hobbledehoy age of Chicago. As literature it is amusing, though of poor quality, and it is vigorous. It is in some respects a reflection of the tradition of American humor that runs through the work of Mark Twain, Josh Billings, George Ade, and lesser humorists of the lush postwar period. It reflects talent, if not genius, brilliant manipulation of words and phrases at times, and an amazing display of inventiveness and variety in the ridiculous situations described. Lastly, an examination of Field's personality with reference to the rising and dying out of the satiric vein in him is an interesting study in the interweavings of the "genteel tradition" with the more rough-and-ready native humor of the West; and it gives some hints of what an author must have and must lack in order to be a true satirist. For these reasons Field's column and *Culture's Garland* are of significance in the history of American literature.

²⁶ Review of Field's *Works*, *Nation*, LXIII, 165 (Aug. 27, 1896).

NOTES AND QUERIES

ANOTHER NOTE ON MELVILLE AND GEOLOGY

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A RECENT NOTE on "Melville's Geological Knowledge," by Mr. Tyrus Hillway, selects certain passages of Melville's which were brought up, as Mr. Hillway says, in my "Melville and Geology," and proposes four books as sources—one book as a possible source, the others as *the* sources, of the passages in question.¹ These claims, in my opinion, are overconfident and misleading. For the sake of the record it is necessary to point out that other books will serve as well as those proposed in Mr. Hillway's note and often better, and that Melville's actual knowledge of geology has been somewhat misrepresented and, in my opinion, his relations with geology distorted. Let us examine Mr. Hillway's claims in the order in which they appear in his note.

(1) John Reinold Forster's *Observations Made during a Voyage round the World* (London, 1778) is presented as a possible source of one of Melville's scientific errors, his mistake about the depth at which corals can build; that is, the depth at which they can live. Melville seems to have ignored, or never to have read, the report of Darwin and other scientists that corals cannot live more than about twenty fathoms below the ocean's surface, for he goes on writing about "primitive coral islets which, raising themselves in the depths of profoundest seas, rise funnel-like to the surface, and present there a hoop of white rock. . . ."² Mr. Hillway quotes this and says that the following passage from the *Observations* may be responsible for

¹ Tyrus Hillway, "Melville's Geological Knowledge," *American Literature*, XXI, 232-237 (May, 1949). This note was written "to make some additions and to suggest possible sources not named" in my article, "Melville and Geology," *American Literature*, XVII, 50-65 (March, 1945). My article dealt with specific sources only incidentally and proposed none, except Lyell as a possible source of some passages; my purpose was to discover how well Melville knew geology and whether this science might have increased his naturalism. One of the six passages for which Mr. Hillway proposes sources—the one on the volcanic origin of Nukahiva—does not appear in my article.

² *Pierre*, p. 394. References to Melville's works are to the Standard Edition. 16 vols. (London, 1922-1924).

Melville's "repeated statement that the coral islands developed in a spiral shape from the bottom of the sea." "From the bottom of the sea" represents Melville's error; "spiral shape" is not his term or image.

It is well known, and often remarked in the South Sea, that the animalcules forming the lithophytes, create in the sea curious structures: they are commonly narrow below, and have as it were only one stalk: the more they grow, the more they spread above. . . .

These animalcules raise their habitation gradually from a small base, always spreading more and more, in proportion as the structure grows higher.³

This attribution is open to two objections. First, the point at issue, Melville's mistake, the depth at which corals begin their "habitation," does not appear at all in the passage proposed as its source. Indeed, one is puzzled to find any relevance, for the passage does not reveal whether its author was talking about coral structures at a depth of one fathom or a thousand fathoms, the size of a hand or an island, the shape of a funnel or a fan or a cauliflower; whether of a single coral colony or an atoll composed of thousands of colonies. Second, why seek a literary source for Melville's error? Melville had seen coral islands for himself "in profoundest seas"; his apparent belief that the polyps had built from great depths is a vulgar error, as natural to the uninstructed as believing that the sun moves around the earth.⁴

(2) In *Omoo* Melville mentions, in a footnote, a "theory" that the Coral Islands, near Tahiti, are "the remains of a continent, long ago worn away, and broken up by the action of the sea."⁵ As a likely source for this, Mr. Hillway quotes another passage from the *Observations* about a hypothetical continent which Forster suspected to be "perhaps at the bottom of the Southern ocean" as a counterpoise to the weight of Northern continents.

³ *Observations . . .*, pp. 147, 149. I have omitted nothing from the quotation as given in Mr. Hillway's note.

⁴ If a literary source for this common misapprehension is demanded, one is not hard to find. Captain Matthew Flinders (1774-1814), English hydrographer and discoverer of an important coral reef near New Holland, thought, like Melville, that coral animalcules build up from the bottom of the ocean; Captain Flinders's account of the formation of coral islands is quoted often, e.g., in *Essay on the Theory of the Earth by M. Cuvier with Mineralogical Notes . . . by Professor Jameson* (New York, 1818), pp. 212-214.

⁵ *Omoo*, p. 73 n.

Again, one must question the relevance of the suggested source. I take Melville's word for it that his "theory" was a recent one—one that "of late . . . has been started," as he says in a part of the footnote not quoted by Mr. Hillway—rather than one dating from 1778. Also, Forster's quaint hypothesis will not account for Melville's "remains of a continent." Forster's continent, if it existed at all, lay under Antarctic ice, and any hypothetical northward extension of it was completely submerged beneath the ocean.⁸ Melville, on the other hand, is not writing about an Antarctic, or even a temperate-zone, continent; his Coral Islands are some degrees north of the Tropic of Capricorn; he is not writing about a hypothetical continent at the bottom of the sea, but about islands that he himself had visited.⁹

(3) The final claim of Forster's *Observations* to have been even a possible quarry for Melville is one that must be shared with a good many other books. Melville says: "That the land [the island of Nukahiva] may have been thrown up by a submarine volcano is as possible as anything else."⁸ Forster has a sentence, quoted by Mr. Hillway as a likely source, on islands which seem to have been raised by volcanoes in the sea. So has Lyell, many sentences and more relevant ones, since he speaks of submarine volcanoes and volcanic islands in the South Seas; so have the textbooks; so have the travelers. For submarine volcanoes and the islands they build before one's eyes had been "wonders of geology" from Peter Parley back at least to Seneca and Strabo.⁹

⁸ Forster wrote the *Observations* after accompanying Captain Cook on his second great voyage, 1772-1775, a scientific expedition made in order to settle once for all the question of the existence of a great hypothetical Antarctic continent which was believed to stretch northward into the South Pacific and which had motivated explorations for two hundred years. This voyage proved conclusively that such a continent was a dream, unless it existed under Antarctic ice.

⁹ Mr. Harrison Hayford has called to my attention the probability that Melville's footnote derives from Charles Wilkes's *Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition, . . . 1838-1842* (5 vols., Philadelphia, 1844); all that Melville says in the footnote could easily come from the *Narrative*, IV, 268-270. Wilkes's belief in a "pre-existent continent" may owe something to Darwin, whose theory of the subsidence of Pacific islands he mentions, or to Lyell, who had published his opinion on the sinking down of land in the Pacific in 1835 and who had expressed his belief that islands including the Coral Islands were the remains of mountain peaks where land the size of a continent had subsided; see Charles Lyell, *Eight Lectures on Geology* (New York, 1842), p. 28. At any rate, Melville's information here derives from contemporary scientific discovery and hypothesis.

⁸ *Typee*, p. 209.

⁹ Lyell, *Eight Lectures . . .*, pp. 26, 29. Edward Hitchcock, *Elementary Geology* (New

(4) In *Pierre* Melville says: "But, far as any geologist has yet gone down into the world, it is found to consist of nothing but surface stratified on surface. *To its axis*, the world being nothing but superinduced superficies."¹⁰ Mr. Hillway believes this "error" of Melville's "to have been taken directly from Oliver Goldsmith," and he quotes from Goldsmith's *Animated Nature*:

Upon examining the earth, *where it has been opened to any depth*, the first thing that occurs, is the different layers or beds of which it is composed; these all lying horizontally one over the other, like the leaves of a book. . . . Of different substances, thus disposed, the far greatest part of our globe consists, from its surface downwards *to the greatest depths we ever dig or mine*.

But again the proposed source is not relevant. Melville is *not* in "error" in saying, with Goldsmith, and Good, whom Mr. Hillway quotes here too, and with all the geologists for that matter, that the earth's crust is stratified. Melville's extravagant error lies in saying, as Goldsmith and Good do not, that the earth is stratified "To its axis."¹¹

(5) In *Mardi* the philosopher Babbalanja explains in very fanciful language two hypotheses which seem to be parodies of the rival Neptunist and Vulcanist or Plutonian explanations of the earth's crust.¹² My objections to John Mason Good's *The Book of Nature* (New York, 1836), which Mr. Hillway proposes,¹³ as the source of

York, 1842), p. 321, says that the Marquesas, of which Nukahiva is one, are "mostly volcanic." Captain Waldegrave described Nukahiva as being of volcanic origin; see M. Russell, *Polynesia* (New York, 1843), p. 163.

¹⁰ *Pierre*, p. 397. Italics mine, here and in the Goldsmith passage below.

¹¹ A passage like that from Goldsmith may be found in almost any general treatise on geology, e.g., David Page, *Elements of Geology* (New York, 1846), pp. 73, 74: "The accessible crust being for the most part formed of stratified rocks occurring in definite order one above another . . . the greatest perpendicular descent he [man] has yet made into the crust of the earth does not extend to half-a-mile"; "Mineralogy," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Seventh Edition (1842): ". . . the materials in the crust of the globe are generally stratified, and . . . the strata succeed one another in a particular order or series."

Melville's geological errors, including this about stratification and the one about coral islands, are discussed in my "Melville and Geology." These errors may have been due to preference for a poetic and picturesque image, or to ignorance.

¹² *Mardi*, II, 111-112.

¹³ I take it that Mr. Hillway is proposing Good (p. 66) as the source here, because he says, p. 234: "Miss Foster fails to mention Good as the source of Melville's description, in *Mardi*, of the Plutonian and Neptunian theories of the earth's formation." My reasons for so failing were the same then as now. My article, pp. 51-53, discusses the relation between Babbalanja's geology and that of the Plutonists and Neptunists.

Babbalanja's hypotheses are that Good does not supply enough information to account for Melville's knowledge, and that dozens of other books supply at least as much as Good does, and some supply more.

For example, one account of the Plutonist-Neptunist argument, and one that is somewhat closer than Good's to the possible parody in *Mardi*, can be found in Mather's *Elements of Geology*, which had reached a fifth edition by 1846, and which quotes its entire account from "the father of mineralogy," Parker Cleaveland.¹⁴ This often published account includes all the relevant material that Good includes; in addition, like Babbalanja and unlike Good, it mentions that part of the igneous or Plutonian hypothesis which supposes that the earth was once in a molten state and has cooled. But the case of the Plutonists and the Neptunists was argued not once but many times in the early nineteenth century, and in the 1830's and 1840's was frequently explained, as part of the history of geology.¹⁵

Arguing that Good is the source, Mr. Hillway makes this unaccountable statement: "Not only the theories but the refutation of the Plutonian view which is used in *Mardi* may be found in Good." Good's refutation is that heat would have destroyed shells and carbonic acid in the rocks, and that great heat in the interior of the earth cannot be satisfactorily accounted for. The only possible refutation in *Mardi* is Babbalanja's "My lord, then take another theory."¹⁶

Mr. Hillway's final argument for Good, that both he and Babbalanja discuss the Plutonian view first and the Neptunian second, ignores (for one thing)¹⁷ the artistic necessity for Melville's order.

¹⁴ William W. Mather, *Elements of Geology* (New York, 1846), pp. 200-205.

¹⁵ See, e.g., Charles Lyell, *Principles of Geology* (from the 6th English ed., 3 vols., Boston, 1842), I, 85-97; Lyell does not stint the argument; his famous uniformitarian theory developed from some Plutonist ideas. At the popular extreme, see *The Wonders of Geology*, by the Author of *Peter Parley's Tales* (Boston, 1844), pp. 10-13. One of Mr. Hillway's arguments for Good is that Melville mentions Good a time or two. Melville also mentions, however, a number of other and more famous supporters of one or the other of these theories—Buffon, Cuvier, Goethe, to name only a few. Cuvier's *Essay . . .*, p. 62, summarizes the two positions.

¹⁶ Indeed Babbalanja in another place and Melville himself seem to endorse rather than reject the Plutonian view. The elaboration of the rival hypothesis is surely not refutation; if it is, it may be found in all the books that discuss the controversy, as well as in Good.

¹⁷ In Melville's day the Plutonist-Neptunist controversy had quieted, and the two terms were frequently used, with only indirect reference to the controversy, to designate respectively the "Igneous or Plutonic formations" and the "Aqueous or Neptunian formations." In this sense geologists naturally describe the Plutonic rocks first, the Neptunian (or sedi-

Babbalanja's second, sedimentary theory of the earth's crust, which we are taking to be perhaps a parody of the Neptunian view, expands naturally into a long, humorous summary of the story of the fossiliferous strata in an extended metaphor of a feast. To have brought in the brief Plutonic paragraph after this rollicking great feast on the sedimentary "sandwiches" would have been anticlimactic and unthinkable.

(6) This long feast passage is the last, and by far the most significant, of the Melville passages for which Mr. Hillway finds sources. He says, unaccountably, that I "eliminated Lyell as a direct source" here. On the contrary, Lyell is without any doubt either a direct or an indirect source, along with others, as I said several times.¹⁸

The book which Mr. Hillway believes he has "identified" as "the source" of this passage, a book that Melville, he says, presumably on the evidence here, "used particularly in writing *Mardi*," is Robert Chambers's *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (New York, 1845). This widely read book is a possible, even a likely, source for part of the feast passage. But any book that claims to be the single source will have to mention all of the thirty-four fossils and the four lithological terms that Melville uses here, and mention them in the same relation as Melville's to geological "periods" and "groups";¹⁹ Mr. Hillway's column, taken from Chambers, could have furnished Melville only nineteen of the thirty-four fossils, and three of the four lithological terms.

A reader counting those of Melville's fossils that appear in Mr.

mentary) second. This sequence, that of nature, makes Babbalanja's order geologically as well as artistically proper. See, for example, W. S. W. Ruschenberger, *Elements of Geology* (Philadelphia, 1845), p. 17.

¹⁸ To quote from my article: With reference to Melville's reading in geology: "Melville must have read and accepted Lyell or some writer of Lyellian views . . ." (p. 53); with reference to the feast passage: "in a period of no general agreement as to geological terminology, Melville obviously used some work written in the same terminology as Lyell's" (p. 54); "I do not believe that Melville actually used any of these books, except possibly, and even then with supplementary works, that of Lyell. Indeed the dates, and the language of two of them, preclude the probability of his having read any except Lyell" (p. 54 n. 14).

¹⁹ My count omitted Babbalanja's "'capons, pullets,'" and counted his "'snails, and periwinkles'" as one, and his "'crocodiles and alligators'" as one, because by crocodiles and alligators, for instance, he meant extinct creatures which merely resembled the crocodile. To include all these would increase the discrepancy between Mr. Hillway's list and Melville's.

Hillway's column will find four more than I have allowed for, "lichens, mosses, fungi, ferns." But it is necessary to point out an error here in Mr. Hillway's transcription from Chambers: Chambers does not say that these fossils are found in the "Era of the Old Red Sandstone," as Melville does and as Mr. Hillway's column implies. Indeed of that "era" Chambers says (mistakenly): "As yet there were no land animals or plants. . . ."²⁰ Chambers's next chapter, "Secondary Rocks.—Era of the Carboniferous Formation," enters not only another "era" but another "epoch"; its first paragraph contains this: "There was now a theatre for the existence of land plants," and its sixth paragraph contains the sentence about "lichens, mosses, fungi, ferns"²¹ quoted by Mr. Hillway.

Melville was much better informed at this point than his proposed source, Chambers.

Chambers's *Vestiges*, then, cannot be the single source of the feast passage. But if we open the doors and admit a combination of sources, at least a dozen books—not to go outside the sort a layman could read—immediately crowd up and present plausible claims to have brought many dishes to Melville's feast of fossils.²² Of these I should admit, along with better informed books and chiefly for old times' sake, the revised version of Chambers's *Vestiges* which appears in the footnotes of my article.²³ This edition has one great advantage over its predecessor, Mr. Hillway's discovery—it could have provided the one mistake that Melville made in placing his fossils, the mistake of putting cetaceans in the Oolite; it has a disadvantage too—it omits seventeen of Melville's fossils, and Mr. Hillway's edition omits only fifteen.

Aside from their bearing on the question of source, one cannot

²⁰ Robert Chambers, *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1845), p. 58. This edition, used by Mr. Hillway, is to be distinguished from a second and a third edition published by Wiley and Putnam in 1845, both from the third London edition, "greatly amended by the author."

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 66.

²² E.g., Charles Lyell, *Elements of Geology* (2d ed., 2 vols., London, 1841); David T. Ansted, *The Ancient World* (Philadelphia, 1847); Edward Hitchcock, *Final Report on the Geology of Massachusetts* (Northampton, 1841); Peter Parley's *Wonders . . .*, which uses Hitchcock's table of fossils; the numerous eds. of Hitchcock's *Elementary Geology* that were published in New York before 1848; Gideon Algernon Mantell, *The Wonders of Geology* (London, 1847); John Phillips, "Geology," *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*, VI (London, 1845).

²³ P. 59 n. 16; p. 63 n. 34. It is the "Fourth Edition, from the Third London Edition, Greatly Amended by the Author" (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1846).

ignore these fifteen fossils—almost half of Melville's inclusions—without distorting the picture of Melville's geological information; for this passage is our most precise index of that information. Melville's feat of placing so many fossils so nearly perfectly is a good indication that his interest was eager and his knowledge, for a time at least, detailed and exact. Furthermore, although all the fossils in Chambers's book also appear in other popular books, some of Melville's which are not in Chambers I found only in learned articles published a few years before *Mardi* or in books too late for *Mardi*. These recently discovered fossils multiply several times the significance of the passage—which is that Melville's knowledge of a most portentous chapter of geology was, for a nonscientist, remarkably accurate, specific, and up-to-date.

(7) Mr. Hillway's final point is that Melville, "not willing to lose his religion," reached a compromise between geologic time and the current notion that creation occurred in 4004 B.C., his compromise being that "time began with man." It is hard to believe that Melville's religion was dependent on Bishop Ussher's chronology. Melville's inconsistency in writing sometimes as though time were of unimaginable duration and sometimes as though it were six thousand years is an inconsistency hardly resolved by his saying that "time began with man," for he sometimes puts not only "antique Adam" but the creation of the planet within the brief conventional period: "day by day new planets are being added to elder-born Saturns, even as six thousand years ago our own Earth made one more in this system. . . ."²⁴

In the 1840's Melville read, if not the real thing, then derivatives of Lyell and Owen and probably Darwin—contemporary scientists of the first rank. He knew in considerable detail some of those scientific works that, as Huxley later put it, "effected a revolution in men's conceptions of the universe and of themselves, and . . . profoundly altered their modes of thinking and their views of right and wrong." This is what I take to be the importance of Melville's relations with geology. It is obscured when either the extent or the contemporary quality of his geological information is obscured.

But significant as Melville's knowledge of geology is, the question whether he did or did not get certain bits of it from certain

²⁴ *Mardi*, I, 268. "Time began with man" comes from *Moby-Dick*, II, 222.

books is a small question. Its smallness shames the length of this note. On the other hand, its smallness demands that, once the question is raised, it be answered as precisely as possible before it is dropped. For any dust, from the old books or from controversy, I am sincerely sorry. Those who are hot for certainty must be prepared, as they know, for a little dust.

AN UNPUBLISHED POEM BY E. A. ROBINSON

EDWIN S. FUSSELL

The University of California (Berkeley)

IN THE Harvard collection of Robinson letters and manuscript materials is a short poem, "Broadway," that has never been published, nor, so far as I know, mentioned in Robinson scholarship or bibliography.¹ Charles B. Hogan's definitive bibliography of Robinson deals, of course, only with published work. The Harvard manuscript is a fair copy of the poem, written neatly and legibly in pencil by the poet, and signed "E. A. Robinson."

The poem came to Harvard in a lot purchased from Scribner's in 1942, along with other manuscripts of Robinson poems, all of which had appeared in either *The Man Against the Sky* (1916) or *The Three Taverns* (1920). Perhaps it was originally intended for inclusion in one of these volumes; formal and stylistic qualities suggest the earlier of the two, as well as the possibility of an even earlier date of composition. "Broadway" is copied with apparent care and deliberation, and there seems to be no chance of fixing, through an examination of the handwriting, even the date when it was copied.

One more rejected poem will hardly alter Robinson's stature, though there is a certain satisfaction in even the slightest productions of so considerable a poet. "Broadway," moreover, suggests nothing very new about Robinson's career or quality. That he had long engaged in attempting to write a modern poetry of the American city is well known; and the syntactical complexity, formal balance, and style of wit in this poem can be observed in a score of poems more perfectly realized. The last stanza might be considered

¹ Permission to publish "Broadway" has very kindly been granted by Mrs. William Nivison of Head Tide, Maine, and by Mr. William A. Jackson, of the Harvard Library.

somewhat unique; but its uniqueness is not in the kind of technical means displayed, but rather in the perverse degree to which Robinson, on this occasion, was willing to extend the operation of those means. Perhaps Robinson, in deciding not to publish "Broadway," concluded that his lines were extended to the point where his wit became brittle, that he had pushed paradox beyond the limits of definition into an area where the component parts, no longer fusing, could only repel each other and blur the poetic vision.

BROADWAY

By night a gay leviathan
That fades before the sun,
A monster with a million eyes
Without the sight of one,
A corybantic thing with claws
To tear the soul apart,
Breaker of men and avenues,
It throbs, and has no heart.

By day it has another life
That feeds on hopes and dreams;
And wears, to cover what it is,
The mask of what it seems.
But soon its iridescent length
Will make a fiery show,
To cheer, to dazzle, or to scorch
The wingless moths below.

And if, at cynic intervals,
And like a thing in pain,
By chance it implicates itself
With something not insane,
It will not often, or for long,
Relinquish what allures
With everything that has the shine
Of nothing that endures.

ANOTHER HOWELLS ANARCHIST LETTER

JOHN W. WARD
The University of Minnesota

IN THE Chicago *Tribune* of November 8, 1887, there is an as yet unnoticed and uncollected letter by William Dean Howells¹ concerning the conviction of the Chicago Anarchists.² In view of the vital relation that the Anarchist controversy bore to Howells's intellectual development, this letter deserves to be rescued from obscurity;³ it is brief enough to be reprinted here as it appeared in the Chicago *Tribune*:

The following letter has been received by Mr. Francis F. Browne of this city:

DANSVILLE, N. Y., Nov. 4—MY DEAR MR BROWNE: I thank you for sending me your poem, which I read with a heavy heart because of that "impending tragedy." For many weeks, for months, it has not been for one hour out of my waking thoughts; it is the last thing when I lie down, and the first thing when I rise up; it blackens my life.

I do not dread the consequences so far as those who believe in anarchy is concerned, but I feel the horror and the shame of the crime which the law is about to commit against justice. Yours cordially, W. D. HOWELLS⁴

There are two things to be observed about Howells's letter. The first is the treatment it received by the Chicago *Tribune*. The editor placed Howells's letter immediately below that of Mr. Armour, the "big packer," who had just returned from a trip through the West

¹ The letter is neither listed by William M. Gibson and George Arms, *A Bibliography of William Dean Howells* (New York, 1948), although the intent of the authors was to include letters to the press, nor included in *Life in Letters of William Dean Howells*, ed. Mildred Howells, 2 vols. (New York, 1928).

² The Anarchist controversy and Howells's part in it are conveniently summarized in *Life in Letters*, I, 393-401.

³ The Anarchist controversy precipitated Howells's concern with the social ills of America: "You'll easily believe [he wrote to Hamlin Garland] that I did not bring myself to the point of openly befriending those men who were civically murdered in Chicago for their opinions without thinking and feeling much, and my horizons have been indefinitely widened by the process" (*ibid.*, I, 407).

⁴ Chicago *Tribune*, XLVII, 3 (Nov. 8, 1887). Howells's letter was included in a column headed "Views of the Public." The Mr. Browne to whom the letter is addressed was Francis Fisher Browne (1843-1913), poet, editor of various poetry anthologies, and editor of the *Dial* from its founding in 1880 until his death. Of him the *Dictionary of American Biography* says: "He inherited the love of personal freedom and literary tendency which dominated his life. . . . he invariably found himself with the minority." I have been unable to identify the poem to which Howells alludes.

to report that the whole nation was in support of the Chicago decision to execute the Anarchists. Armour's concluding opinion was that "this was no time for maudlin sentiment or foolish tears." Following Howells's letter, an anonymous upholder of justice characterized the anxiety of those in favor of clemency as "sentimental gush." The cumulative effect seems inescapable but, perhaps fearful of oversubtlety, the night editor further captioned Howells's letter:

"MR. HOWELLS IS DISTRESSED."

In addition to the editorial treatment, which Howells recognized as insulting,⁵ it is to be noted that the letter is not addressed directly to the editors. It was a personal letter, and Howells had not anticipated its public use. For that reason, the letter is more impassioned than its more famous counterpart to the New York *Tribune*⁶ in which Howells had exhorted the public to appeal to the Governor of Illinois for clemency toward the condemned men. Under ordinary circumstances the publication of a private letter would be inexcusable, but Howells in no way regretted the action in this case. He wrote to Francis F. Browne: "I perceived that what was written for the eye of a friend was somewhat hysterical in print."

But [he continued] if you and other humane persons believed that it might do good,—even so little where so much was needed—you did right, and I approved and adopt your action. . . . While I write that hideous scene may be enacting in your jail yard—the thing forever damnable before God and abominable to civilized men.⁷

Howells's guess was accurate. On the day on which he wrote, November 11, 1887, the trap was sprung on the Chicago Anarchists. Besides its many social ramifications, the event had a deep personal significance for Howells. It forced him to recognize the tensions concealed beneath the more smiling aspects of American life.

⁵ *Life in Letters*, I, 401 (letter to Francis F. Browne, Nov. 11, 1887).

⁶ Reprinted, *ibid.*, I, 398-399.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 402.

A FURTHER NOTE ON POE'S "BALLOON HOAX"

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THE ORIGINAL publication of Poe's "Balloon Hoax" in a New York *Sun* broadside or "Extra" of April 13, 1844, which Professor Harold H. Scudder ("Poe's 'Balloon Hoax,'" *American Literature*, XXI, 188 n. 15, May, 1949)¹ has not been able to see, survives in a copy at the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, and has been reprinted in reduced facsimile by Mr. C. S. Brigham in the *American Book Collector* for February, 1932, and separately in a pamphlet entitled *Poe's Balloon Hoax*, Metuchen, 1932. Poe's Hoax was preceded by a build-up in the form of a "Postscript" or apparently hasty announcement inserted in the *Sun* of that morning. This document was alluded to by Poe himself on May 21 of the same year in one of his letters to the *Columbia Spy*² and has been quoted in brief by G. E. Woodberry in his *Life of Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1909), II, 69.³ So far as I know, it has never been reprinted. It appears to survive in a single file of the *Sun* at the Brooklyn Public Library.⁴ As it was perhaps drafted by Poe himself and in any event is an integral part of the "Hoax," I should like to take this opportunity to put a facsimile securely on record.

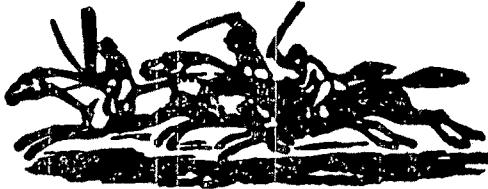
¹ Professor Scudder's article would have benefited had he been able to identify "W. Norris, U.S.N." as Walter B. Norris, author of the largely anticipatory letter "Poe's Balloon Hoax" written at the U.S. Naval Academy and published in the *Nation*, XCI, 389-390 (Oct. 27, 1910). Professor Scudder might too have located T. O. Mabbott's letter to the New York *Sun*, Jan. 23, 1943 (or the reprint of it in Heartman and Canny's *Bibliography of Poe*), in which Professor Mabbott gives the authority for his statement (made separately to Professor Scudder, one gathers) about the rate of sailing between New York and Savannah in 1844.

² *Doings of Gotham*, ed. Jacob E. Spannuth and T. O. Mabbott (Pottsville, 1929), p. 33; cf. Professor Mabbott's annotation on p. 36. Cf. A. H. Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1941), p. 410.

³ Cf. Hervey Allen, *Israel* (New York, 1934), p. 470.

⁴ *Sun*, New York, April 13, 1844, no. 3295, p. 2, col. 2. The copy located by the *Union List of Newspapers* at the New Jersey Historical Society is reported by the librarian missing as of Feb. 2, 1950. The broken runs of the *Sun* indicated by the *Union List* for the Kansas Historical Society and the Public Library of the City of Boston are reported by the librarians not to include the issue in question.

Postscript



BY EXPRESS.

ASTOUNDING INTELLIGENCE BY PRIVATE EXPRESS FROM CHARLESTON VIA NORFOLK!—THE ATLANTIC OCEAN CROSSED IN THREE DAYS!! —ARRIVAL AT SULLIVAN'S ISLAND OF A STEERING BALLOON INVENTED BY MR. MONCK MASON!!

We stop the press at a late hour, to announce that, by a Private Express from Charleston, S. C., we are just put in possession of full details of the most extraordinary adventure ever accomplished by man. *The Atlantic Ocean has been actually traversed in a balloon, and in the incredibly brief period of Three Days!* Eight persons have crossed in the machine—among others Sir Everard Bringhurst and Mr. Monck Mason.—We have barely time now to announce this most novel and unexpected intelligence; but we hope by 10 this morning to have ready an Extra with a detailed account of the voyage.

P. S.—The Extra will be positively ready, and for sale at our counter, by 10 o'clock this morning. It will embrace all the particulars yet known. We have also placed in the hands of an excellent artist a representation of the "STEERING BALLOON," which will accompany the particulars of the voyage.

POE'S READING OF ANNE OF GEIERSTEIN

JOHN ROBERT MOORE

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I

THE IMMENSE popularity of Scott's novels in the Southern States has been sufficiently recognized, and the influence of one of the "Gothic" passages of *Anne of Geierstein* in the founding of the Ku-Klux Klan has been established by Professor James Taft Hatfield.¹ Poe's wide acquaintance with Scott has been remarked upon by Professor Killis Campbell,² and in a previous article I have shown some examples of the importance of this reading for an understanding of Poe's own work.³ Here I wish to point out that Poe drew on *Anne of Geierstein* (a minor romance, totally condemned by inferior judges like James Ballantyne but—in the more lyrical and less melodramatic parts—a work of unusual delicacy of feeling which has been a secondary favorite with some lovers of Scott)⁴ for material for two of his most characteristic writings. These two are (1) the most famous of his poems and (2) a prose fantasy of which Poe remarked in the margin of the magazine in which it was published: "This story contains more of myself and of my inherent tastes and habits of thought than anything I have written."⁵

II

All students of Poe will recall his account of the composition of "The Raven": how he chose "the bird of ill omen" with an "ominous reputation" and a "demonic character," how he rejected the locale of a forest or the fields as not being circumscribed in space, and how "the first metaphorical expression of the poem" appeared in "Take thy beak from out *my heart*."⁶ In the poem itself we find a repeated use of the words "ghastly" and "ominous," an emphasis on the eyes of the bird which are compared to a demon's, and an expression of uncertainty as to whether the Raven is "bird or devil."

¹ *PMLA*, XXXVII, 735-739 (Dec., 1922).

² "Poe's Reading," *University of Texas Studies in English*, No. 5, Oct., 1925, p. 173.

³ "Poe, Scott, and 'The Murders in the Rue Morgue,'" *American Literature*, VIII, 52-58 (March, 1936).

⁴ Cf. Lockhart's *Life of Scott* (Edinburgh and London, 1838), VII, 161, 182, 192-193; John Buchan, *Sir Walter Scott* (London, 1932), pp. 321-322.

⁵ Quoted by Una Pope-Hennessy, *Edgar Allan Poe* (London, 1934), p. 171.

⁶ Cf. "The Philosophy of Composition."

Every one of these details appears in a long and vivid descriptive passage in *Anne of Geierstein*, where young Arthur is faced suddenly by the shape of a lammergeier, driven by the tempest and by a landslide to take its position immediately before him:

with a *ghastly* scream and a flagging wing, it had sunk down upon the pinnacle of a crag, not four yards from the tree in which Arthur held his precarious station. . . . sat there and gazed at him. . . .

As Arthur . . . raised his *eyes* . . . he encountered those of the voracious and obscene bird. . . .

As if arrested by a charm, the *eyes* of young Philipson remained bent on this *ill-omened* and ill-favoured *bird*, without his having the power to remove them. The apprehension of dangers, ideal as well as real, weighed upon his weakened mind. . . . The near approach . . . seemed as *ominous* as it was unusual. Why did it gaze on him with such glaring earnestness . . . the foul *bird*, was she the *demon* of the place to which her name referred, . . . Could the creature . . . wait, like a *raven* or a hooded crow by a dying sheep, for the earliest opportunity to commence her ravenous banquet? *Was he doomed to feel its beak and talons before his heart's blood should cease to beat?*⁷

Arthur Philipson managed to drive away the ominous bird and to recover from his mental prostration; but it seems certain that so observant a reader as Poe would have found in this scene much to help him in the composition of "The Raven." Two additional lines of derivation, supplying the idea of limited speech and of entrance into a chamber, are suggested in Hawthorne's story "A Virtuoso's Collection" (first published in *The Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion* in May, 1842, and republished in the first semiannual volume of this short-lived magazine, I, 193-200, January to July, 1824, when "The Raven" was presumably beginning to take shape). Among his treasures Hawthorne's virtuoso shows the raven of Barnaby Rudge and the raven in which "the soul of King George the First revisited his lady love, the Duchess of Kendall."^{7*}

⁷ *Anne of Geierstein*, chap. ii (Dryburgh ed., pp. 22-23). (The italics are mine.)

^{7*} *Mosses from an Old Manse* (New York, 1846), II, 196. The original form of the story about the ghost of George I appears in *The Works of Horatio Walpole* (London, 1798), IV, 283: ". . . in a tender mood he promised the duchess of Kendal, that if she survived him, and it were possible for the departed to return to this world, he would make her a visit. The duchess on his death so much expected the accomplishment of that engagement, that a large raven, or some black fowl, flying into one of the windows of her villa at Isleworth, she was persuaded it was the soul of her departed monarch so accoutred, and received and treated it with all the respect and tenderness of duty, till the royal bird or

III

"The Raven" was first published in 1845, and the date of its composition has been assigned to 1842-1844.⁷ Poe's interest in *Anne of Geierstein* about this time is vividly indicated by the expansion of "The Landscape Garden" of 1842 into "The Domain of Arnheim" of 1847.

For "The Domain of Arnheim" there have been several suggested sources, all of them of more or less possible significance, such as Poe's recollections of the campus of the University of Virginia and the neighboring Ragged Mountains, his canoeing on the Hudson and its tributaries and his tramping over the Palisades, his probable visit to Prince's Linnaean Garden at Flushing, and his avid interest in Beckford's Fonthill.⁸ However, Poe's explicit reference to Fonthill in "The Domain of Arnheim" is enough to cause us to reject that as the principal source; Poe was not in the habit of giving his secrets away so easily. And none of these suggested sources nor all of them together could account for some of the more important features of the expanded tale as it appeared in 1847.

"The Landscape Garden" contained nothing remotely like Scott. It was a crude sketch of the plans of a man with a fortune of \$450,000,000 to create an ideal perfection in the art of landscape; "costs were of no consequence, since a fabulously wealthy 'angel' named Ellison would take care of all the bills."⁹ But in the expanded version of 1847 came an accession of poetic feeling which has led a good many critics to rank this "enchanting dream"¹⁰ high among Poe's works.

No explanation has been offered for Poe's calling his fancied

she took their last flight." I am indebted to my colleague Professor Frank Davidson for calling my attention to Walpole's "reminiscence." No one possible source has all the main features necessary: in Scott the bird was demon-like; in Dickens it had the power of speech; in Walpole it was a visitor in a chamber, supposedly as the representative of the dead.

⁷ Cf. George E. Woodberry, *The Life of Edgar A. Poe* (Boston and New York, 1909), II, 111-114.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 304; Mary E. Phillips, *Edgar Allan Poe the Man* (Philadelphia, 1926), I, 251-265; Hervey Allen, *Israfel* (New York, 1927), II, 423, 737; Una Pope-Hennessy, *op. cit.*, p. 171; A. H. Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe* (New York and London, 1941), pp. 114, 531.

⁹ N. Bryllion Fagin, *The Histrionic Mr. Poe* (Baltimore, 1949), p. 180. Professor Fagin is discussing "The Domain of Arnheim," but his remark applies to the original plan based on Ellison's fortune.

¹⁰ E. C. Stedman, "Introduction to the Tales," *The Works of Edgar Allan Poe* (Chicago, 1894), I, 103.

region "The Domain of Arnheim." The name obviously cannot be derived from the old Hanseatic town of Arnhem (occasionally spelled Arnheim), later captured by the Dutch and surviving today as an attractive commercial city on the lower Rhine. Nor can Poe be supposed to have borrowed it from the remote region in northern Australia named Arnhem by the early Dutch explorers. Perhaps the Ragged Mountains, the Hudson, and the Palisades might be expected to give hints for the river turning into a narrow stream and bordered by hills. But what of the special features of the "Domain" which have caused several writers to compare the story to "Kubla Khan"—the approach as the evening falls; the slope which suggests a cataract of such jewels as rubies and opals; the "amphitheatre" in which the observer arrives; the stream winding around the side of the castle; the several suggestions of the East; and the "minarets" of the building which seems to be "the phantom handiwork, conjointly, of the Sylphs, of the Fairies, of the Genii, and of the Gnomes," "a mass of semi-Gothic, semi-Saracenic architecture"?

All these details occur in *Anne of Geierstein*, especially in Chapters XI and XXI. Anne's grandmother had been a lady from Persia, in popular repute something more like a sylph than a human being. Her daughter, Anne's mother, was called Sybilla. Her father's brilliant ruby and her remarkable opal figured prominently in her story. Scott's own "anonymous" motto for Chapter XI spoke of "Sylphs" and "the Gnome." Young Philipson approached the castle along the banks of a river (the Rhine) until he reached a natural amphitheater. He followed the course of a stream, which circled around a castle of the first order, "less in the strict Gothic than in what has been termed the Saracenic style, . . . rich in minarets, cupolas, and similar approximations to Oriental structures," with "emblems and mottoes, seemingly of Oriental character," inscribed on the outside.

If any further similarities need to be pointed out, we may observe that Scott prefaced the approach to the castle (just as Poe did) with a brief disquisition on tastes in landscape, and that the name of his enchanted region was the domain¹¹ of Arnheim.

¹¹ The specific word is used in chap. xxi (Dryburgh ed., p. 268).

LOWELL'S PART IN THE HARVARD EXHIBITION OF 1837

GEORGE PEIRCE CLARK

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HORACE E. SCUDDER alludes to the fact that Lowell "in a public exhibition in the first term of his senior year . . . took part in a conference bearing the labored title: 'Ancient Epics, considered as Pictures of Manners, as Proofs of Genius, or as Sources of Entertainment.'"¹ The exhibition, which took place on October 17, 1837, included such diverse fare as a Latin Oration: "De Virorum Illustrum Exemplis"; a Forensic: "Whether we should abstain from publishing the Truth from a Fear lest the World be not prepared to receive it"; and a Mathematical Exercise on the topic: "The Singular Points of Curved Lines." Lowell's part in the exhibition was a paper on the second subject of the conference: "Ancient Epics as Proofs of Genius."² The manuscript of this essay, consisting of four carefully copied pages in Lowell's hand, is now in the archives of Harvard College, and has never before been published.

This undergraduate production of Lowell's is perhaps his earliest attempt at formal criticism. The impressionism and the tendency to rhapsodize which are apparent in much of Lowell's later criticism are present here, as is also the exultant tone that was his whenever he discovered the manifestations of creative genius. In its seriousness of tone it presents a contrast to Lowell's contributions in the same year to the college literary magazine, *Harvardiana*, and reflects the solemnity of the occasion on which it was given.³

In this early essay may be seen not only the obvious influence of Lowell's reading of Homer, but also evidence of his reading in two of Homer's critics, Aristotle and Plato. The admiration which Lowell expresses for Homer undoubtedly reflects in part his study of Aristotle's *Poetics*, which eulogizes Homer as the "poet of poets." The commonplace book which Lowell was keeping at this time⁴ contains several extracts from Aristotle's work, all painstakingly copied down in the original Greek. One of these, the observation (IV, 8) that there must have been

¹ James Russell Lowell: *A Biography*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1901), I, 30.

² Harvard University, *Order of Performances for Exhibition*: Tuesday, October 17, 1837 (Cambridge, 1837). For permission to publish Lowell's manuscript I am indebted to the courtesy of the Harvard College Library.

³ In his "Cambridge Thirty Years Ago" Lowell describes the awe with which undergraduates viewed the ceremonies of Exhibition Day.

⁴ Lowell entered his quotations according to subject in an alphabetized notebook, called by the publisher *Index Rerum*. This notebook is now among the Lowell papers in the Harvard Library. See R. C. Beatty, "Lowell's Commonplace Books," *New England Quarterly*, XVIII, 391-401 (Sept., 1945).

many satirical poets before Homer, may have encouraged the young scholar to assert with such confidence that there were poems before Homer's day. And behind Lowell's opening paragraphs on the inspirational character of Homer's "untutored minstrelsy" probably lies the theory of poetic enthusiasm which Socrates sets forth in the *Ion*.

Lowell's esteem for the Homeric poems never diminished. It is interesting, for example, to find him writing twenty years later in "Library of Old Authors" substantially what he says in this essay concerning the relationship between art and nature in Homer:

Homer's simplicity is by no means mere simplicity of thought, nor, as it is often foolishly called, of nature. It is the simplicity of consummate art, the last achievement of poets and the invariable characteristic of the greatest among them.⁵

Lowell's knowledge of the Greek text of Homer was perhaps limited in 1837 to the twelve books of the *Iliad* which, according to the college catalogue, were read in the junior year at Harvard. The *Odyssey* was not in the curriculum at this time, but the mature Lowell was certainly familiar with it, and he had probably read it, in one language or another, by the time he composed his exhibition piece.

ANCIENT EPICS AS PROOFS OF GENIUS

An aged blindman wanders about from city to city, and from house to house, begging bread; in return for the hospitality of the charitable, he has nothing to offer but his own rude and artless minstrelsy. In the humble wanderer there was nothing to invite a particular attention. But see him now, as the strains of untutored minstrelsy pour from his lips, and his whole appearance is changed. A moment ago you felt pity for the mendicant, now, you are filled with an admiration, not unmixed with awe, for the poet.

His form forgets its years, and seems, like Virgil's Sybil, to have swelled to a more majestic stature. That face, which before expressed nought but the humble thankfulness of the beggar, beams with the full dignity of inspiration; and that eye which, but now, was cold and dead in the night of blindness, flashes, as if, like Prometheus, it had called down fire from heaven.

At length the old man is missed from his accustomed round. He had long enough endured the neglect of a cold and selfish world,

⁵ *The Complete Writings of James Russell Lowell*, Elmwood ed. (Boston, 1904), II, 324.

and had gone where "the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest."

The beggar died, but the poet lives. Perhaps this anticipation illuminated his careworn features as they stiffened beneath the freezing touch of death. Yes, the poet lived. Every line from his inspired lips was garnered in mens' [*sic*] memories; and cities, which had barely saved the beggar from starvation, disputed for the honor of having given birth to the poet.

Such was the fate of Homer; such is too often the fate of Genius. There needs no farther proof of his genius than the fact that his poems have, in so remarkable a manner, "conquered time and fate." Why did not his *Iliad* and *Odyssey* sink into the same nameless, and impenetrable oblivion which has swallowed up the poems of all who preceded him? For that there were poems before his day cannot be doubted, since it is absurd to suppose that a perfect epic should be the first production of the muse of any country.

The best proof of Genius is, to create, and this is peculiarly the attribute of Homer. Living at a period when there could have been scarcely any models at all, and no perfect ones, he formed himself. Those who went before him had, perhaps, chiselled out the statue, but it was left for him to breathe into it the breath of life.

The offspring of a savage age, his poetry is refined. Under his magic touch, the barbarous mythology of his countrymen, springs, like Minerva from the head of Jove, into the full maturity of romance and beauty. Homer could not die, he inspired the immortal vitality of Genius.

In many cases, it has been with poets, as with wine, age alone has been considered a sufficient guarantee of merit. Such are more talked about than read, and serve rather for a display of pedantic affectation, than for any real gratification or advantage. After having been dragged into notoriety by the labors of some enthusiastic antiquary, they are generally allowed to slumber quietly in their allotted shelves. But such is not the case with Homer. He has been read and admired in all ages & countries that have made any pretensions to refinement. Even now, in spite of the abundance of poetry & rhyme, he is still cherished.

Most poets who have sprung, like wild flowers, from the body of the people, have been indebted mostly to nature for their power

of charming, as is the case with Burns & many others. But in Homer there is abundance of art. He seems to have gone entirely beyond his age, and to have created a world of his own.

Any one may read him without fear of meeting aught that can offend the ear of delicacy or taste. Yet in a later, & far more refined age, how often do we find the pages of the polished Virgil, and the witty, and no less polished Horace, deformed by instances of coarseness & obscenity.

The poetry of the ancients is deficient, perhaps, in the ease of modern versification, and often wants the modern polish, but for the sublime—look at the sacred poets, there is nothing in modern times that approaches them. Milton, it is true, went far, very far, but even he never could have conceived that “still, small voice” which so magnificently expresses the immediate presence of Omnipotence.

In fine, the ancient epics need no defence they speak for themselves. They may be attacked indeed, but they will bear up against it. They stand like some huge mountain, around whose peak the storm may gather and the lightnings play, but the storm melts away, and there still stands the mountain smiling serenely in the sunshine which is always sure to follow.

JAS RUSSELL LOWELL. Oct. 10. 1837.

A NOTE ON THE TITLE “MOBY-DICK”

WALTER HARDING
Rutgers University

THE USUALLY accepted source for the title of Melville's whaling classic, *Moby-Dick*, is an article by John M. Reynolds in the *Knickerbocker Magazine* for May, 1839, entitled “Mocha-Dick; or, the White Whale of the Pacific.”¹ But there apparently has never been any explanation made of the transition from “Mocha-Dick” to “Moby-Dick,” and it has been generally assumed that the change originated with Melville. But the phrase “Moby-Dick” was in use four years before Melville published his book and in a place where it might easily have reached his notice. Wilbur H. Siebert,

¹ *Moby-Dick*, ed. Willard Thorp (New York, 1947), p. 166.

in his *The Underground Railroad in Massachusetts*,² tells us, in speaking of the Abolitionist activities in Boston:

This second Vigilance Committee employed Captain Austin Bearse as its principal agent in rescuing fugitives from coasting vessels in Boston Harbor. However, the first slave brought to the city by Mr. Bearse came in his yacht *Moby Dick* from Albany, New York, in the summer of 1847.

Melville was well acquainted with Albany. It was the home of his maternal ancestors, and he both visited and lived there off and on throughout the early years of his life. His mother settled in Lansingburgh, a suburb (now a part) of Albany in 1835.³ Melville himself spent at least part of the summer of 1847, the very summer Captain Bearse left Albany, in Lansingburgh.⁴

Since Melville's wife came from Boston and his father-in-law continued to live there, it is also possible that he heard of the activities of Captain Bearse and his ship there, for visits between Melville and his wife's family were frequent.

Unquestionably Melville sensed the essential inappropriateness of naming his *white* whale *Mocha-Dick*, particularly when he went to such lengths to emphasize "the whiteness of the whale." His final choice of *Moby-Dick* was thus both more suitable and far more euphonious. Quite possibly Captain Bearse unwittingly aided Melville in that choice.

THE IDENTITY OF BENET'S THE REVEREND JOHN SMEET

ALEXANDER SAUNDERS

The University of Oklahoma

STEPHEN VINCENT BENÉT'S creative ingenuity was never better displayed than in his short story, "The Devil and Daniel Webster" (1936). His conception of an "All-America" jury of bad men, only seven of whom are named, is a clever tour de force, since the reader may choose for himself five other names from his own list of favorite scoundrels to fill out the panel of twelve, excepting only Benedict Arnold, who is about other business. Six of the jury—Walter Butler, Simon Girty, King Philip, Governor Dale, Morton

² Worcester, Mass., 1936, p. 20.

³ Raymond Weaver, *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic* (New York, 1921), p. 69.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

of Merry Mount, and Blackbeard—are well known in the history books or in the folklore of New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The seventh—the Reverend John Smeet—is not so familiar; and yet there is about his name and the circumstantial description of his appearance and personality a ring of something faintly reminiscent, especially so when the reader is informed that the judge who will preside over the trial of Jabez Stone is the Justice Hathorne who had formerly sat at the Salem Witch trials. But no amount of investigation in the standard American biographical dictionaries or in the various histories of Massachusetts or of the Salem Witch trials elicited one bit of evidence as to his identity. Finally in desperation I wrote to the late William Rose Benét, who replied on June 9, 1945:

Steve created many characters that he seemed to make actual. A little while ago . . . a Librarian wrote a most amusing piece in the *Atlantic* about "John Cleveland Cotton,"¹ an apparently historical character Steve had created. I fear the same is true of the Reverend John Smeet! My sister-in-law, Rosemary Benét, Steve's widow, thinks so. For Cotton, Steve had created a whole biography and bibliography. He would have done the same for you with Smeet, I am sure, with great delight. We have to allow genius its amusements!

¹ Emily V. Wedge, "Title Tale," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXIV, 117, 119 (Dec., 1944). Miss Wedge wittily discusses her attempts to run down the identity of Cotton and quotes letters from Benét to her and to another correspondent in which he generously provided the latter with a circumstantial biography and bibliography of Cotton.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association has authorized through the year 1951 a joint-subscription rate of \$8.80 for *PMLA* and *American Literature*. All checks and orders are to be addressed to Professor Lyman R. Bradley, Treasurer, 100 Washington Square East, New York 3, N. Y.

Both the Duke University Press and the Treasurer of the Modern Language Association have had so much difficulty with the joint subscriptions that they have decided hereafter to take only subscriptions which begin with the January or March number of *American Literature*. Those members of the Association whose subscriptions expire with other numbers may purchase the odd numbers from the Duke University Press (\$1.00 each).

The Duke University Press offers to students (graduate and undergraduate) who wish to subscribe to *American Literature* a special subscription price of \$2.00 a year. Subscriptions must be accompanied by an endorsement from the instructor in charge of the student's work in American Literature. Blanks may be secured from the Duke University Press, Durham, N. C.

J. B. H.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

- Charles Brockden Brown and the Agenda of American Civilization.
Warner B. Berthoff (Harvard, American Civilization).
- Mark Twain and the Southwestern Yarn-Spinners. James H. Penrod
(Peabody).
- The Literary Life of William Clifton, 1771-1779. Leo Albert Bressler
(Pennsylvania, American Civilization).
- Cooper's Ethical and Religious Ideas. Frank Collins (Wisconsin).
- The Moral, Social, Economic, and Political Ideas Underlying James Fenimore Cooper's Attitude toward America. Sterling Lanier
(Harvard, American Civilization).
- Henry James's Revisions of His Early Short Stories and Short Novels.
Robert A. Elderdice (Maryland).
- The Sources of *The Scarlet Letter*. Alfred Sandlin Reid (Florida).
- Jack London. Abraham Rothberg (Columbia).
- Jack London's Fiction: Its Social Milieu. Sam S. Baskett (California,
Berkeley).
- Poe and the Literati. James B. Reece (Duke).
- Irwin Russell: A Critical Biography. Harold J. Douglas (Tennessee).
- William Gilmore Simms as a Magazine Editor. John Guilds, Jr.
(Duke).
- The Life and Works of Ruth McEnery Stuart. Frances Fletcher
(Louisiana).
- Ruth Suckow: A Study in Regional Fiction. Margaret Stewart
(Illinois).
- Maurice Thompson as Opponent of Realism. Otis Wheeler (Minnesota).
- The Literary Life of John Tomlin, Friend of Poe. Elizabeth C.
Phillips (Tennessee).
- Edith Wharton and Her Criticism of American Life. Nancy R.
Leach (Pennsylvania).
- Charles Dudley Warner, 1829-1900. Louis Trilling (Columbia).
- The Shakespearean Criticism of William Winter. Gilbert M. Rubenstein
(Indiana).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

- Relations of American Art and Literature. Dorothy C. Ross (Iowa, American Civilization).
- The American Literary Expatriate as a Social Critic of the United States. David Lewin (New York).
- English Opinions of America in Revolt, 1773-1800. Lester Hirsch (New York).
- D. H. Lawrence and American Literature. H. L. Alderstein (New York).
- The Materials and Methods of American Horror Fiction. Winfred S. Emmons (Louisiana).
- Philadelphia in the Jacksonian Era. William S. Hastings (Pennsylvania, American Civilization).
- A History of the *South Carolina Gazette*, 1732-1775. Henning Cohen (Tulane).
- O'Dem Golden Slippers: A History of the Philadelphia Mummers Parade. Charles E. Welch, Jr. (Pennsylvania, American Civilization).

II. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

- The Interrelationship of Tune and Text in the Southern Traditional Ballad. George W. Boswell (Peabody, 1950).
- The *Dial* as an Organ of Literary Criticism. Frederic J. Mosher (Illinois, 1950).
- The Dynamics of Conservative Criticism: Literary Criticism in American Magazines, 1880-1900. Leonard I. Lutwack (Ohio State, 1950).
- American Literary Criticism of George Meredith, 1860-1917. Dorothy Dee Bailey (Wisconsin, 1950).
- Some Aspects of Milton's American Reputation to 1900. Lester F. Zimmerman (Wisconsin, 1949).
- A Study of Form in the American Drama. Richard K. Redfern (Cornell, 1950).
- The Backgrounds and Origins of Realism in the American Novel, 1850-1888. Harry J. Runyan (Wisconsin, 1949).
- The Objective Treatment of the "Hard-boiled Hero" in American Fiction: A Study in the Frontier Background of Modern American Literature. Philip Durham (Northwestern, 1949).
- The Faust Myth and Hawthorne. William Bysshe Stein (Florida, 1950).

- William Dean Howells's Relations with Political Parties. Louis J. Rudd (Wisconsin, 1949).
- Henry James and the Life of the Imagination. Donald C. Emerson (Wisconsin, 1950).
- The Mind and Art of Jack London. Robert B. Holland (Wisconsin, 1950).
- James Russell Lowell's Appraisal of American Life and Thought. John E. Reinhardt (Wisconsin, 1950).
- Frank Norris and the Environment. Orrington Ramsay (Wisconsin, 1949).
- The History of the *Evangelical Review*. Victor E. Gimmesrad (Wisconsin, 1950).
- Kentuckians as Pictured by American Novelists. George Grise (Peabody, 1950).
- Michigan as Recorded in Its Writings. Kathleen I. Gillard (Peabody, 1950).
- Virginia, 1902-1941: A Cultural History. Marshall W. Fishwick (Yale, American Studies, 1950).
- Thomas Wolfe et les romanciers français. Daniel L. Delakas (Paris, 1950).

IV. DISSERTATION TOPIC DROPPED:

- The Correspondence of William Winter. Gilbert M. Rubenstein (Indiana).

V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Ray M. Lawless (Junior College of Kansas City) is preparing a *Handbook of American Balladry*, a study of ballad collecting, collectors, and modern singers, which will contain a descriptive bibliography of collections of ballads and folk poetry.

Leonard Lutwack (University of Maryland) is at work on a book on literary criticism in late nineteenth-century American magazines.

James B. Stronks (University of Chicago) is at work on a study of Henry Adams's *Tahiti*.

LEWIS LEARY, *Bibliographer*

4633 Duke Station
Durham, North Carolina

Thanks to continuing grants from the Research Council of Duke University, it now seems possible to extend the revision of *Articles on American Literature* (1947) to cover the period from 1900 to 1950. In

addition to such professional publications as *PMLA*, *Studies in Philology*, *Modern Language Notes*, and others, the following periodicals are being searched for the period from 1900 to 1920: *Atlantic Monthly*, *Bookman*, *Century*, *Critic*, *Dial*, *Forum*, *Harper's Magazine*, *Independent*, *Literary Digest*, *Nation*, *North American Review*, *Outlook*, *Scribner's*, *Seven Arts*, *Sewanee Review*, *Smart Set*, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, and *Yale Review*.

Members of the American Literature Group and subscribers to *American Literature* can contribute toward making the compilation a co-operative project by calling attention to important articles which appear, in the period from 1900 to 1920, in periodicals other than those listed above, or to articles in the period from 1920 to 1950 which have been previously overlooked. Address communications to Professor Lewis Leary, 4633 Duke Station, Durham, North Carolina.

BOOK REVIEWS

WALT WHITMAN OF THE NEW YORK AURORA: *Editor at Twenty-two.*

Edited by Joseph Jay Rubin and Charles H. Brown. State College, Pa.: Bald Eagle Press. 1950. viii, 148 pp. \$4.00.

Thirty years ago this little book would have provoked many reviewers to inquire why good print and good paper, not to mention competent scholarship, should have been wasted on the immature and sometimes even juvenile effusions of a brash young editor of twenty-two when his claim to our attention rests entirely upon later poetic compositions of authentic genius. Since then Whitman's contributions to the *Brooklyn Eagle* and the *Brooklyn Times* have been reprinted at length, and his more intermittent work on the *Leader*, the *Standard*, *Life Illustrated*, and the *Galaxy* likewise preserved, so that the contemporary reviewer might ask the same question with seemingly more justification. But in both instances the reviewer would be wrong. Whitman's journalistic career, varied and discontinuous as it was, directly affected about one third of his life and indirectly influenced all of it. Yet there is no doubt that, while hurriedly mentioning these influences, he tried to focus attention on his life and work as a poet to the obscuration of his newspaper work. In this there is a certain inconsistency. He carefully preserved verses written when he was an aging invalid, even though he knew the afflatus was gone, simply to complete the record and round out the poetic autobiography. That was his privilege. But the critic and the biographer need to view his life clearly and to see it whole. In his verse the poet declared that everything a person does is of consequence, that nothing fails of its perfect return—the doctrine of *karma*. Logically therefore he should sympathize with the scholar's determination to withhold judgment until all the relevant facts are in, and the scholar cannot be blamed if he suspects that a little knowledge, about this paradoxical poet, can prove a dangerous thing.

Whitman's connection with the *Aurora*, in the spring of 1842, lasted less than two months. His editorials, or rather a generous selection of them, have now been made available to the student, after being located in the Library of Paterson, New Jersey.¹ They are similar enough to other newspaper work done by Whitman to render collations useful in establishing their authenticity (though explicit announcements appear

¹ Professor Rubin announced his discovery of this file of the *Aurora* in *American Literature*, May, 1939. Apparently the file is not absolutely complete.

in the paper itself concerning his appointment and his dismissal); but they provide a new field in which to study the author's growth as he passed from tripod to tripod during his nomadic journalistic period. I have had no opportunity to examine the *Aurora* file itself, but these reprints seem to me an important contribution to our knowledge of Whitman. This evaluation is based less upon their uniqueness than upon their number and date. Hitherto our knowledge of Whitman's newspaper work before going to the *Eagle* in 1846 has been limited to a piece or two copied from the *Long Islander* (1838) and the adolescent poems and "Sun-Down Papers" from the *Long Island Democrat* (1839-1840). I have also a photostat of a single issue of the *Tattler* (June 24, 1842), Whitman's next berth after leaving the *Aurora*. But here is material enough to warrant safer generalizations. Containing more than eighty prose pieces, on a great variety of subjects and written in a considerable variety of moods and manners, not to mention a hitherto unknown poem and the revision of Whitman's earliest known poem, the present collection affords us an opportunity to see the future poet at a period when, not yet visited by the Phantom by Ontario's shore, he was, as he remembered in 1888, devoting himself to "continued personal ambition and effort, as a young fellow, to enter with the rest into competition for the usual rewards, business, political, literary, &c.—to take part in the great *mélée*, both for victory's prize itself and to do some good." Only a few months before going to the *Aurora*, he had published "Ambition" on the front page of the *Brother Jonathan*, and only a few months after leaving the *Aurora* he was to display his aspirations as a novelist in *Franklin Evans*. As he tells us in "A Backward Glance o'er Travel'd Roads," the poetic ambition which finally gave *Leaves of Grass* to the world came to the front only about his thirtieth year, or eight years after his connection with the *Aurora*. If in that newspaper he betrays any temptation to "pose" (as certainly there is plenty of posturing), it is not as a poet hungry for national fame. Nevertheless what later went into his poetry had its roots, or some of them, in what he had been as an editor. For instance, the egotism of *Leaves of Grass*, as it is now a commonplace to say, was balanced, even denatured, by an equal egalitarianism; but in these pages of the *Aurora* he had not learned to be so generous. In 1842 Walt was as vain as a coxcomb. He wrote passages that read like a description of his 1840 photograph, the one with fashionable coat and hat, necktie, trimmed black beard and affectedly displayed walking stick. He is without modesty, too, when he contemplates his own qualifications as an editor.

Without vanity, we can say that the AURORA is by far the best newspaper in the town. It is bound to no party, but fearless, open, frank in its tone—

brilliant and sound, pointed without laboring after effect, ardent without fanaticism, humorous without coarseness, intellectual without affectation—and altogether presents the most entertaining melange of latest news, miscellaneous literature, fashionable intelligence, hits at the times, pictures of life as it is, and everything else that can please and instruct—far beyond any publication in the United States. Its chief editor, and his coadjutors, are among the ablest writers in America; and each “knows his part, and does it well.”

He thinks Bryant the best poet in the English language and the editor of the best newspaper (next to his own) “as regards abstract merit,” but “the reputation of a refined poet and the course that must be pursued in order to make a readable paper clash with each other.” The editor of the *Aurora* suffers as yet from no such handicap, for he boasts, “Though we do not expect to set the North river on fire, we are free to confess, without vanity, that we have full confidence in our capacity to make the *Aurora* the most readable journal in the republic.” People expect to find in it, he adds, “an intellectual repast—something *piquant*, and something solid, and something sentimental, and something humorous—all dished up in ‘our own peculiar way.’” As to the last named quality, there is both more and less humor than the youthful editor suspected. His satirical jibes at his contemporaries, his facetious remarks about himself, his affected display of verbal coinages and French phrases, etc., fall flat today, but his naïveté in disclaiming vanity while in the very act of displaying it can only amuse.

The “something sentimental” is abundantly illustrated in this collection. There is an original poem on the death of the mad poet McDonald Clarke, a tearful description of the last hours of a wastrel, a tender passage on the play of innocent children in the Battery, a gushing tribute to a beautiful girl on Broadway, a spirited appeal for a group of prostitutes who have been too roughly rounded up, a pathetic description of a fire, and a sympathetic story of a woman who tries by force to resist the encroachment of the growing city on a cemetery where rest the ashes of her dead.

The “solid” articles may be represented by Walt’s display of his self-conscious Americanism. As he said, the *Aurora* was not a party paper, but the proprietors insisted on their editor being 100 per cent American in his principles and his loyalties, preferably also in his origin. When an effort was being made under the leadership of Bishop Hughes to have the state legislature allocate public funds for parochial schools, Whitman fought with Jeffersonian fervor such an attempt to mix church and state. He used such strong language against the Catholics, the Irish, and other foreigners (though in the same breath welcoming to America those who

were willing to become what he considered good Americans) that the *Aurora* was invited to identify itself with the Nativist party. This Whitman emphatically refused to do. But, despite his hankering for Tammany patronage, he did oppose that party on the school issue, even advising his readers to stay away from the polls. It seems clear that politically he was as independent as he was to prove in the *Eagle* office. Indeed, in national politics he sought to minimize the responsibilities of the government as much as possible.

What must amaze the reader who has never turned the pages of early American journals is the manner in which they waged their political battles. Charles Heyde, Walt's brother-in-law, is quoted by Dr. R. M. Bucke as affirming that there were two Whitmans: in his youth Walt had "hot blood and fighting qualities," whereas only with increasing age did suavity, self-control, and a mystical sympathy come to dominate his character. Support for such a view of Whitman's early manhood can be found in these leaders. One judges from the following that he did not admire James Gordon Bennett:

A reptile marking his path with slime wherever he goes, and breathing mildew at everything fresh and fragrant; a midnight ghoul, preying on rotteness and repulsive filth; a creature, hated by his nearest intimates, and bearing the consciousness thereof upon his distorted features, and upon his despicable soul; one whom good men avoid as a blot to his nature—whom all despise, and whom no one blesses—all this is James Gordon Bennett.

This "hot-blooded" Whitman is occasionally to reappear even in *Leaves of Grass*, as in "Respondez," a poem wisely dropped from later editions. In justice it should be added that billingsgate was not uncommon in our press a century ago, the lie direct being sometimes given even by Bryant in the *Evening Post*. But Whitman's attack on Hughes and his supporters was so intemperate that an eminent but unnamed politician was provoked to reprove him:

You have loaded those whom you dislike with abuse and opprobrium to a degree that I do not recollect ever to have seen equalled before; the fiercest invective and the hottest hate can hardly lead you farther than you have already gone. I question whether the English language affords superlatives more superlative than you have piled on, mountain high, upon the heads of certain individuals whose conduct you disapprove.

But Whitman does not stand corrected; he refuses "to be polite unto filthy vice—to stand on ceremony with a traitor—or treat a scoundrel with dainty punctilio." Patriotism is his excuse.

We would that all the taint of time-defiled custom—all the poisonous

atmosphere of European philosophy—all the fallacious glitter of a literature which, being under the patronage of courts and princes and haughty church, is not fitted for our beloved America—all the aristocratic nations, interwoven so closely with social customs, as to be almost ineradicable—we would that all this might have no sway in the land. These things are not for such as we. A higher and holier destiny, a more worthy mission, we sincerely hope, belongs to us.

I have dwelt upon the cocksure patriotic pharisaism of this period in Whitman's growth, to be matched a few years later by his jingoism during the war with Mexico, and on his identifying himself and his career with the expansive dream of his land and his age, because it seems to call for a re-evaluation of the theory that Whitman's poetic genius was born of frustration, a sense of personal inadequacy or of sexual deficiency—an inferiority complex which a lucky phrenological reading is supposed by some to have helped him overcome. We might not have expected it from George Whitman's often quoted but not too well informed remark, but Walt was not indifferent to female beauty. Passing an attractive girl on the street, he confides to readers of the *Aurora*, "We never professed to be very susceptible to the tender passion—but really those starlike eyes! and that queenly neck! and those luscious lips!" As to his feeling a deficiency in his social background, the editor of this fashionable newspaper lectures his readers on polite behavior and goes out of his way to call himself a gentleman. He is very sure of himself, or if Freudians insist that insecurity is betrayed by his protesting too much, then he has already discovered a way to cope with it. For he is happy, not only when strolling about town exhilarated by sights of nature and of mankind, but even more when occupying a position of respect and influence which brings him, at twenty-two, into rivalry with such men as Bennett, Greeley, and Bryant. We can discount the charge of his erstwhile employers, after he had left the *Aurora*, that he was "a pretty pup—whose indolence, incompetence, loaferism and blackguard habits forced us to kick him out of office," though in spite of the obvious amount of work that he did, he appears to have created somewhat the same impression on the owner of the *Eagle*; for Whitman had himself provoked this insult by declaring in the *Tattler* that the proprietors of the *Aurora* were deceitful, lacking in manliness, given to blackmail and to "more gross blasphemy and prurient conversation" than he had ever heard before. One suspects that he was already beginning his "language experiments," and thoroughly enjoying these wars of words. In any case he enjoyed himself, his job, and his prospects.

Despair, indeed! Send sombre thoughts to the devil—we'll none of them,

saith the heart within us. Have we not youth, and health, and no memory of guilty crimes committed, and a fair field, and the whole field, before us?

In other words,

Bliss was it in that *Aurora* to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven.

The *Aurora* contains a number of references to Emerson and to the growing influence of transcendentalism, and the present selections include a brief report of Emerson's lecture, "The Poetry of the Times." After describing the audience, particularly the reactions of Greeley, the author gives up his attempt to outline the lecture because he fears to do Emerson's ideas great injustice. "Suffice it to say, the lecture was one of the richest and most beautiful compositions, both for its matter and style, we have ever heard anywhere, at any time." If Whitman wrote this, as he probably did, though the editors do not claim that there is conclusive evidence of Whitman's editorship earlier than the day after it was published, it adds a significant bit of proof that Whitman had come under Emerson's influence long before his own poetic ambition had come to dominate him, and that by way of the very essay in which Emerson sounds his call for a great native American poet.

As to the authenticity of the selections here reprinted, the editors claim only that since Whitman was the principal editor, the leaders appearing within the limits of his known connection with the paper are probably his. In some cases his re-use of them can leave no doubt. In other cases the similarity with his ideas and style as shown elsewhere is unmistakable. It is true that Whitman mentions his "coadjutors" in the *Aurora* office and his employers mention him as their *leading* editor; it is true, also, that in *Specimen Days* Whitman refers to his having been a free-lance writer for the *Aurora*, just as the society columns of that paper were written by penny-a-liners. One cannot be absolutely positive concerning any particular editorial unless there is corroborative evidence, yet the value of the book rests upon the cumulative impact of the selections as a whole. Probably Whitman was first a free-lance writer and then, when a vacancy occurred, he was promoted. On the assumption that the material in this book came from the editorial columns I am not disposed to question the Whitman authorship of any of it; indeed, I think that if it were needed, even more supporting evidence could be found than has been presented.

The significance of this discovery is not like that of turning up an *Ur-Leaves*, or even that of presenting a wholly new type of the editorial Whitman. It lies rather in making clearer the germination of his conception of his relation and that of his poetry to American history and

culture and in presenting a convincing picture of the youthful Whitman, far from sure he was destined to be a great poet yet confident he would make his mark, and unconsciously accumulating materials and practicing that instrument which was to free his vision at last, the English language.

Queens College.

EMORY HOLLOWAY.

A CONCORDANCE OF WALT WHITMAN'S LEAVES OF GRASS AND SELECTED PROSE WRITINGS. By Edwin Harold Eby. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1949. Fascicle I, xiii, 256 pp. \$4.00.

WHITMAN'S AMERICAN FAME. By Charles B. Willard. Providence: Brown University. 1950. 269 pp. \$4.00.

THE INNER SANCTUM EDITION OF THE POETRY AND PROSE OF WALT WHITMAN. Edited by Louis Untermeyer. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1949. xxxii, 1224 pp. \$5.00.

WALT WHITMAN: *Leaves of Grass and Selected Prose*. Edited by Sculley Bradley. New York: Rinehart and Co. [c. 1949.] xxx, 568 pp. \$0.75.

Here is the long-awaited concordance of *Leaves of Grass*. One other does exist, prepared by Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Trimble of New Zealand; but it is selective, and although completed in 1909, never progressed beyond the manuscript. When Professor Eby announced the plans for his project, both Miss Nellie Luehrs and Professor Sculley Bradley abandoned similar work in progress. Their faith in Professor Eby has been justified, for this is a first-rate concordance.

Only one part, *A—Heart*, has been published, but four more will soon follow, including a concordance to the major prose works: *Democratic Vistas*, *A Backward Glance*, and the 1855, 1872, 1876, and 2nd Annex prefaces. The entry for each word contains a volume, page, and line reference to the Camden Edition plus another reference providing group title, poem title, stanza, and line. This concordance can therefore be used with any standard edition of Whitman's poetry. A spot check of more than one hundred items has failed to disclose any errors.

Even with the limited information available in Fascicle I of the concordance, one can estimate its future value to Whitman scholarship. Here in convenient form are the lists of the poet's private word-usages. Here are data about his sense-impressions: the number of times he uses the words *eat* (6), *feel* (33), and *hear* (139). Here is evidence of a vocabulary as diversified and vast as that of any poet in our language. The appearance of this book marks a major event in Whitmaniana.

The content of *Whitman's American Fame* is more precisely defined in the subtitle: "The Growth of His Reputation in America after 1892."

Beginning with the publicity manufactured by the "Whitman Enthusiasts" immediately after Walt's death, Professor Willard traces the recognition of Whitman by the journalistic critics, the academic critics, the creative writers, and general public. Each critic is treated in rapid-fire order—a quick summary, sometimes a short evaluation, then on to the next one. The evaluations are generally conservative and lapse into equivocation at difficult moments where sure judgment is expected. For instance, in discussing *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, he states that "Of all the Whitman biographical, critical, and exegetical literature thus far written, it is the only work that is sure to live." But on the verso of the same leaf he states:

To the student trying to know Whitman the man or to interpret Whitman the poet, Traubel's books are indeed interesting and helpful; but the circumstances of their composition preclude using them as evidence in matters otherwise unsubstantiated. (p. 56)

This study, according to the Preface, was based on the Saunders Collection, now in the Brown University Library. Unfortunately, the collection appears incomplete since several important critical articles have been overlooked. The names of such critics as Mumford, Campbell, and Myers do not even appear in the index. Although he has two chapters on the academic critics, Professor Willard does not seem to have searched the files of *American Literature*. While constant emphasis is placed upon the articles in the *Conservator*, little is mentioned of other contemporary journals and newspapers, and there is no treatment of the numerous academic theses written since Whitman's death. In discussing the "miracle" of Whitman's genius, the factors of self-development and intense work are ignored.

Professor Willard's topic is too large to come within the compass of a single investigation now. It would have been better to reduce its scope, thus permitting better penetration, and to postpone the complete history until all aspects of it had been examined.

The remarkable vitality of Whitman's fame is manifest in the number of editions now in print; they appear on the list of almost every major American publisher. Of these, the most ambitious is the Inner Sanctum Edition, edited by Louis Untermeyer. In a lively and self-confident attempt to educate the public in all phases of Whitman, the editor has reprinted the texts of the Deathbed Edition of *Leaves of Grass*, *Specimen Days*, *Democratic Vistas*, the 1855 preface, *A Backward Glance*, *An American Primer*, three of Walt's early reviews of *Leaves*, selections from his letters and his later prose. In addition to this, a second part contains

more than thirty of the most significant critical comments on the poet, a chronology, and a selective bibliography. In the words of the publisher:

A single manageable but comprehensive book thus provides the quintessential equivalent of numberless editions of *Whitman's own writings*, and almost fifty books *about Whitman*. This basic edition is designed to embrace and integrate them all. (p. vi)

This compilation has its merits for quick reference, but for more general use it may not be found satisfactory. The biography, relegated to the editor's introduction, strives for spontaneity, but has a slipshod air and in a few instances is inaccurate, as in the discussions of Whitman's genealogy and of the *Freeman*. Only the "Rejected Poems" are dated. There is no annotation to help the reader understand Whitman's purposes which he himself "curiously veiled." With the exceptions of the introductions and the chronology, this is a scissors-and-paste job.

For the student, the most rewarding section is the anthology of criticism where, in addition to the usual excerpts from Emerson, Swinburne, and Gilchrist, he can be refreshed with two reviews by Henry James, and the comments of Santayana, Hearn, Lanier, G. M. Hopkins, among others less known. This part has continuity, lacking in the book as a whole. The publisher has embraced much of Whitman, a large order, but what he has integrated is very little.

The Deathbed Edition of *Leaves* is also reprinted in the modest, paper-bound Rinehart Edition. This handy volume, designed by Stefan Salter, includes an introduction by Sculley Bradley as well as the 1855 preface, the 1888 text of *A Backward Glance*, and the 1888 text of *Democratic Vistas*. Aside from the introduction and a brief textual and bibliographical note, there are no aids for the student. Nevertheless the book deserves praise for being well printed, inexpensive, and convenient in size. It seems to be made for the reader who wants to study Whitman and absorb him. Furthermore, Sculley Bradley's fine introduction, one of the best of such essays on Whitman, skilfully interweaves criticism and biography. It is forthright, mature, and objective, supplying the proper background for the appreciation of the text of this attractive edition.

School of Library Science, Simmons College. ROLLO G. SILVER.

UNCOLLECTED POEMS OF JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. Edited by Thelma M. Smith. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1950. xxv, 291 pp. \$5.00.

This volume contains about 135 poems not included in any of Lowell's individual volumes of poetry or in his collected writings. Students of

Lowell have been aware of the existence of these uncollected poems through such works as Cooke's bibliography, the biographies of Scudder and Greenslet, and the several bibliographical articles on Lowell published some years ago by Killis Campbell; although Miss Smith appears to have made at least one addition to the Lowell canon—an early poem, "The Lesson—To Irene" (1841). The poems are arranged in chronological order, except for Lowell's college verse, which is put in a separate section at the back of the book; and manuscript versions where available have been compared with the printed texts and variants indicated along with Lowell's occasional notes. Additional notes at the end of the volume give the place and date of publication of each poem and other relevant data, much of which is taken from published materials on Lowell, although manuscripts and unpublished letters are also drawn on to a considerable extent. An introduction of seventeen pages, a brief bibliography, and indexes of titles and first lines complete the editorial apparatus.

Miss Smith admits that Lowell's best poems are still to be found in his collected works, although she attributes more literary merit to some of these uncollected poems than the reader is likely to do. Her introduction also implies, if it does not actually admit, that the poems do not tell us very much that is new about Lowell. Rather they serve to corroborate what we already know about him as man and poet through his previously published writings.

Most of the earlier poems reprinted here are imitative of other poets or otherwise undistinguished, but several are interesting for various reasons. Lowell's sixteen poetical contributions to *Harvardiana* and his long *Class Poem* reveal a good deal about his attitudes and literary interests in college. "Merry England" (1841), a satirical indictment of English social and political evils, is perhaps the first of Lowell's poems in which his early humanitarianism found effective expression. "A Rallying-Cry for New England, Against the Annexation of Texas" (1844) is a striking adumbration of Lowell's first "Biglow Paper" published two years later. One other early poem worthy of mention is the "Hymn," written in 1842 for a church dedication. It has none of the moralizing and platitudinous quality so often present in Lowell's poetic expression of religious sentiments and is notable for its tone of simplicity and reverence.

By all odds the most curious specimen in this volume is the unfinished "Our Own, His Wanderings and Personal Adventures," three installments of which were published in *Putnam's Monthly* in 1853, and in which Lowell's intention was to impersonate a kind of Byronic correspondent of the magazine who would travel in foreign countries and

comment on what he saw in a humorous and satiric vein. Why this attempt proved unsuccessful is indicated by Scudder and by passages which Lowell preserved in his collected writings under the title, "Fragments of an Unfinished Poem," but the whole must be read to appreciate how Lowell allowed his natural inclination to be discursive and to parade his wit and erudition to run completely away with him. Two other unusual and little known pieces are "The Power of Sound," a lecture in rhyme describing the development, and extolling the beneficial influence on man, of music and song, apparently delivered at least once in 1857 but not published until 1896 in a privately printed edition of seventy-five copies by Charles Eliot Norton; and an amusing English version Lowell made of *Il Pesceballo*, an operetta composed in Italian by Francis James Child in 1862, which was performed in Cambridge in the same year and again in Boston in 1864. Lowell's association with Child in this venture has been described for the first time by M. A. DeWolfe Howe in a recent *New England Quarterly* essay.

After the Civil War, Lowell was a frequent contributor to the *Nation*, and ten of these poems are from its files. Most of them attack political and economic corruption, and perhaps the most effective in its biting satire is "The World's Fair, 1876," previously reprinted by Scudder, although even harsher is "An Epitaph," written after the death of James Fisk, Jr. The few other later uncollected poems include tributes to Dickens and Fielding and several poems originally inscribed in copies of books presented to friends.

In making more easily accessible these uncollected poems Miss Smith's volume performs much the same service for Lowell's poetry that the volume of uncollected essays and reviews, *The Function of the Poet and Other Essays*, published some years ago by Albert Mordell, does for Lowell's criticism. If it cannot be termed altogether indispensable, it is nevertheless of considerable value to the student of Lowell and his times.

Lake Forest College.

ARTHUR W. M. VOSS.

HERMAN MELVILLE. By Newton Arvin. "American Men of Letters Series." New York: William Sloane Associates. 1950. xiii, 316 pp. \$3.50.

In this understanding portrait of the artist and temperate evaluation of his total achievement Newton Arvin has emphasized the early Melville, concentrating on his boyhood and *wanderjahre*, his literary apprenticeship, and his climactic accomplishment in *Moby-Dick*, to which a brilliant chapter of tightly packed analysis is devoted. Obviously not in sympathy with other recent critics of *Pierre* (which he regards as "four-

fifths claptrap"), "Benito Cereno" ("unduly celebrated"), and *The Confidence-Man*, Mr. Arvin briefly dismisses most of the prose works after *Moby-Dick* as uneven or worse, allotting his limited space to a fresh consideration of Melville's still-neglected poetry and a quick glance at the "benedictory" *Billy Budd*.

Mr. Arvin's Melville, turned writer "with a kind of inadvertence," is a man beset by the contradictions of his age and by a "creative" neuroticism, rooted in an insecure childhood and added to by the strain of continued physical mobility and the disillusioning effects of his years at sea. For him "the facts of movement through space, of change of site, of physical unrestingness and the forward push were basic. The voyage or quest was . . . an archetypal pattern of experience to which his whole nature instinctively turned. . . ." His hatred for discipline and authority, his compensatory "itch for things remote," and his uneasiness in the roles of husband and father had their primary source in a "malady." This inner sickness is described by Mr. Arvin as a precarious balance between the masculine and feminine elements in his nature, associated with ambivalent memories of his late father and enhanced by the "unhappily intense" relations between himself and his mother. The resultant clash between contradictory personal needs, the conflict between comradeship and romantic love, Mr. Arvin regards as the central emotional fact behind Melville's work.

An "oneiric" projection of these unconscious wishes and obscure inward contests is traceable in Melville's writings on one plane of interpretation; in *Moby-Dick*, as in all his best work, they are successfully transmuted into achieved art. But this is to consider only one of several possible levels, including the literal, on which *Moby-Dick* may be read. Thus, though the White Whale is the parental principle, to which Ahab (the Self) is as tightly bound "as an unhappy child to a parent too passionately loved," he is also, from another point of view, "a grandiose mythic presentation of what is godlike in the cosmos." Melville's thought here is not of the Christian God but rather of a blind force of nature like the Will of Hardy or Schopenhauer and the Unknowable of Herbert Spencer, immanent and emergent in the universe; Melville's myth "approaches, if it does not quite overtake, a naturalistic theism." And Ahab as tragic protagonist is the prototype of modern man, whose fatal flaw—the idea of pure independence—has become an insanity that leads to the enslavement of his own personality and the ultimate destruction of himself and his society. Had Melville been capable, like Ishmael, of resting content with the austere solutions for his intellectual and emotional problems embodied in *Moby-Dick*, he might have been spared the forty years of

speculative wandering that followed, and escaped the ensuing psychic collapse which Mr. Arvin finds hinted at in *Pierre*.

Mr. Arvin's handling of various lesser works, subordinated to the over-all design of his book and limited by considerations of space, is rich in critical insights though not always as rewarding as his centripetal emphasis on *Moby-Dick* itself. Some readers will quibble over the verdicts passed on individual works, particularly those written after 1851; others will object to Mr. Arvin's penchant for psychologizing; specialists will bring to light minor biographical and bibliographical slips as the mills of Melville scholarship continue busily to grind. But of the dozen or so book-length studies of the man and his works produced to date this is nevertheless the one to be most unreservedly recommended to the general reader for its careful synthesis of available information, its freedom from partial vision and overpreoccupation with minutiae, and for its penetrating concentration on essentials and its largeness of spirit.

Lawrence College.

MERTON M. SEALTS, JR.

A READING OF *Moby-Dick*. By M. O. Percival. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1950. 136 pp. \$2.75.

As circumscriptor of Blake's "Circle of Destiny" several years ago, Mr. Percival was more successful than he is as reader of Melville's *Moby-Dick*, principally because these two romantics, whom he tends to treat as equals, belong to different orders of imagination. The kind of private reading which he gives *Moby-Dick*, though like Coleridge's reading of Shakespeare it shuts out the scope and objectivity of a great natural scene, could be illuminating; but its interpretation of the world of Melville in the language of Blake, Boehme, St. Augustine, Kierkegaard, the author of the *Bhagavad Gita*, and other mystics is inevitably unsatisfactory. That Melville's world was never, like theirs, entirely interior is at least as important a fact about it as that it was never exclusively external, and his arrival at symbolism from romanticism before naturalism bridged the gap for such myth-makers as Joyce and Mann must to the twentieth century be his most significant achievement. The same century's rediscovery of Kierkegaard because of the peculiar existential component of his philosophy offers a sounder basis for connecting him with the author of *Moby-Dick*.

Since Mr. Percival's context of allusions, however, is predominantly metaphysical, he sees the characters of Melville's novel in that perspective: Moby Dick as evil, Ahab as doubt and demonic defiance, Starbuck and Stubb as submission, Pip as love, Ishmael as faith. Yet since many of these allusions are introduced on an impressionistic level, they fail to

explicate the deeper meanings of Melville or of themselves. Ahab, for example, has "a doubting Puritan or Parsee mind," one which "draws sharp lines of moral separation." This association deprives both Puritanism and Zoroastrianism of any vital meaning, and the subsequent analysis of Puritanism in the terms of Ralph Barton Perry and Henry Adams is a prejudiced simplification.

On this impressionistic level, in fact, there is no end to the number and variety of associations which a reading of *Moby-Dick*, as of every great piece of literature, may produce, and to any reader any list but his own will seem incomplete. Why, for instance, does the name of St. John of the Cross not appear in this study of a "Dark Night of the Soul"?

In the end, therefore, it may be possible to claim for Mr. Percival's private reading of Ahab's story the achievement next best to elucidation. If it sends his readers back to make their own readings of that story, he will have succeeded in doing the first great service for a work of art.

The University of Tennessee.

NATHALIA WRIGHT.

MARK TWAIN AS LITERARY ARTIST. By Gladys Carmen Bellamy. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1950. xiii, 396 pp. \$5.00.

Miss Bellamy has three major aims in this interesting and fresh study of Mark Twain. She wants to prove that Clemens "was much more the conscious craftsman than is generally believed," to discuss how "Mark Twain's work reflects his basic attitudes towards mankind, towards life itself," and to apply certain "aesthetic principles" in judging his achievements.

She supports her claim that Clemens was a conscious craftsman by citing many of his utterances about the problems of the writer, by analyzing his technical procedures and his style, and by tracing his development from its early beginnings to its conclusion. She has marshaled an impressive array of remarks by her author on various aspects of his craft. She includes a well-documented chapter (pp. 119-140) on the techniques of Clemens's early humor, and another (pp. 249-265) on his mature style. She offers chapters of discussion, too, of his early sketches, of his travel books, of his reminiscent and autobiographical works, and of his novels. In chapters showing wide and perceptive reading, she traces her author's development from harsh direct satire to more subtle humor and respectable work—at times great work—in the field of fiction.

Considering Samuel L. Clemens's attitudes, Miss Bellamy discovers four "bases" of his thinking—moralism, or a tendency to try to reform mankind; determinism, or a belief in man's fate; pessimism, or a belief

in the futility of life; and "patheticism," or Twain's peculiar brand of sympathy. Most of what she says about the humorist's writings has to do with the ways these attitudes are expressed in "thought-patterns" occurring "again and again throughout his work." She finds that these bases are "sometimes mutually influential, reinforcing each other—as do patheticism and moralism, or determinism and pessimism." "But," she holds, "when the contradictory patterns of determinism and moralism are found together, the results are disastrous. . . ."

This generalization suggests the nature of Miss Bellamy's aesthetic appraisals. "Literature," she reasons, "communicates not only a writer's actual ideas but also his states of mind, sometimes exceedingly complex," and "the ultimate significance of the work depends upon the quality of the [author's] conception." When Twain's ideas clash, therefore, or when his attitudes prevent his achieving the detachment required for great art, she holds that he fails as an artist. When, however, he reconciles contradictory ideas, and when he secures the necessary detachment, she believes that he does his best work. Four devices in particular, she finds, help Clemens achieve detachment: (1) sympathetically identifying himself with Huck Finn or some other childlike person, (2) setting his narrative in a remote time or place, (3) diminishing humanity to microscopic proportions, or (4) portraying life as a dream. One or more of these devices make possible each of Twain's best works.

Miss Bellamy might have made somewhat more of some of the implications of some of Clemens's discussions of literary problems (e.g., the essay on Cooper, which is not, as Miss Bellamy implies, entirely concerned with stylistic matters), and she might have drawn with profit upon some of the remarks on humor in Twain's unpublished notebooks. Nevertheless, she has done Clemens and students of Clemens a real service by offering convincing proof that he was a painstaking artist. In dealing with her author's development and his achievements, Miss Bellamy might have taken more into account the nature of his literary backgrounds and of his audiences. Far Western yarnspinning patterns were not, perhaps, as different from those of the Southwest as she believes, and therefore she may err in assigning both sources and beginnings of some of Twain's methods. It may be that she would have done well to study carefully extensive changes (such as Leon Dickinson has noticed) in the *Alta* letters when they were revised to mollify Eastern readers of *Innocents Abroad*, or changes made in the Sandwich Island letters when they were revised for use in *Roughing It*. Perhaps she might have given useful emphasis to the fact that Twain, tame though he may seem today, was considered in his own day a violent smasher of taboos. Nevertheless,

her history of Twain's growth and her discussions and evaluations of his works offer many valuable insights and opinions.

But since there are several ways of discussing literary works and, indeed, several possible literary values, some of her readers may feel that Miss Bellamy's is not the only or indeed the best approach to Clemens's works. There may be some, for instance, who feel that she has been so preoccupied with the thought in the works that she has not satisfactorily considered their form. Thus, though she notes down the passages in the travel books which illustrate her author's recurrent attitudes, she fails to survey large segments of these books not concerned with these attitudes—and she does not describe or evaluate the structures of these volumes as wholes. Similarly, as a rule, in discussing Twain's novels, though she considers thematic aspects and the use of devices which help Twain achieve detachment, she does not consider these works as structural wholes. Even in the chapter titled "Mark Twain's Style," she spends eight pages on such matters as word choice, figures, sentence form, and rhythms, and nine pages on "the author's individual way of thinking and feeling." Such readers may feel that a complete study of a "literary artist" should, by some means, give greater attention to form and structure.

Some readers, also, may feel that standards which lead the author to decide that *Following the Equator* is the greatest of the travel books, and to rank "Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven" alongside *Huckleberry Finn* leave something to be desired. Such readers may feel that it is hardly fair to praise or to condemn Mark Twain on the basis of his attempts to arrive at a logical philosophy. As Miss Bellamy remarks, "He was not a profound thinker. His reaction to life itself was emotional rather than intellectual, and his criticism of life followed the same pattern." It might be pointed out that such a statement might be made about many other great writers—several of whom had as much trouble as Twain had reconciling aspects of life which seemed to jar. (One thinks of the trouble the Greek dramatists, Thomas Hardy, and Nathaniel Hawthorne, for instance, apparently had reconciling determinism and moralism.) The creative artist, such readers may claim, often achieves profundity by observing well, by feeling deeply, and by utilizing concrete details in works which he has fashioned artistically, rather than by thinking through to a philosophical system. Such readers may feel that an artist such as Mark Twain may even reconcile (rather than separate) the incongruent aspects of life by bathing them in the light of humor and pathos.

Even readers who would have appreciated different (or at least sup-

plementary) approaches to some of Miss Bellamy's problems, however, will find this book useful and stimulating. It is a thorough study of the tone of Clemens's works and of the patterns of his thinking. It throws a great deal of light upon the content—if not, perhaps, the form—of a great artist's writings.

The University of Chicago.

WALTER BLAIR.

THE LOVE LETTERS OF MARK TWAIN. Edited by Dixon Wecter. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1949. 374 pp. \$5.00.

Until recently the only published letters of Mark Twain to Olivia Langdon Clemens were the few included by Albert Bigelow Paine in *Mark Twain: A Biography* and *Mark Twain's Letters* and by Clemens's daughter Clara in *My Father Mark Twain*. Omitting these and others of apparently slight interest, the late Dixon Wecter included in the present volume, usually in their entirety, a substantial number of the extant letters from Mark Twain to his fiancée and wife. A sampling appeared in the *Atlantic* (Nov., Dec., 1947; Jan., 1948). In addition to annotating the letters and appending both a list of persons mentioned in them and a check list of all known letters from Mark to Livy, the editor included an explanatory narrative, drawing on the letters of others to provide an intelligible context for Clemens's words. The volume is thus self-contained and can be read profitably by one acquainted only with the outlines of the Clemens story.

Although Mark's devotion to Olivia lights nearly all the letters, only about a third of them, written during courtship, are love letters in the sense that they are almost completely personal. These letters, at times playful and bantering, often achieve the style his contemporaries termed "eloquent." Yet even such a distinctive talent as Mark Twain's could add few new notes to the rhapsody of love. Perhaps their chief value to us is the gratifying assurance they provide that, under the veneer of Victorian propriety which led Livy even after marriage to refer to her husband as Mr. Clemens, their love was passionate and deep.

The less personal letters after marriage are more interesting. The lecture tours, with their irritations and exhilarating successes; the trips abroad, bringing additional triumphs; the important return to the river in '82—one reads these familiar chapters in Clemens's life with new interest, recounted frankly here to his most sympathetic reader. Occasionally, warming to his task, Mark seems to have taken some pains in reporting the characters and incidents he encountered, as when he writes of Cable's fanatical Sabbath-keeping, or when he reproduces a snatch of conversation overhead in Kentucky:

"Well I'm a ailin' a little in a bad tooth I've got—aches right smart, sometimes."

"Ought to have it out. I had one—'bout three yer ago: I jes' dismiss' school, & says I they ain't no two ways 'bout what *I'm* agoin' to do, & with that I jumps on my hoss and humps myself for the doctor; come acrost him on the road, 'fore I got more'n a mile or a mile & a half; & says I 'Git right down off'n yo' hoss & pull this tooth.' And he done it—right there on the road. An' I haint had no trouble sence, with that'n or any other tooth in my head."

Such passages, rarer than one would like, bear the authentic Clemens stamp.

This volume does little to alter the picture we have had of Clemens as devoted husband and father, popular lecturer, feted celebrity, and inept businessman. Even the question of Livy's censorship is unresolved; letters to and from Livy reveal her as no more and no less a blight on the flowering of his genius than we have supposed. Nevertheless, the book is a welcome addition to Mark Twain biography. Correcting Paine on matters of fact (e.g., pp. 6, 302), and providing helpful but unobtrusive interpretative comment, the editor made his chief contribution in allowing Clemens to reveal his domestic life with new clarity. Although related elsewhere, the story of Clemens's "Downward Spiral" toward the end of his life has never been told more poignantly than in these letters.

It seems more and more likely that most of the evidence on Clemens is in. Further biographical studies will do well if, as this volume has done, they manage to enrich the story of Mark Twain's life.

The University of Missouri.

LEON T. DICKINSON.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS: *Representative Selections*. Edited with introduction, bibliography, and notes. By Clara and Rudolph Kirk. New York: American Book Co. 1950. ccv, 394 pp. \$3.50.

SELECTED WRITINGS OF WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS. Edited with an introduction by Henry Steele Commager. New York: Random House. 1950. xvii, 946 pp. \$5.00.

The appearance of these two volumes thirty years after Howells's death is a potent symbol of the resurgence of a reputation. Midway in the interval no publisher would have dared to risk any sizable investment in Howells either for an academic or for a public market. In 1950, when publishing costs triple those of 1935, two hardheaded houses simultaneously offer Howells to both markets. Many of us will hope that this is not merely a sign but a portent.

In the long run the well-known "general reader" and the professor now happily able to plan a good course in Howells will wish and need to use both books. The Kirks' volume immediately supersedes all predecessors as the indispensable Howells study, successfully emulating in its field the half-dozen other leading volumes in the American Writers Series. It provides soundly representative selections of five of Howells's many modes of literary achievement: poetry, the farce, criticism, autobiography, and (unfortunately) snatches from six novels. The 150 pages of introduction provide the first systematically biographic treatment, richly packed with accurate and perceptive detail—the most reliable account in print. The well-annotated bibliography is valuable even beyond the high standard of AWS volumes because it is the work of Gibson and Arms and apparently represents the bulk of secondary items left out of their magnificent *Bibliography of William Dean Howells*. Commager, restricted to ten introductory pages, points up facets of the Howells personality and career, suggests a sensible but too narrow estimate of him as a man good in his time, and proffers thumbnail justifications for picking *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, *A Modern Instance*, *A Boy's Town*, and *My Mark Twain* as the most desirable contents for his book.

Admirable as the Kirks' long essay is, it has the defects of its virtues and some others as well. Within a chronological frame they have set up biographical, intellectual, and artistic categories for the analysis of Howells's life and work. When, as sometimes happens, one category follows another in time-sequence without completely consistent connections between them, the picture becomes vague and liable to latent confusions. Phases of Howells become isolated into more or less discrete entities, so that one gropes for explanations of new developments as they come along. Most important of all, there is the unconfronted problem of Howells's artistry. As a social historian, Commager could not be expected really to face that, nor does he. Perhaps it is not finally arguable that the Kirks should have done this too. They had so very much else in hand. Yet the work, especially the novels, must be treated as literature, the imaginative, ironic, satiric, symbolic, and emotional depths critically plumbed before we shall truly know what to do with Howells. Hence it seems unfortunate to insist upon the supreme value of Howells as a "reflector of the times" or a mere producer of "social thought."

A final word about the texts. One mourns the expenditure of almost half the Kirks' precious space on fragments of novels. Wouldn't it have been better to have printed boldly one of the best of the least-available novels *in toto*? Commager more satisfactorily prints his selections entire, and the last two are little masterpieces hard to come by. Yet more than

two-thirds of Commager's ample space goes to printing one more time the only two of Howells's novels readily available in inexpensive editions. It is hard to see just what sense this makes either for the general reader or the classroom.

Syracuse University.

EDWIN H. CADY.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL NOVEL. By Ernest E. Leisy. Norman, Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma Press. 1950. x, 280 pp. \$3.75.

With heroic diligence Professor Leisy has read an amazing number of American novels. His book, in the two hundred and seventeen pages of its text, contains his comments on many of them, and, in its appendix, lists a host of others with brief notes on their themes and occasional indications of their literary quality. The tales are arranged according to the historical periods with which they deal. The result is a volume from which anyone interested in American fiction about, say, the middle colonies before the Revolution or the Spanish War may conveniently compile a catalogue of representative titles. Some books are merely summarized or categorized according to their general story patterns and the nature of their material, but those which interest Professor Leisy most are critically considered. His estimates are perforce brief, and few go much below the surface in critical perception; but they are for the most part sensible and quite adequate for the reader who wants only to know how far a given novel meets the conventional tests for goodness in style, setting, and plot.

As Professor Leisy recognizes, there has been much discussion about what makes a novel "historical." He decides that "in America—so rapid are changes here—a generation appears sufficient to render a preceding period historical," and that any story the action of which takes place in such a period comes within the scope of his study. In other words a novel is "historical" if its events are supposed to have taken place a generation—twenty-five years?—prior to its writing. This unhappily blurs the distinction between tales in which the emphasis is on the depiction of the historical past and those in which it is on the development of a philosophical theory, the analysis of a mind or a moral dilemma, or the presentation of characters and occurrences as symbols of values and issues not limited by time. According to Professor Leisy's definition, *The Scarlet Letter* is a historical novel. But does this classification give any clue to the essential character of the book? Surely it is only in a superficial sense "about" Puritan New England. Any other country or epoch in which crimes against a moral code were punished by public humiliation might have given the novelist the material he needed. Ap-

partitions of the letter "A" in the sky were never more common in Massachusetts than in Patagonia; the air little Pearl breathed, if she can be said to have breathed at all, was no more that of Boston than of Capetown, medieval France, or Shangri-La. *The Scarlet Letter* depends for its basic effect, not on the re-creation of a historical scene, but on its dramatic symbolization of human passions and problems as pertinent to the citizen of the world in 1951 as to the Salem Calvinist three centuries earlier. *Moby-Dick* is excluded from Professor Leisy's canon, but presumably if it had been written a few years later it would not have been, since Melville's whaling material would then have been based on an experience a generation old. But the book itself would have been different in no way that matters and, whatever its date, no one would think of it—any more than of *The Scarlet Letter*—as in any valid sense the same sort of novel as *The Pilot*, *Hugh Wynne*, or *Northwest Passage*.

Those who want a precise definition of the historical novel as a special literary type, analysis of the historical novelist's techniques as related to, and differentiated from, those of the historians and the writers of stories of other kinds, and those who would like to find a standard of excellence for historical fiction separate from that which may apply to all novel-writing, will not be satisfied by Professor Leisy. But they should, none the less, find his work a useful guide to a host of American novels commonly called "historical" and therefore a helpful tool for investigations more searching than he, in a volume covering so much material, has had space to make.

Harvard University.

KENNETH B. MURDOCK.

THE NOVEL OF VIOLENCE IN AMERICA: 1920-1950. By W. M. Frohock. Dallas: University Press in Dallas. 1950. 216 pp. \$3.75.

Professor Frohock begins his stimulating and well-written book by saying that "A large number of the important novels written in America between 1920 and 1950 fall into one of two classes. They are either novels 'of erosion' or novels 'of violence.' A somewhat similar distinction has been proposed in France by M. Jean Pouillon, who feels that most significant recent novels can be labeled either *romans de durée* or *romans du destin*." The novel of erosion typically covers a long extent of time, involves many persons, and represents its characters not as achieving, but rather as submitting to, or better, drawn into their fate, which is the sum of the changes imposed on them by the current of days. The novel of violence is opposite in all respects. The duration of the plot is brief; the persons are fewer; and the characters encounter a fate which in its values, if not always in its circumstances, has been achieved by their own

acts of impulse and deeds of will. The "two strains of sensibility" correlative to these two types of novel Professor Frohock traces through their varying embodiment in the novels of Dos Passos (30 pages), Wolfe (22 pages), Farrell (18 pages), Cain (14 pages), Faulkner (26 pages), Caldwell (20 pages), Steinbeck (20 pages), and Hemingway (34 pages). The rank assigned to each is roughly proportional to the number of pages given to him.

About all these writers, Professor Frohock has good things to say. He emphasizes the poetic—especially the imagistic—quality in the style and technique of Dos Passos. Wolfe is the lonely soul who, propelled into an urban civilization, seeks the impossible return to the rural lost Eden of home. Farrell is distinguished from Dos Passos and Wolfe as being primarily a documentary novelist. Cain is a master manipulator: "The reader is a sort of victim, whose weaknesses are there to be exploited." Faulkner is distinguished by his sense of the reality of evil as a transcendent power in human life, and, in his best work, by the co-existence of two planes of action: the dramatically swift present, and the tortuously unfolded past—the history of the South—which, in the form of obsessions, anxieties, and irrational compulsions, drives his characters to behave as they do. Caldwell is a writer who has not quite decided whether he wishes to write in terms of a humorous, a documentary, or a curio-collecting vision. Steinbeck is the champion, amused or (in his best work) wrathful, of the human creature too simple to sustain the burden of civilized society. And, finally, Hemingway, in his earlier books the most influential of contemporary American writers, is distinguished by his fidelity in the rendering into prose of the truths, the exact contours, of sensation, as well as by his more easily evident preference for some form of violence (including the passion of love) as a test of integrity in the man who acts and the writer who records.

No doubt, Professor Frohock's book is provocative rather than definitive; definition is a kind of final accolade awarded the illustrious dead. The category of "novel of erosion"—implying, as it seems to me, an acutely nostalgic sense of the flow of time, and a struggle to reserve some element of the self from transmutation by experience—fits Dos Passos and Farrell far less well than it fits Wolfe. Dos Passos's canvas is remarkable for its spatial, even more than for its temporal extension; and it is odd that Professor Frohock, usually so alert to French influences or parallels, does not point out the influence on Dos Passos of unanism—to quote Webster, "the doctrine, sponsored by the French writer Jules Romains (b. 1885), that the unifying principles in human groups are more significant, as for representation in literature, than are human per-

sonalities." Any such literary mode scarcely focuses the sense of time sharply enough to allow a perception of nostalgia to emerge. A similar comment applies to the discussion of Farrell, with his sociological emphasis. The label "novelists of violence" sticks more closely to Hemingway, Faulkner, Caldwell, and Cain, and the theoretical basis of their chapters is therefore solider. On Steinbeck, Professor Frohock might have written in a more incisive vein if he had read (or showed evidence of reading) the chapter on Steinbeck in Edmund Wilson's *The Boys in the Back Room*: the chapter might be summarized in the phrase "the novelist as biologist."

Among the merits of the book, one arises directly from the fact that Professor Frohock is a member of the Department of French in Columbia University. Not only does his writing show no signs of what might be called the "classroom hangover," but the connections and affinities he points out between the subjects of his book and French authors and trends throw light on both literatures. A second merit is his occasional detailed stylistic analysis of a brief passage of a novel, so conducted as to explicate the aims of an author in terms of his diction and cadence. In conducting such analyses Professor Frohock successfully avoids far-fetched or labored ingenuities. And finally, except for one momentary lapse ("the answer of Whitman and Crane and Paul Engle"), Professor Frohock manifests always interesting and usually convincing perceptions of the comparative worth of the authors and books he discusses. This is no mere mechanical rating of points on a scale, but rather, the presence in the discussion, as a controlling element, of the attempt to answer the question "*Why* read (or not read) this?"

The book lacks all scholarly apparatus, except an index of names, but is obviously intended as a contribution to critical discussion rather than to scholarship. But it is stimulating both in content and style, and is a valuable addition to the present effort to bring the criticism of fiction somewhere nearer the maturity which has been attained by the criticism of poetry.

Dartmouth College.

F. CUDWORTH FLINT.

THE SHAPING SPIRIT: *A Study of Wallace Stevens*. By William Van O'Connor. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1950. ix, 146 pp. \$2.75.

The remarkable increase in the tempo of Mr. Stevens's publication, the consequent clarification of Stevens by Stevens, and the Bollingen Award all coincided with the current "Stevens revival"; and Mr. O'Connor's is precisely the book needed to give substance and direction to the literary excitement. Insurance-man-poet Stevens begins to receive

the substantial annuities that he has earned by persistent investment of unique literary values in the poetry of his country. Few poets have ever stood in greater need of explication, and seldom has such a deserving poet been rewarded during his lifetime by a more discerning, moderately tempered, and informing study than this.

The poet, unassuming to the point of reticence, "did not look upon himself as a greatly gifted poet," but that, as his critic says, "is something quite distinct from being indifferent to poetry" or ideas. Mr. O'Connor has devoted his study primarily to the concept of poetry out of which Stevens has made the bulk of his poems, and to the ideas which permeate his writing. Stevens is seen to occupy a special situation in the stream of contemporary naturalism, for he is neither pessimistic, optimistic, nor deterministic. He is—if one may use the term—a naturalistic-relativist, for whom neither the phenomenal and physical universe, nor morality, nor even ideas are absolutes, although they all occur within the large frame of nature. His relativity depends upon the interplay of physical, psychical, psychological, and social compulsions, and the only forces approaching constancy are those of fertility and survival. These are rugged assumptions, but current history seems to substantiate them. They are better supported by the poet's work since *Ideas of Order* than by the earlier *Harmonium*. They emphasize the differences between Stevens and Eliot, for the latter ascetically rejects society as hopeless save in hands appointed and patrician, while Stevens is seen to be the hedonistic and robust believer in life, aware of its constant absurdities and misdirections, but willing to entrust the history of man to the continuous conflict between intelligent individualism and the law of necessity. Much of the poet's fine wit rests on these attitudes.

Mr. O'Connor chooses his title from a line in Coleridge's "Dejection: An Ode" in order to emphasize his recognition that the imagination occupies the fundamental position in Stevens's dynamics of life, culture, and art. The intellectualism of Stevens has made him a difficult poet, and the initial obduracies of his poems have repelled many readers; but Mr. O'Connor makes us understand why it is that readers who persist often find that what at first seemed cold and formal is suddenly lambent, alive, and fluid. "Each subject, however commonplace or esoteric, becomes a variation upon the all-controlling theme: the role of the human imagination." The imagination, as Stevens believes, is the only force that can save us from the supposition—prevailing especially in the art and literature of the twenties and thirties—that man is an outcast in the universe in which he dwells. Only imagination-as-reality will enable us to transform to our advantage our relations to "things-as-they-are," the

theme of *The Man with the Blue Guitar*. Or, again in the poet's words, "imagination is the will of things," and imagination alone will enable a man to reconcile the conflicting appearances of experience, spiritual intimations, and psychological compulsions.

As Mr. O'Connor says, "Stevens as a poet is an expicator. His subject is esthetics, not merely in its relation to sensibility and intellect, but to belief, morality, and society." That is, the poem, itself a pure act of the imagination, is in itself the concretion of reality. It is not simply a device, an invented simulacrum of another thing or idea. In its meaning the form of imagination-as-reality is momentarily crystallized, palpable for an instant to the reader. "One's objective as a poet is to achieve poetry, precisely as one's objective in music is to achieve music," wrote Stevens, but his entire meaning is not clear until we add this other comment: "poetic order is potentially as significant as philosophical order." No wonder, then, that he has been so intent upon form, so jealous of the exact meaning of the words that he uses with such beautiful precision, that he has labored to identify what he calls new "myths" that may be used with the precise equivalence of figures.

It is in the discussion already analyzed that Mr. O'Connor makes his principal contribution, but his book has many other values also. His analysis of the ideas of Stevens will surprise many readers who have missed the socio-economic and political implications scattered through such more recent volumes as *Owl's Clover*, *Ideas of Order*, and *Parts of a World*. In this analysis Stevens comes off as a liberal individualist, equally hostile to authority from either the right or the left, or from mass democracy without imaginative leadership.

Mr. O'Connor's analysis of the poet's ideas on poetry, economics, politics, and philosophy is indeed more comprehensible than the poet himself, for the latter, writing over a long period, has made no general recapitulation of belief. Indeed, one finds himself wondering whether Stevens actually believed all of this at any one time. Nevertheless, it is a summary from which the reader may select what he needs for any particular poem or period of the author. The book is remarkably free from error, but the present writer, as a native Pennsylvanian, should be permitted to cavil one small cavil at the statement that Stevens, "Pennsylvania Dutchman" from Reading—a Zeller on his mother's side—is of "Dutch" descent (p. 13). *Deutsch*, not "Dutch," my respected Western colleague! Mr. O'Connor, whose book will become a reference work for a generation to come, should certainly index the second edition. It is a distinguished, definitive, and delightful work of criticism.

The University of Pennsylvania.

SCULLEY BRADLEY.

WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS. By Vivienne Koch. "The Makers of Modern Literature Series." Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions Books. 1950. x, 278 pp. \$2.00.

No distinguished American poet of the generation of Eliot and Pound has been so shockingly neglected as William Carlos Williams. Since no major commercial publisher has seen fit to bring out any of his poems, plays, novels, or essays, most of his works have reached the public through the agency of experimental publishers. These works, to be sure, have been widely reviewed. The author has received incidental treatment in the literary autobiographies of Harriet Monroe, Margaret Anderson, and Richard Aldington. There have been a few substantial articles by critics as considerable as Kenneth Burke, Wallace Stevens, Marianne Moore, and Robert Lowell; and Randall Jarrell wrote an incisive but beguiling introduction to the *Selected Poems*. But Miss Koch's book is the first serious attempt to survey the entire body of Williams's work.

It is regrettable that the book has a number of obvious weaknesses. It is marred by elementary errors in style or form: failures of agreement between subject and predicate; the vulgar substitution of "disinterested" for "uninterested"—although the writer has an inkling that there is a "best sense of the word" (p. 182); unhappy phrasing like "the career of his own biography" and unfortunate neologisms like "nuggetory" and "referral"; the omission of so important an item as *Trial Horse No. 1* from the bibliography and the chaotic disorder of the "Uncollected Pieces." In one quotation (p. 91), one line is misplaced, and another (p. 139) is made unintelligible by the misprint "if the only beauty" for "is the only beauty." More serious perhaps is the author's attempt to build up her subject by depreciating his fellow-poets—Yeats, Pound, Sandburg, Lindsay, Eliot, and Cummings—or his critics—Burke, Winters, and Symons. Most serious of all is the defective taste that finds Williams's superbly American imaginative prose not only Flaubertian but Jamesian!

Despite these shortcomings, the book is useful because it considers systematically all Williams's published (and unpublished) poems, novels and short stories, plays, and essays, up to and through the publication of *Paterson, Book II*. Fortunately, perhaps, Miss Koch has not attempted to place Williams in the history of contemporary American literature, although she suggests, without developing them, interesting relationships between him and such diverse figures as Gertrude Stein, E. E. Cummings, John Dewey, and Herbert Read. Since many of the works are out of print and hard to come by, she has been well advised to describe a goodly number of them carefully, and to discuss them in detail. She is at her best in such comments on specific works. Her treatments of the novel

White Mule, of the play *A Dream of Love*, and of the first two Books of *Paterson* are particularly suggestive. She has achieved her over-all objective: she quite persuades one that Williams is a significant poet, novelist, and playwright, a far more important figure than most students of modern American literature have realized. He is perhaps the most profoundly American of contemporary poets.

Wesleyan University.

FRED B. MILLETT.

VIRGIN LAND: *The American West as Symbol and Myth.* By Henry Nash Smith. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. xiv, 305 pp. \$4.50.

From Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* to Walter Prescott Webb's *The Great Plains*, the American West has stimulated a great many books of description, evaluation, and interpretation. Few of the authors have agreed, even on the meaning of their essential term "the West" (to Charles Fenno Hoffman, for example, "the Far West" meant the Illinois country); but most of them realized the importance of the vast central mass of the continent and the problems of settlement and exploitation that it posed. The most interesting interpretations were made in the terms of a single concept such as manifest destiny, the significance of the frontier, Jacksonian democracy, agrarianism, Populism, even though no one of these interpretations can be accepted as wholly valid today. Indeed Henry Nash Smith's stimulating book *Virgin Land* rejects any single explanation of Western development and underscores the shortcomings of conventional attitudes. Professor Smith shows how even in the nineteenth century the symbol of the settler as an ennobled yeoman soon became untenable and how the myth of the West as a great potential garden was rapidly exploded. Theorists, utopians, politicians, and imaginative artists were alike drawn up short upon confronting actuality.

The plan of the book is succinctly stated on the last page of the prologue. Three chapters of some thirty-five pages discuss American expansion westward in general and show how it was dominated in its early stages by the notion of a maritime empire possibly derived from British mercantilism. Six chapters trace the actual overland advance which centered around the cardinal figure of the trapper or hunter who served as pathfinder. The closing twelve chapters reveal how the West was conceived of consecutively as a great potential garden, an equally great and imposing desert, and a region where cattle ranching, dry land agriculture, and even civilization in the more technically Eastern sense could be established by human intelligence. The author derives material to support this analysis from politics, history, and imaginative literature.

No student of the Westward movement will find anything essentially new here, but some of the evidence adduced is unfamiliar, and the argument is particularly cogent. A special virtue of the book is the author's willingness to use all sorts of data. For him the dime novel is as rich a source as Thomas Hart Benton's grandiloquent speeches in Congress, Walt Whitman, William Gilpin, James Fenimore Cooper, Charles W. Webber, and Edward S. Ellis all contribute their bit, while the actual or potential figures of Daniel Boone, Kit Carson, and Buffalo Bill serve to reveal curious contradictions in attitude and convention. Assuredly, many a reader will find the analysis of the dime novel heroes and heroines (best represented perhaps by Deadwood Dick and Calamity Jane) to be the most interesting portion of the book.

Professor Smith insists that the figure of Cooper's Leatherstocking cast a long shadow over most Western fiction of the nineteenth century. Leatherstocking was manly, courageous, honorable, attractive, skilled in woodcraft, but he could never become the romantic hero of any story in which he figured. His low social status, his ignorance and illiteracy, his use of dialect all denied him this role. Consequently Cooper, like most subsequent novelists, was careful to introduce into each Leatherstocking tale a character who could serve as hero and fulfil the hero's main task of marrying the heroine (one will remember that Leatherstocking did fall in love in *The Pathfinder* although marriage did not materialize for him). In similar fashion the women of the frontier romances were given husbands who were their social equivalents. This dichotomy between classes, forbidding intermarriage and emphasizing the backwoodsman's lack of gentility, was strangely at variance with the political theory of the independent yeoman and Western democrat.

The conception of the West as an agrarian utopia was as basically false as the symbol of the yeoman. Twentieth-century industry and agricultural intelligence have demonstrated the possibility of making a living on the great plains, but clearly there is no place for Jefferson's independent and self-subsistent farmer west of the one hundredth meridian. It is Professor Smith's belief that agrarianism as a theory cannot explain a modern industrial nation like the United States and similarly that novelists could not create impressive fiction out of the agricultural frontier because "the literary imagination moved very slowly toward acceptance of the democratic principles so glowingly embodied in agrarian theory" (pp. 141-142). Without dissenting from such a view, one might remark that O. E. Rölvaag's *Giants in the Earth*, a genuine work of art which takes high rank in American fiction, sinks deep roots into the agrarian West although it was not published in English until 1927.

With most of these contentions it is difficult and useless to quarrel. They are stated with conviction and sometimes with brilliance. The only serious criticism of the book is that it is essentially skeletal. The reader frequently wishes for greater corroboration, for evidence which is comprehensive rather than eclectic. Thus, Professor Smith's discussion of such authors as Cooper and Eggleston, of Caroline Kirkland and Hamlin Garland, is acute and perceptive. But there is no mention of Benjamin Drake, W. J. Snelling, Baynard Rush Hall, William Gilmore Simms, and Alphonso Wetmore, to mention no others, whose writings shed fully as much light on the literary interpretation of the West. J. L. McConnell's *Western Characters* is ignored, and although James Hall and Timothy Flint are considered as editors and publicists, very inadequate use is made of their fiction. Moreover, if one can share Professor Smith's enthusiasm for the prose realism of Alice Cary, one cannot accept his assertion that she was the first native of the Ohio Valley who attempted to interpret the region in fiction (p. 230)—a statement that ignores the work of such writers as Benjamin Drake and Julia Dumont.

Virgin Land is hardly a compendium of Turner, Parrington, and Webb, to cite the blurb on the jacket quoted from J. Frank Dobie, but it is a shrewd and important book. It is more significant as literary history than as political or economic history, but in its best sections it fuses all.

The University of Illinois.

JOHN T. FLANAGAN.

LITERATURE & THEOLOGY IN COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND. By Kenneth B. Murdock. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. [c. 1949.] xvi, 235 pp. \$4.00.

The substance of this book, according to its Preface, was presented as the Lowell Institute lectures on "Current Topics in Theology" in March and April, 1944. Vestiges of the lecture situation linger. The manner is pleasantly discursive, striking a nice balance between erudition and popular interpretation. Mr. Murdock seems to have been a little troubled, however, by the problem of making a study of literary method in the seventeenth century fit into the concept of a current topic in theology.

In Chapters I and II the purposes of the Puritan writers are distinguished from those of their Anglican contemporaries and the Puritan theories of prose style are shown to have been shaped largely by reverence for the Bible on the one hand and for a relatively unsophisticated clientele on the other. "The Puritan's earthy phrases and images, his restriction of his material to that supplied by the Bible or the everyday life of his audience, his seriousness of purpose, and his willingness to admit only those rhetorical devices and 'similitudes' which served to drive home or

to make more intelligible what he saw as the truth, were all directly related to his view of God and of man. The realism and concreteness of his work, the firmness of its structure, and its dignity of tone, all reflect the profound conviction from which it came" (p. 61).

Chapters III, IV, and V discuss Puritan histories, diaries, autobiographies, "lives," and poems, but not sermons, on the grounds that the sermons have been more thoroughly studied and that "their subject matter is often relatively forbidding to modern readers." The freshest aspect of the interpretation is Mr. Murdock's application of the concept of myth to these literary types. Puritanism, he contends, was a faith and system both "tough-minded" and emotionally satisfying; it gave to its writers in the seventeenth century a set of symbols by means of which they achieved entirely respectable literary art. This works out best with history, which has long been one of Mr. Murdock's special interests. "The Puritan's belief that history was the tangible record of God's power called upon him for all the seriousness and dignity and strength of his best prose. His imaginative identification of himself with a great myth, extending from the events of Genesis to the most recent Indian fight on the Massachusetts frontier, gave vividness and excitement to his tale of the adventures of the New England pioneers" (p. 97).

Chapter VI, "The Puritan Legacy," considers judiciously the knotty problem of intellectual and literary influences. It is also the place at which Mr. Murdock valiantly tackles the matter of the present-day significance of Puritan literature. The result is provocative but not wholly satisfying. The discussion suggests the view, by no means unfashionable in these days, that twentieth-century religion and twentieth-century religious literature are pretty flabby stuff. By implication, the Puritans were better off. "Today," writes Mr. Murdock, "little of their moral robustness persists, and it is hard to find any faith, or even any intellectual system, which is as stimulating and as productive of useful action as was the faith and system of the Puritans when they laid the foundations of their Bible commonwealth" (p. 201). What this amounts to, so far as literature goes, is a statement of the truism that for a powerful religious literature there must be a powerful religion. Mr. Murdock is no surer than some of the contributors to the recent symposium in the *Partisan Review* that there is such a religion today; but he thinks that if there is, artists are needed to express it in effective terms. "Myths are given life by artists; a way of life or of thought, a doctrine or an ideal that is to become part of the shaping consciousness of a society, must have artists to give it imaginative vitality and form." With that conclusion it would be hard to disagree. Some readers, however, will find the nostalgic tone

of this final chapter puzzling and will wish that Mr. Murdock had defined "useful action."

The University of Minnesota.

THEODORE HORNBERGER.

THE HOUSE OF BEADLE AND ADAMS AND ITS DIME AND NICKEL NOVELS:
The Story of a Vanished Literature. By Albert Johannsen. Norman,
Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press. 1950. Vol. I, xxv, 476 pp.
Vol. II, 443 pp. \$20.00.

The history of the novel in America has been carefully studied by many scholars, but only a very few have paid any attention to one of its most widely read genres—the dime novel. Now, at last, Professor Albert Johannsen, previously known for his research in petrology, has done what students of American literature and culture have neglected. In two large volumes he has furnished a monumental, painstaking, and interesting study of the publishing activities of Beadle and Adams, the major firm engaged in issuing the literature of the masses during the last half of the nineteenth century. Hardly any bibliographies of American literature can compare with Professor Johannsen's in scope, and few areas of our literature have been so completely anatomized, even by the co-operative work of many scholars. Singlehanded, Professor Johannsen has written and compiled a text which runs to 920 double-column pages; 531 of them are bibliography and index, surpassing in wordage and detail even such an accomplishment as the third volume of the *Literary History of the United States*.

It might be questioned whether such erudition is necessary to this subject. The doubt is forgotten when the reader discovers endlessly suggestive data concerning popular taste, economics of authorship, hero-worship, mass production of books, and many other subjects of great significance to students of our national life. It might be regretted that so much fact is amassed with almost no analysis or criticism. But how much can be expected of one man? Professor Johannsen has furnished the basic facts; others may use them in many books of interpretation. Finally, it might be thought that Professor Johannsen's amassing of details is out of all proportion to the amount of information available on subjects conventionally considered more important. The criticism here is a boomerang. Professor Johannsen's standards of exactitude and completeness make many other bibliographies appear thin or unsatisfactory.

First conceived in 1933, the work was completed after seventeen years of labor which included reading as many Beadle novels as possible; reading a vast amount of collateral material such as city directories and genealogies; corresponding and meeting with collectors, librarians, and

relatives of authors; searching issue after issue of fifty years of daily newspapers to determine publication dates and biographical facts; preparing 300 single-spaced typewritten pages of lists indexing the first lines of dime novels to detect reprints under different titles; and even visiting cemeteries to obtain biographical matter from tombstones. The result is much more than what Professor Johannsen modestly calls a "book by a collector for other collectors."

First come seventy-five pages which furnish a year-by-year account of the Beadle firm in all its corporate ramifications, a precise, closely stated history which might well serve as a model for the kind of inquiry that needs to be made into other American publishing houses. In this history Professor Johannsen good-naturedly corrects most of the previous writers on the subject, including the faulty reminiscences of its editor and authors. He indulges in ingenious detective work to establish the facts about even an inconsequential matter: the birthplace of a Beadle partner. However, one of the few lacunae in the whole book is the failure to discover the grave of Irwin Beadle, father of the dime booklets, a matter about which Profesor Johannsen is much distressed.

Following the history of the house of Beadle and Adams comes the main section of the book: 402 pages setting forth brief bibliographical facts about each of the firm's publications. Divided according to the series in which they appeared or the type of writing to which they belonged, the lengthy lists are arranged in chronological sequence. The consideration of each series or type is prefaced by bibliographical information which explains the slightest typographical variations. The separate works are catalogued by number, author, and full title; preceding and succeeding printings are noted; and brief synopses of plots are appended. This precise technique is applied not only to the 5,258 volumes of fiction for which the Beadles are best known but also to their many other kinds of publications: biographies, joke books, manuals of etiquette, compilations of tax laws, weekly story papers, song books, school texts, and compendia of rules for games varying from baseball to cricket.

The second volume of Professor Johannsen's book is mainly a biographical dictionary of all Beadle authors. Here is an encyclopedia of the forgotten men and women of American literature, from Abarbanell, Jacob Ralph, to Yates, Edmund Hodgson, respectively the authors of *Flirtation; or, A Young Girl's Good Name* and *Wrecked in Port*. To dredge from obscurity and pseudonymity the lives of these hundreds of hacks must have taken tremendous labor, which if indicated by careful annotation is disguised by the agreeable manner of the telling. Professor Johannsen's zeal carries him so far that, in the manner of the Duyckinck

Cyclopaedia, he prints excerpts from some of the more popular authors so that their styles may be observed, compared, and contrasted.

True to the thoroughness which marks the entire work, the book concludes with no fewer than three indexes. In addition to a regular General Index there is an alphabetical index of the bibliography, as well as an index of the principal localities, historical and legendary characters, Indian tribes, and other matters of the Beadle novels' *mise en scène*. The latter index allows one, at a glance, to discover that 134 stories are set in Arizona as against only 22 in Nevada, or to learn that there was just one dime novel about a Harvard-Yale boat race although there were 112 about pirates at sea.

All this information is presented in a handsome edition whose format makes reading and reference easy and pleasant. Some 493 illustrations (many in several colors) illuminate textual description, their subjects ranging from "eight variations in wrappers on *Beadle's Dime Biographical Library*" to a photograph of the bemused face of Ouida, whose *Cecil Castlemaine's Gage* the Beadle brothers issued for five cents in 1881. Taken all in all, this book is not only essential to libraries but scholars will want it for themselves if they can afford to pay \$20.00 for the definitive factual study of 5,571 nickel and dime books.

The University of California.

JAMES D. HART.

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Vol. I. 1760-1776. Julian P. Boyd, Editor. Lyman H. Butterfield and Mina R. Bryan, Associate Editors. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950. lviii, 679 pp. \$10.00.

The appearance of Volume I of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* inaugurates one of the greatest scholarly projects ever undertaken in the United States. Not even the Centennial Edition of Washington approaches this task in magnitude. The work is to run to at least fifty volumes, and may exceed that number. The fifty volumes will fall into two unequal categories. The first, running to forty volumes and organized chronologically, will be principally composed of letters to or from Jefferson and of documents in which he had a shaping hand. The second, composing ten volumes and organized topically, will include more formal matter, such as the *Notes on Virginia*, Jefferson's legal papers (said to be of the utmost moment to legal historians), his architectural and other drawings, his maps and surveys, his farm book, his garden book, his meteorological material, his literary, linguistic, and educational papers, and various supplementary documents. At the conclusion of the series a comprehensive index is to be issued; meanwhile, there will appear from time to time provisional or preliminary indices for groups of volumes.

A special type face, known as Monticello, has been cut by Binny & Ronaldson, the first successful typefoundry in the country, appropriate because Jefferson himself approved the Binny & Ronaldson type.

This vast enterprise has been made possible through a subsidy from the New York *Times*, albeit the generosity of the Thomas Jefferson Bicentennial Commission in setting up a preliminary study and the courage of the Princeton University Press in undertaking the whole are remarkable. In addition to the editors named above, there is an advisory committee of 22 other persons, some of them scholars, some of them printers or publishers, and some of them eminent in public life, who have aided and are aiding Mr. Boyd and his associates.

The present volume appeared in May. A second volume is planned for the autumn of 1950. Thereafter four volumes are to appear annually, each running to about seven hundred pages.

Volume I presents the reader with a "General View" of the whole project, with various graceful acknowledgments, and with a fourteen-page discourse on method, signed by the editor-in-chief. There follows a "Guide to the Editorial Apparatus," which must presumably be constantly consulted for the whole work. Jefferson's first letter, written in 1760 when he was sixteen years old, opens the text proper, which contains material through 1776. There are two appendices and fourteen illustrations. The letters by Jefferson in this volume number about sixty-seven. There are approximately ninety-five letters to Jefferson. The rest of the 250 items (the number is approximate, since it is difficult to know how to manage a count) is made up of newspaper or pamphlet material or of drafts and manuscripts of public import. It is obvious that the plan is encyclopedic. The work will not only include every paper by Jefferson that can be found, but it will also reprint a vast library of relevant material.

The discourse on editorial method by Julian Boyd is a model of good sense. Boyd and his colleagues steer a middle course between the "modernization" which has spoiled all editions of Jefferson hitherto appearing and that fanaticism which, by demanding mere literalness of transcription, shuts the text in fact against all but the most specialized reader. The general procedure is to print the text of a document without headnote, and to add at the end explanatory editorial matter in smaller type, and in two columns. There is perhaps here a slight defect, inasmuch as explanatory footnotes are not directly under the passage they elucidate, so that the reader must hunt through smaller type at the end of a letter or document to ascertain whether the editors have solved a difficulty for him.

The general procedure is usefully altered in particular cases, such as

the "Notes of Proceedings in the Continental Congress." This item is preceded by an extensive headnote (which, in turn, has a small supplementary bibliographical note). Similar treatment is accorded "The Virginia Constitution," "The Declaration of Independence," and "Notes and Proceedings on Discontinuing the Establishment of the Church of England."

Some notion of the scrupulous care lavished upon the text may be gleaned from part of a note concerning a supposed letter by Jefferson to George Wythe, presumably written in June, 1776. The note says:

The text of this letter is highly suspect and the date uncertain. Wythe had left Congress on 13 June, and soon afterward (as we know from John Page's letter of 6 July) TJ wrote him a letter that dealt with personal matters and that may have dealt with the Virginia Constitution. The present extract *may* have been taken from this missing letter, but both its substance and the circumstances under which the only version known came to light throw grave doubts upon its authenticity.

These circumstances are then given.

Where every care has been taken for the text and for the comfort of the scholar, it is astonishing that the items in the text have not been numbered consecutively. The consequence of this omission is to make cross reference unnecessarily difficult. The numbering of items in any complex edition of papers has proved to be so convenient for both reader and editor (as was evidenced in the case of the letters and papers of Thackeray), that there must be some special reason, not divulged to the public, why this useful device has not been employed in the case of Jefferson.

In this notice of the first volume of so great a work, it seems more important to detail the scope and method of the project than to comment upon the substance of Jefferson's writing herein. A single but dramatic instance will show, however, how significant this edition is likely to be. Many persons have wondered how so intelligent a genius as the author of the Declaration of Independence could picture George III in that document as a monster of iniquity, and have concluded that Jefferson could sink to a low form of propaganda. A letter from him to John Randolph, dated Philadelphia, November 29, 1775, the draft of which is here printed, apparently for the first time, shows that Jefferson's opinion was considered. He wrote:

It is an immense misfortune to the whole empire to have a king of such a disposition at such a time. We are told and every thing proves it true that he is the bitterest enemy we have. His minister is able, and that satisfies me that ignorance or wickedness somewhere controuls him. In an earlier part

of this contest our petitions told him that from our king there was but one appeal. The admonition was despised and that appeal forced on us. To undo his empire he has but one truth more to learn, that after colonies have drawn the sword there is but one step more they can take. . . . we must drub [them] soundly before the sceptered tyrant will know we are not mere brutes, to crouch under his hand and kiss the rod with which he deigns to scourge us.

Letters from the sixties here reprinted are aglow with the charming personality of the young Jefferson. This personality is obscured as political events thicken around him and Jefferson is plunged into public life—as, in sum, Jefferson the person dissolves into Jefferson the patriot. Later volumes will of course restore the balance. Meanwhile, however, the political historian and the historian of ideas will find in even the first of this series material rich and suggestive for his use.

Harvard University.

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES.

SOCIAL THOUGHT IN AMERICA: *The Revolt against Formalism*. By Morton G. White. New York: The Viking Press. 1949. x, 246 pp. \$3.50.

This book is an attempt to write a "history and criticism of liberal social philosophy in twentieth-century America." Mr. White selected for analysis the ideas of five men who he considered had made distinctive contributions to twentieth-century liberal thought: O. W. Holmes, Jr. (Legal Realism); John Dewey (Instrumentalism); Thorstein Veblen (Institutionalism); Charles A. Beard (Economic Determinism); and James Harvey Robinson (The "New" History). He proposed to "examine . . . [this tradition] . . . , show that it was a pattern, and critically consider its philosophical foundations."

The major contribution of this book is its pioneer attempt to forge a school of pragmatic thought from the ideas of these five men. The result is convincing. These men did share certain fundamental assumptions and interests: "They all participated in an early revolt against formalism in social science. . . . In their positive ideas they showed great respect for science, historical method, economic interpretation, and cultural analysis." The book is successful to the degree that Mr. White has called attention to the like-mindedness of these men.

There are, however, definite weaknesses in this study. The content is not what the title of the book would lead one to expect. This study is neither social history nor a history of social thought. It is rather an examination of the thought of these men by an academic philosopher concerned with conventional philosophical issues. These five men were the intellectual products of a social transformation that was changing the America of their day. They felt keenly the tensions of the times, and

their thought is a reflection of their desire to come to grips with the issues of the day. As a result, their thought is inseparable from the social conflict that produced it. Yet Mr. White paid only the slightest attention to the social base in which their thought was rooted. Instead, he dealt with the thought of these men almost entirely in terms of the idea-content of what they wrote. In his concern for the "philosophical foundations" of their thought he ignored the only valid basis for criticism that these five men would have recognized—how well did the ideas provide solutions to the problems of the day?

This disregard for the social basis of knowledge leads Mr. White to another debatable assumption. He asked: "Are we to perform an analysis or an autopsy [on this body of thought]?" Obviously, he was performing an autopsy. This premise springs from Mr. White's failure to recognize that ideas may be alive and effective on other levels than the intellectual. These men did in the intellectual field what the Progressives were doing in the political field—they wrestled with the problems created by the coming of industrialism. These problems are persistent and are certainly not solved today. So long as this remains true, this body of thought does not require an autopsy or an obituary. Indeed, these pragmatists represent the only vigorous attack on the problems to date, and their ideas certainly still live. Consider the area of education. Mr. White pointed out that these pragmatic thinkers struggled ceaselessly to show that the separate disciplines of the social sciences were one unified body of social thought. Today this idea is accepted and is being translated into effective action in college curricula. We see an ever-increasing number of integrated courses, courses in American civilization, and courses in Western culture, all transcending disciplinary lines. The ideas of these men are not dead, but have simply been transferred to the field of action.

Finally, a word must be said about the unfriendly *tone* of the book. Mr. White's antipathy toward these men shows most clearly in his characterizations of the men. Robinson is sometimes a "pleasant popularizer," at others a "cheerleader" for the social sciences. Beard was "confused" about history, and "was not able to comprehend" the problem of formulating criteria to decide the scientific validity of different histories of the same events. Veblen was "confused and confusing" about the nature of moral judgments, and was really an "amoral moralist." Dewey's Instrumentalism lost its power in the 1930's and became the "canned slogans of intelligence" which bored intellectuals by World War II.

Mr. White has done a worth-while job in calling attention to the existence of this *school* of pragmatic thinkers. Some day a social and socio-

logical history of this group of men, friendly to them or at least neutral, will contribute more to our understanding of them.

New York State College for
Teachers at Buffalo.

NORMAN F. WEAVER.

YOUNG AMERICA 1830-1840. By Robert E. Riegel. Norman, Oklahoma:
University of Oklahoma Press. 1949. xii, 436. \$5.00.

Young America 1830-1840 is not written in the manner of Douglas Branch's *The Sentimental Years* or Thomas Beer's *The Mauve Decade*. Instead Professor Riegel of the Department of History at Dartmouth College follows the general pattern of the thirteen-volume *History of American Life* edited by Arthur Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox. There are, however, three differences between these volumes and *Young America*: the latter deals in much greater detail with a shorter span of years; it is more concerned with facts and less with generalization; and it is livelier and more readable.

The allocation of space is what one would expect from a historian: one chapter each on literature, the arts, sports (including travel, museums, and the circus), science, medicine, reform, religion, education, women, housing, transportation (2), the wage earner, business, the plantation, and the farm, prefaced by five chapters on the period, its people, and its regions.

The effect of these chapters is cumulative. After a few pages, an informed reader may doubt whether the book is justified. Anyone who reads all twenty-one chapters, however, will add appreciably to his knowledge of the social history of the United States.

Few reviewers are prepared to pass on the authenticity of all the data here presented. It is obvious that certain items are introduced because they are colorful rather than representative, but the picture as a whole gives an impression of verisimilitude. Mr. Riegel's scattered generalizations, however, occasionally appear to be self-contradictory. America on page 112, for example, is "money mad, 'devoured by the thirst for riches,'" but on page 254 the United States is not merely religious but "deeply religious." Unfortunately the compartmental arrangement of his material gives Mr. Riegel no opportunity to reconcile these conflicting yet not necessarily false statements.

Genuinely readable and equally informative, *Young America* probably brings this type of social history to its highest point of effectiveness. As American Studies move forward, it is probable that in the future distinguished books on our cultural history will be written most frequently

around a theme or a region which gives the author opportunity to interrelate and synthesize his data. This is the approach taken in a course on the myths of American culture as conducted in a college on the Atlantic seacoast; it is the approach also in a recently published study of the myth of the American West. Such books, of course, are immediately relevant to the study of American literature.

The University of Minnesota.

TREMAINE McDOWELL.

BRIEF MENTION

AMERICAN PAINTING: History and Interpretation. By Virgil Barker. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1950. xxviii, 717 pp. \$12.50.

In this handsomely printed and illustrated volume—the result of many years of study—Mr. Barker has combined narrative with critical discussion to tell the story of painting in America and to indicate its complex relationship with American life, social, economic, and cultural. More than most art historians, he is aware of the close connection between certain literary movements and similar developments in painting. He begins with the earliest works in the seventeenth century and concludes with the work of Winslow Homer, Albert Ryder, and Thomas Eakins, who had by 1900, he says, "brought American painting to what is still its highest level of expressiveness." Mr. Barker has spent something like a decade in searching out the actual paintings in public collections and in private homes in all sections of this country; and the one hundred plates in his book include many paintings which have rarely or never been reproduced in earlier historical works. His Notes form an excellent bibliography to the whole subject.

SELECTED ESSAYS. By T. S. Eliot. New Edition. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1950.] xiv, 460 pp. \$4.50.

Mr. Eliot has expanded his *Selected Essays, 1917-1932* by adding "In Memoriam" (1936), "Religion and Literature" (1935), "The *Pensées* of Pascal" (1931), and "Modern Education and the Classics" (1932). "There remain," he says in a prefatory note, "several uncollected papers which I am disposed to preserve; as well as a number of unpublished lectures, on matters connected with the art of poetry, which await their final form."

COLLECTED STORIES OF WILLIAM FAULKNER. New York: Random House. [1950.] 900 pp. \$4.75.

Of the forty-two short stories contained in this volume, which was issued before Mr. Faulkner was awarded the Nobel Prize, seventeen have been for the first time reprinted from the magazines in which they originally appeared. The volume also includes all of the stories in *These 13* (1931) and *Doctor Martino and Other Stories* (1934) except "The Hound" and "Smoke," which were later incorporated in *The Hamlet* and *Knight's Gambit*, respectively.

THE SHORT STORIES OF CONRAD AIKEN. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. [1950.] 416 pp. \$5.00.

This book, we are told, includes only the twenty-nine stories which Mr. Aiken wishes to preserve. Four of them appear in book form for the first time.

LINCOLN AT GETTYSBURG: *What He Intended to Say; What He Said; What He Was Reported to Have Said; What He Wished He Had Said.* By William E. Barton. Illustrated. New York: Peter Smith. 1950. 263 pp. \$4.00.

This book, which was first published twenty years ago, has long been out of print. It will always have an importance for students of Lincoln because it includes so many primary source materials.

THE LAND OF LITTLE RAIN. Text by Mary Austin. Photographs by Ansel Adams. Introduction by Carl Van Doren. Boston: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1950. xx, 135 pp. \$6.00.

Mrs. Austin's first book, which appeared in 1903, deals with the country which lies "between the high Sierras south from Yosemite—east and south over a very great assemblage of broken ranges beyond Death Valley, and on illimitably into the Mojave Desert." Mr. Adams's remarkable photographs harmonize admirably with the spirit of the text.

ENGLISH INSTITUTE ESSAYS 1949. Edited by Alan S. Downer. New York: Columbia University Press. 1950. x, 186 pp. \$2.75.

Four of the seven essays are concerned primarily with American literature: William Charvat's "Literary Economics and Literary History," Roy Harvey Pearce's "Civilization and Savagism: The World of the Leatherstocking Tales," Benjamin T. Spencer's "The Smiling Aspects of Life and a National American Literature," and Frederick J. Hoffman's "Points of Moral Reference: A Comparative Study of Edith Wharton and F. Scott Fitzgerald."

ESSAYS CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL: *Dedicated to Lily B. Campbell.* By Members of the Departments of English, University of California. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1950. x, 286 pp. \$3.00.

Of the fifteen studies dedicated to a leading Shakespeare scholar, two have a particular interest for those who read this journal: Ada B. Nisbet's "The Mystery of *Martin Chuzzlewit*" and Robert P. Falk's "Henry James's Romantic 'Vision of the Real' in the 1870's."

TEXAS FOLK SONGS. Edited by William A. Owens. Musical Arrangements by Willa Mae Kelly Koehn. Austin: The Texas Folklore Society. Dallas: University Press in Dallas. 1950. 302 pp. \$5.00.

This handsome book with its 118 songs only slightly duplicates books by other Texas collectors. It is limited to songs of Anglo-American origin, and it includes 29 British ballads, 13 American ballads, 4 Civil War songs, and other songs classified as Songs of Doleful Love and Children's Songs. In an informative introduction entitled "Collector's Notes" Mr. Owens gives an interesting account of his experiences as a collector and throws light upon the people who sang them.

THE AMERICAN AS REFORMER. By Arthur M. Schlesinger. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1950. xii, 127 pp. \$2.25.

The three lectures, delivered at Pomona College in the spring of 1950, are "The Historical Climate of Reform," "The Reform Impulse in Action," and "The Revolt against Revolt." Professor Schlesinger, who begins each lecture with a quotation from Emerson, is fully aware of the importance of the part which American writers have played in reform movements.

THE LIBRARY OF EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON: *A Descriptive Catalogue*. Compiled by James Humphry III. Waterville, Maine: Colby College Press. 1950. 52 pp. Edition limited to 300 copies.

Of the more than three hundred volumes, now in the Colby College Library, few contain marginal notes; but the list is nonetheless important for Robinson students. Mr. Humphry's Preface gives a good brief account of the poet's favorite books.

THE PAPERS OF RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE: *A Preliminary Checklist of His Surviving Texts in Manuscript and in Print*. By William E. Stokes, Jr. and Francis L. Berkeley, Jr. Published by the University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia: With Assistance from the Research Council of the Richmond Area University Center. 1950. 170 pp. \$2.50.

The book includes nearly three thousand separate items, an excellent brief account of Randolph's life, and a reproduction in colors of Gilbert Stuart's portrait of the eccentric statesman.

THE NEW SOUTH: *Thanksgiving Sermon, 1880.* By Atticus G. Haygood. Edited by Judson C. Ward. Atlanta, Georgia: The Library Emory University. 1950. xii, 12 pp.

Henry W. Grady, whose "The New South" speech of 1886 is far better known, is said to have remarked: "I lighted my torch at Haygood's flame."

COLONIAL AMERICAN WRITING. Edited with Introductions by Roy Harvey Pearce. [New York and Toronto:] Rinehart & Company, Incorporated. [1950.] xiv, 581 pp. \$.95

LITERATURE OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC. Edited with Introductions by Edwin H. Cady. New York [and] Toronto: Rinehart & Co., Inc. [1950.] xii, 495 pp. \$.95.

POETRY OF THE NEW ENGLAND RENAISSANCE 1790-1890. Edited with an Introduction by George F. Whicher. New York [and] Toronto: Rinehart & Co., Inc. [1950.] xliv, 458 pp. \$.95.

These three anthologies are a few among the many titles in the attractive and inexpensive "Rinehart Editions," all with introductory materials by well-known scholars and critics. The series includes volumes by Cooper, Crane, Emerson, Franklin, Hawthorne, Howells, Irving, James, Melville, Norris, Poe, Thoreau, and Whitman. Mark Twain's *Roughing It* is described as "In Preparation."

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WORK OF KARL JAY SHAPIRO, 1935-1949. Compiled by Louise Quesnel September 1945. Revised by William G. Webster March 1950. Baltimore, Maryland: Enoch Pratt Free Library [1950.] 13 pp. Mimeographed.

J. B. H.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Richard E. Amacher (Rutgers University), Ashbel Brice (Duke University), Herbert Brown (Bowdoin College), Horst Frenz (Indiana University), John C. Gerber (University of Iowa), Chester T. Hallenbeck (Queens College), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest Marchand (San Diego State College), Thomas F. Marshall (Western Maryland College), Blake Nevius (University of California), Henry F. Pommer (Allegheny College), Thelma V. Smith (Dickinson College), Herman E. Spivey (University of Kentucky), Walter Sutton (Syracuse University), and James Woodress (Butler University), with the co-operation of Roger M. Asselineau (University of Paris), Lars Åhnebrink (University of Upsala), Anna Maria Crinó (University of Florence), and Sigmund Skard (University of Oslo).

Items for the check list to be published in the March, 1951, issue of *American Literature* should be sent to the chairman of the committee, Lewis Leary, 4633 Duke Station, Durham, North Carolina.

I. 1609-1800

[BRACKENRIDGE, H. H.] Marsh, Philip. "Hugh Henry Brackenridge: The 'Direct Primary' of 1792." *Western Penn. Hist. Mag.*, XXXII, 115-116 (Sept.-Dec., 1949).

[COTTON, JOHN] Schorer, C. E. "'One Cotton, of Acquia Creek, Husband of Ann Cotton.'" *AL*, XXII, 342-345 (Nov., 1950).

Marginal comments in Moses Coit Tyler's copy of Force's *Tracts* enable us to "reconstruct the workings of his mind in deciding that Ann Cotton's husband wrote 'The Burwell Papers.'"

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Aldridge, A. O. "Franklin and the Ghostly Drummer of Tedworth." *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, 3 ser., VII, 559-567 (Oct., 1950).

No conclusive evidence has been presented that two letters concerning this legend published in 1730 in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* are by Franklin; their existence does indicate that, by this date, they had become folklore.

—. "Franklin and Jackson on the French War." *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, XCIV, 396-397 (1950).

- . "Franklin's Deistical Indians." *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, XCIV, 398-410 (1950)..
- . "Franklin's Letters on Indians and Germans." *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, XCIV, 391-395 (1950).
Coulson, Thomas. "Benjamin Franklin and the Post Office." *Jour. Franklin Inst.*, CCL, 191-212 (Sept., 1950).
Phillips, William L. "Franklin's Version of the 'Lord's Prayer': A Restoration of the Text." *AL*, XXII, 338-341 (Nov., 1950).
A correction of the highly inaccurate Smythe text, which, among other errors, transposes the middle to the end.
- [FRENEAU, PHILIP] Marsh, Philip. "A Lost Fragment of Freneau's 'The Spy.'" *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Lib.*, XIII, 61-63 (June, 1950).
Prints a textual fragment of the play not included in Fred Lewis Pattee's *The Poems of Philip Freneau*, but mentioned in Victor Hugo Paltsits's *Bibliography*.
- [JEFFERSON, THOMAS] Gabriel, Ralph H. "Thomas Jefferson and Twentieth-Century Rationalism." *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXVI, 321-335 (Summer, 1950).
- [RUSH, BENJAMIN] Butterfield, L. H. "Dr. Benjamin Rush's Journal of a Trip to Carlisle in 1784." *Penn. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, LXXIV, 443-456 (Oct., 1950).
—. "The Reputation of Benjamin Rush." *Penn. Hist.*, XVII, 3-22 (Jan., 1950).
- [SANDYS, GEORGE] Bowers, Fredson, and Davis, Richard Beale. "George Sandys: A Bibliographical Catalogue of Printed Editions in England to 1700." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, LIV, 159-181, 223-244, 280-286 (April, May, June, 1950).
Also issued separately.
Davis, Richard Beale. "George Sandys and Two Uncollected Poems." *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, XII, 105-111 (Nov., 1948).
- [SMITH, E. H.] Cronin, James E. "Elihu Hubbard Smith and the New York Theatre (1793-1798)." *N. Y. Hist.*, XXXI, 136-148 (April, 1950).
[MISCELLANEOUS] Bartlett, I. H. "The Puritans as Missionaries." *Boston Pub. Lib. Quar.*, II, 99-118 (April, 1950).
Haraszti, Zoltán. "The Occasion for Plymouth Plantation." *Boston Pub. Lib. Quar.*, II, 197-230 (July, 1950).
Haviland, Thomas I. "'King Tammany,' a Song." *N. Y. Folklore Quar.*, VI, 97-98 (Summer, 1950).
A MS ballad from the DuSimitière collection in the Philadelphia Public Library.
Rightmyer, Nelson W. "The Character of the Clergy of Colonial Mary-

land." *Hist. Mag. Prot. Episc. Church*, XIX, 112-133 (June, 1950).

II. 1800-1870

[ADAMS, J. Q.] Von Abele, Rudolph. "John Quincy Adams: Scientific Statesman." *Am. Merc.*, LXX, 449-456 (April, 1950).

His chief claim to greatness is that he saw, understood, and propagated the truth about the kind of intelligence essential to good government.

[CARUTHERS, W. A.] Davis, Curtis Carroll. "The First Climber of the Natural Bridge: A Minor American Epic." *Jour. So. Hist.*, XVI, 277-290 (Aug., 1950).

A description of subsequent literary distortions of Caruthers's essay of 1838, "Climbing the Natural Bridge."

[CHILD, F. J.] Howe, M. A. DeW. "*Il Pesceballo*: The Fishball Operetta of Francis James Child." *NEQ*, XXIII, 187-199 (June, 1950).

James Russell Lowell was author of the English text, and Child was the author of the Italian version of an operetta performed for the benefit of a Civil-War-time charity.

[DUYCKINCK, GEORGE] Schubert, L. "A Boy's Journal of a Trip into New England in 1838." *Essex Inst. Hist. Col.*, LXXXVI, 97-105 (April, 1950).

A journal kept by George Duyckinck recording impressions of a trip taken with his brother Evert, in the course of which the two were shown the sights of Salem by Nathaniel Hawthorne.

[EMERSON, R. W.] Cameron, Kenneth Walter. "An Early Prose Work of Emerson." *AL*, XXII, 332-338 (Nov., 1950).

An unsigned review of Greenwood's *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* from the *Christian Examiner*, X, 30-34 (March, 1831).

Carpenter, Hazen C. "Emerson at West Point." *Education*, LXXI, 57-61 (Sept., 1950).

Coleman, Rufus A. "Two Meetings with Emerson." *MLN*, LXV, 482-484 (Nov., 1950).

Records of meetings between Emerson and John Townsend Trowbridge (1827-1916), editor, poet, novelist.

Strauch, C. F. "The Date of Emerson's *Terminus*." *PMLA*, LXV, 360-370 (June, 1950).

Disagreeing with various scholars and anthologists who have given the impression that Emerson wrote "Terminus" upon his approaching old age, the author of this analysis, by comparative studies of fragmentary drafts, journal notes, and other data, demonstrates that "at least the first draft was written before 1860 and that in its inception

the poem is not primarily about approaching old age." In its genesis the poem actually embraced three themes: (1) that of growing old, (2) a distinctly Emersonian adaptation of the *carpe diem* theme, and, dominating and binding these together, (3) the theme of integrity.

—. "The Manuscript Relationships of Emerson's 'Days.'" *PQ*, XXIX, 199-208 (April, 1950).

Sources and development.

[FULLER, MARGARET] Munsterberg, Margaret. "Margaret Fuller Centenary." *Boston Pub. Lib. Quar.*, II, 245-266 (July, 1950).

A biographical sketch, utilizing unpublished material in the Boston Public Library.

Nicholas, Edward. "It Is I, Margaret Fuller." *Harper's*, CXCIX, 66-76 (July, 1949).

A discussion of Margaret Fuller's character, friends, contacts, and influence.

[GEELEY, HORACE] Williams, Mentor L. "Horace Greeley and Michigan Cooper." *Mich. Hist.*, XXXIV, 120-132 (June, 1950).

[HALE, S. J.] Strong, Ola. "The Woman to Thank for Thanksgiving." *Holland's Mag.*, LXIX, 15 (Nov., 1950).

A brief account of the public services of Sara Josepha Hale (1788-1879) during her long period of editing *Godey's Lady's Book*.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Bode, Carl. "Hawthorne's *Fanshawe*: The Promising of Greatness." *NEQ*, XXIII, 235-242 (June, 1950).

The melodramatic elements in *Fanshawe* and the literary and historical derivations must be admitted, but these defects do not overshadow Hawthorne's superior handling of character.

Hart, J. E. "The Scarlet Letter: One Hundred Years After." *NEQ*, XXIII, 381-395 (Sept., 1950).

To relate the pattern of Hawthorne's life to the attitudes and actions of the characters of the novel is to discover that they represent different sides of his own personality; through them he explores the necessity of art as a way of expiating his feeling of guilt toward his past, as well as the relationship of the isolated individual to the outside world.

Hoeltje, H. H. "Hawthorne's Review of *Evangeline*." *NEQ*, XXIII, 232-235 (June, 1950).

Hawthorne's review is an example of his skill in writing expository prose, and a token of his deep admiration of Longfellow's poetry.

Kane, Robert J. "Hawthorne's 'The Prophetic Pictures' and James's 'The Liar.'" *MLN*, LXV, 257-258 (April, 1950).

The two stories are similar in theme.

Articles on American Literature Appearing in Current Periodicals 555

Roper, Gordon. "The Originality of Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*." *Dalhousie Rev.*, XXIX, 62-79 (April, 1950).

Schubert, L. "A Boy's Journal of a Trip into New England in 1838." *Essex Inst. Hist. Col.*, LXXXVI, 97-105 (April, 1950).

George Duyckinck and his brother are shown through Salem by Hawthorne.

Waggoner, Hyatt Howe. "Hawthorne's Beginning: 'Alice Doane's Appeal.'" *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XVI, 254-260 (Summer, 1950).

This work of Hawthorne's apprenticeship has much in common with his late romances and throws light upon the genesis of his symbols; his "later themes are here: the secret guilt, the haunted mind, fate, the universal sin, the curse from the past."

[HAYNE, P. H.] Dedmond, Francis B. "Paul Hamilton Hayne and the Poe Westminster Memorial." *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLV, 149-151 (June, 1950).

[HICKS, ELIAS] Forbush, Bliss. "The Newly Discovered Manuscript Journal of Elias Hicks: A Study of the Writing and Editing of a Quaker Journal." *Bul. Friends Hist. Assn.*, XXXIX, 16-26 (Spring, 1950).

[JOHNSON, W. R.] Pettengill, George E. "Walter Rogers Johnson." *Jour. Franklin Inst.*, CCL, 93-113 (Aug., 1950).

[LESLIE, ELIZA] Smith, Ophia D. "Charles and Eliza Leslie." *Penn. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, LXXIV, 512-527 (Oct., 1950).

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Pearson, Norman Holmes. "Both Longfellows." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XVI, 245-253 (Summer, 1950).

Two aspects of Longfellow should be represented in any critical selection of his best work: (1) the "court poet," who wished to bring to American poetry the best in craftsmanship and tradition from the resources of the past, and (2) the "familiar bard," who celebrated for the middle classes and the populace the valor and virtue of the race.

[LOWELL, J. R.] Howe, M. A. DeW. "*Il Pesceballo*: The Fishball Operetta of Francis James Child." *NEQ*, XXIII, 187-199 (June, 1950).

Lowell was author of the English text.

Miller, F. DeW. "An Artist Sits for Lowell." *Boston Pub. Lib. Quar.*, II, 378-379 (Oct., 1950).

Samuel Worcester Rouse as model for the word portrait of Fitz Adam in Lowell's "Fitz Adam's Story."

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Braswell, William. "The Early Love Scenes of Melville's *Pierre*." *AL*, XXII, 283-289 (Nov., 1950).

Critics who have found the opening chapters of *Pierre* deplorably

bad have failed to realize that Melville was indulging in irony and a form of mock romanticism.

Hillway, Tyrus. "Melville as Critic of Science." *MLN*, LXV, 411-414 (June, 1950).

Melville attacked the esotericism of science, its coldness and inhumanity, its overconfidence in its capacity to solve every problem, and its destruction of beauty by analysis; he also deplored the conflict between science and religion.

Leyda, Jay. "An Albany Journal of Gansevoort Melville." *Boston Pub. Lib. Quar.*, II, 327-347 (Oct., 1950).

Fragments of a journal kept by Melville's brother from January 4 to March 24, 1834, contain sharp impressions of the family of the future novelist and of the financial disaster which affected his writings.

Morpurgo, J. E. "Herman Melville and England." *Month* (London), IV, 180-186 (Sept., 1950).

The reason for Melville's success in England was that he found America's frontier where it was England's also—on the seas.

Lutwack, L. I. "Herman Melville and *Atlantic Monthly* Critics." *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, XIII, 414-416 (Aug., 1950).

Schiffman, Joseph. "Critical Problems in Melville's 'Benito Cereno.'" *MLQ*, XI, 317-324 (Sept., 1950).

Although the story is not an abolitionist tract, the moral victory of Babo at the close is really an indictment of slavery.

[PARKER, THEODORE] Smith, H. Shelton. "Was Theodore Parker a Transcendentalist?" *NEQ*, XXIII, 351-364 (Sept., 1950).

Although Parker was critical of certain transcendentalists who appeared to rely too much on pure ecstasy as a mode of religious perception, he must not be excluded from transcendentalist circles, since the normative factor of his religious epistemology was always intuitive perception.

[POE, E. A.] Dedmond, Francis B. "Paul Hamilton Hayne and the Poe Westminster Memorial." *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLV, 149-151 (June, 1950).

McNeal, Thomas H. "Poe's Zenobia: An Early Satire on Margaret Fuller." *MLQ*, XI, 215-216 (June, 1950).

The Psyche Zenobia of "How to Write a Blackwood Article" is Margaret Fuller, and is the earliest satire extant on the subject.

Oras, Ants. "'The Bells' of Edgar Allan Poe and 'A Prophecy' by John Keats." *Apophoreta Tartuensis* (Stockholm), Societas Litterum Estonica in Svecia (1949), pp. 88-94.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Harding, Walter. "The Correspondence of Sophia Thoreau and Marianne Dunbar." *Thoreau Soc. Bul.*, no. 23 (Oct., 1950), pp. 1-3.

A check list, annotated with significant excerpts, of thirty-one letters.

Whitford, K. "Thoreau and the Woodlots of Concord." *NEQ*, XXIII, 291-306 (Sept., 1950).

The mass of facts heaped together by Thoreau in the last volumes of his Journals has been mistakenly regarded as a sign of the author's failure to synthesize facts already gathered, and evidence of the triumph of the naturalist over the poet: actually, Thoreau was a pioneer ecologist, systematically observing "natural crop rotations in forests."

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Freeman, D. C. "John Greenleaf Whittier and His Birthplace." *Essex Inst. Hist. Col.*, LXXXVI, 229-310 (Oct., 1950).

Extracts from "an anecdotal talk," maintaining the thesis that Whittier's roots were strongly local and that "much of Whittier's writing is best understood accompanied by annotations or a visit to the Merrimack Valley."

Smallwood, Osborn T. "The Historical Significance of Whittier's Anti-Slavery Poems as Reflected by Their Political and Social Background." *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXXV, 150-173 (April, 1950).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Griffin, Russell A. "Mrs. Trollope and the Queen City." *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII, 289-302 (Sept., 1950).

Mrs. Trollope's observations on and experiences in Cincinnati.

Gabriel, Ralph. "Evangelical Religion and Popular Romanticism in Early Nineteenth Century America." *Church Hist.*, XIX, 34-47 (March, 1950).

Stern, Madeleine. "Books in the Wilderness: Some Nineteenth-Century Upstate Publishers." *N. Y. Hist.*, XXXI, 260-282 (July, 1950).

A brief account of rural printers and publishers of up-state New York.

III. 1870-1900

[ABBOTT, LYMAN] Brown, I. V. "Lyman Abbott: Christian Evolutionist." *NEQ*, XXIII, 218-231 (June, 1950).

Although Abbott's reconciliation of evolution and religion was vague and superficial, his brand of Christian evolutionism encouraged a friendly attitude toward science, preserved spiritual values, and encouraged a progressive social outlook.

[ADAMS, HENRY] Page, E. "'The Man Around the Corner': An Episode in the Career of Henry Adams." *NEQ*, XXIII, 401-403 (Sept., 1950).

The unsigned review in the *Nation* of Henry Adams's *Life of*

Albert Gallatin was written by the author's brother, Charles Francis Adams, Jr.

[CLEMENS, S. L.] Francis, Raymond L. "Mark Twain and H. L. Mencken." *Prairie Schooner*, XXIV, 31-40 (Spring, 1950).

Similarities between the two.

Kitzhaber, Albert R. "Götterdämmerung in Topeka: The Downfall of Senator Pomeroy." *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, XVIII, 243-278 (Aug., 1950).

A detailed account of the exposure and conviction of Senator Pomeroy, with references to Mark Twain's use of the incident.

Lorch, Fred W. "Mark Twain's Lecture from *Roughing It*." *AL*, XXII, 290-307 (Nov., 1950).

A lecture, reprinted from the *Lansing State Republican*. See Moffett below.

Moffett, Wallace B. "Mark Twain's Lansing Lecture on *Roughing It*." *Michigan Hist.*, XXXIV, 144-170 (June, 1950).

An account of the circumstances of Mark Twain's speech at Lansing on December 14, 1871, and a reprint of the lecture. See Lorch above.

Carpenter, F. I. "Dickinson's *Farther in Summer Than the Birds*." *Expl.*, VIII, 33 (March, 1950).

Takes issue with Yvor Winters's interpretation of the poem.

[FLOWER, B. O.] Fairfield, Roy P. "Benjamin Orange Flower: Father of the Muckrakers." *AL*, XXII, 272-282 (Nov., 1950).

[GODKIN, E. L.] Nevins, Allan. "E. L. Godkin: Victorian Liberal." *Nation*, CLXXI, 76-79 (July 22, 1950).

A discussion of Godkin's contribution to American cultural life in the early years of the *Nation*.

[GRISWOLD, R. W.] Anon. "The Correspondence of R. W. Griswold." *Boston Pub. Lib. Quar.*, II, 172-179, 269-275, 354-368 (April, July, Oct., 1950).

[HARTE, BRET] May, Ernst R. "Bret Harte and the *Overland Monthly*." *AL*, XXII, 260-271 (Nov., 1950).

Harte's fame came as a result of his work for the *Overland Monthly*; as editor, he was responsible for the success that the journal obtained, for it was "formed almost entirely by his tastes and judgments."

[HOWELLS, W. D.] Carter, Everett S. "The Palpitating Divan." *Eng. Jour.*, XXXIX, 237-242 (May, 1950).

An examination of the alleged prudery of Howells, concluding that he must be judged in relation to his time, and that so judged he was as outspoken as he could well be; in fact, he drew abuse on himself for going too far.

[JAMES, HENRY] Bewley, Marius. "Appearance and Reality in Henry James." *Scrutiny*, XVII, 90-114 (Summer, 1950).

Dunbar, Viola R. "The Revision of *Daisy Miller*." *MLN*, LXV, 311-317 (May, 1950).

James, perceiving that *Daisy Miller* was not (as he had thought) a critical or realistic study, but an idealization, made his heroine more poetically ideal in the revision of the tale for the New York Edition. —. "A Source for *Roderick Hudson*." *MLN*, LXIII, 303-310 (May, 1948).

Striking similarities in plot, characters, and ideas between James's novel and Dumas fils's *L'Affaire Clémenceau: Mémoire de l'accusé*, reviewed by James in the *Nation*, October 11, 1866.

Dupree, F. W. "Henry James and the Play." *Nation*, CLXXI, 40-42 (July 8, 1950).

James's playwriting represents a transitional phase between his early and late fiction, and it is not a total loss.

Havens, Raymond D. "Henry James' 'The Impressions of a Cousin.'" *MLN*, LXV, 317-319 (May, 1950).

Kane, R. J. "Hawthorne's 'The Prophetic Pictures' and James's 'The Liar.'" *MLN*, 257-258 (April, 1950).

Leavis, F. R. "James's 'What Maisie Knew': A Disagreement." *Scrutiny*, XVII, 115-127 (Summer, 1950).

Munson, Gorham. "The Real Thing: A Parable for Writers of Fiction." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XVI, 261-264 (Summer, 1950).

"The Real Thing" contains this moral: "Real people as a rule supply hints for fictive people. . . . The copying of life-models for fiction is bad business."

Rouse, H. Blair. "Charles Dickens and Henry James: Two Approaches to the Art of Fiction." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, V, 151-157 (Sept., 1950).

Stone, Edward. "A Further Note on *Daisy Miller* and Cherbuliez." *PQ*, XXIX, 213-216 (April, 1950).

There are similarities of characterization and plot between *Daisy Miller* and Victor Cherbuliez's *Paule Mérée*.

—. "Henry James's First Novel." *Boston Pub. Lib. Quar.*, II, 167-171 (April, 1950)..

James's first novel, *Watch and Ward*, although excluded from his collected works, foreshadows the author's later greatness in its irony, pathos, and infinite care for characterization. It also contains a sense of "the air of the past."

—. "Henry James's Last Novel." *Boston Pub. Lib. Quar.*, II, 348-353 (Oct., 1950).

The Sense of the Past (1917) offers as valuable an autobiographical commentary as any of the elaborate prefaces which James added to the selective edition of his works. To note that James asserted his allegiance to his own times "is not of necessity to infer that he underwent any change in his fundamental fidelity to the Past."

Young, Robert E. "An Error in *The Ambassadors*." *AL*, XXII, 245-253 (Nov., 1950).

Chapters XXVIII and XXIX of *The Ambassadors* have appeared in reverse order in all editions, an error undetected by the critics and by James himself.

[MITCHELL, S. WEIR] Mitchell, S. Weir. "Pennsylvania Student Life a Century Ago." *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, LII, 65-75 (Winter, 1950).

A hitherto unpublished autobiography.

[NORRIS, FRANK] McKee, Irving. "Notable Memorials to Mussel Slough." *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, XVII, 19-27 (Jan., 1948).

The use made by Norris, Josiah Royce, and Charles Edward Russell of the "battle" at Mussel Slough, California, on May 11, 1880. See Post below.

[POST, C. C.] Clark, Gordon W. "A Significant Memorial to Mussel Slough." *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, XVIII, 501-504 (Nov., 1949).

Charles Cyrel Post (1846-1906), editor of the anti-monopolistic Chicago *Saturday Express*, was the first to make fictional use of the Mussel Slough incident—in his *Driven from Sea to Sea; or, Just a Campin'* (Chicago, 1884). See NORRIS above.

[TIPPmann, H. K.] Posselt, Erich. "The Story of an American Poet." *Am.-Ger. Rev.*, XVII, 25-26 (Oct., 1950).

A sketch of the life and work of Hugo Karl Tippmann (b. 1875), "a poet unique in the history of German-American literature."

[WHITMAN, WALT] Bergman, Herbert. "'Chicago,' an Uncollected Poem, Possibly by Whitman." *MLN*, LXV, 478-481 (Nov., 1950).

Cooke, Alice L. "A Note on Whitman's Symbolism in 'Song of Myself.'" *MLN*, LXV, 228-232 (April, 1950).

Suggests that Whitman sought knowledge by the method of the scientist rather than by that of the philosopher, beginning with nature, not with philosophical abstractions: in this view, many of his symbols are seen to refer to concrete things, not to metaphysical notions.

Finkel, William L. "Sources of Walt Whitman's Manuscript Notes on Physique." *AL*, XXII, 308-321 (Nov., 1950).

Only one of the manuscripts on this subject may be original; the rest are "verbatim extracts and adaptations."

- Lewis, R. W. B. "The Danger of Innocence: Adam as Hero in American Literature." *Yale Rev.*, XXIX, 473-490 (Spring, 1950).

A belief in the essential innocence of human nature, as suggested by Whitman's use of Adam, was opposed by the elder James and by Horace Bushnell.

- [MISCELLANEOUS] Allison, Lelah. "Traditional Verse from Autograph Books." *Hoosier Folklore*, VIII, 87-94 (Dec., 1949).

Familiar examples of late nineteenth-century autograph-book verse.

- Briggs, Harold E., and Ernestine B. "The Early Theater on the Northern Plains." *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII, 231-264 (Sept., 1950).

A survey of theatrical activities in pioneer settlements.

- Lippincott, Horace M. "Amusements in the Nineties." *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, LII, 239-251 (Summer, 1950).

Personal recollections.

- Olson, James C. "The Literary Tradition in Pioneer Nebraska." *Prairie Schooner*, XXIV, 161-168 (Summer, 1950).

IV. 1900-1951

- [ANDERSON, SHERWOOD] Howe, Irving. "Sherwood Anderson & D. H. Lawrence." *Furioso*, V, 21-33 (Fall, 1950).

- Sutton, William A. "Sherwood Anderson: The Advertising Years, 1900-1906." *Northwest Ohio Quar.*, XXII, 120-157 (Summer, 1950).

- [ASCH, SHOLEM] Cargill, Oscar. "Sholem Asch: Still Immigrant and Alien." *Eng. Jour.*, XXXIX, 483-490 (Nov., 1950); *Col. Eng.*, XII, 67-77 (Nov., 1950).

Despite his long residence in America and the fact that his books have been in translation for over thirty years, Asch is not accepted as an American writer: it is an aspect of our provinciality, still lingering, that "we have never accepted as a contributor to our culture a man who has not written in our language."

- [AUDEN, W. H.] Griffon, Howard. "Conversation on Cornelia Street: Dialogue with W. H. Auden." *Accent*, X, 51-58 (Autumn, 1949).

Consideration, through dialogue, of moral responsibility, the making of choices, the psychology of demonics, *hubris*.

- [BROMFIELD, LOUIS] Bromfield, Mary. "The Writer I Live With." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXXVI, 77-79 (Aug., 1950).

- [CABELL, J. B.] Fishwick, Marshall W. "James Branch Cabell, Virginia Novelist." *Commonwealth*, XVII, 35-36 (May, 1950).

"Despite his daring escapism and obvious delight in throwing dust in the reader's eyes, James Branch Cabell has never got away from the Virginia scene and society."

[Caldwell, Erskine] Anon. "America's Most Censored Author—An Interview with Erskine Caldwell." *Pub. Week.*, CLV, 1960-1961 (May 14, 1949).

For other brief notices of censorship of Mr. Caldwell and other novelists, see also the *Publishers' Weekly*, CLV, 1312 (March 19), 1438 (March 26), 1512-1513, 1514-1515, 1519 (April 2), 1805-1806 (April 30), and 1876 (May 7, 1949).

[Cather, Willa] Rapin, René. "Willa Cather (1873-1947)." *Etudes de Lettres* (Switzerland), XXIII, 39-50 (Sept.-Oct., 1950).

Schloss, George. "A Writer's Art." *Hudson Rev.*, III, 151-156 (Spring, 1950).

[Crane, Hart] Ramsey, Warren. "Crane and Laforgue." *Sewanee Rev.*, LVIII, 439-449 (July-Sept., 1950).

[Cummings, E. E.] Barrows, Hubert C., Jr., and Steinhoff, William R. "Cummings' *Anyone Lived in a Pretty How Town*." *Expl.*, IX, 1 (Oct., 1950).

Moseley, Edwin M. "Cummings' *These Children Singing in Stone A (50 Poems, 37)*." *Expl.*, IX, 2 (Oct., 1950).

Vowles, Richard B. "Cummings' *Space Being . . . Curved (Collected Poems, 196)*." *Expl.*, IX, 3 (Oct., 1950).

[Dos Passos, John] Hicks, Granville. "Politics and John Dos Passos." *Antioch Rev.*, X, 85-98 (Spring, 1950).

Committed to the portrayal and interpretation of the impersonal, Dos Passos today "seems dissociated from the kind of reality he has chosen to deal with"; his "infatuation with communism and subsequent disillusionment" are significant of our time.

Kallich, Martin. "John Dos Passos: Liberty and the Father-Image." *Antioch Rev.*, X, 99-106 (Spring, 1950).

Libertarianism—individualist, socialist, and conservative—is "the chief message of Dos Passos' life and work; and it is unmistakably accompanied, and in part conditioned, by an Oedipus Complex."

[Ehrmann, Max] Ehrmann, Bertha K. "Reminiscences of Max Ehrmann." *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, XLVI, 249-259 (Sept., 1950).

[Eliot, T. S.] Arrowsmith, William. "English Verse Drama II: The Cocktail Party." *Hudson Rev.*, III, 411-431 (Autumn, 1950).

Bain, Donald. "T. S. Eliot's The Cocktail Party." *Nine*, II, 16-22 (Jan., 1950).

The Cocktail Party as a dramatization of the *Four Quartets*.

Barrett, William. "Dry Land, Dry Martini." *Partisan Rev.*, XVII, 354-359 (April, 1950).

- The Cocktail Party* is less vital than *Sweeney Agonistes*; it is thin and expressively brittle in content; the verse is not far from prose.
- Cotten, Lyman A. "Eliot's *The Waste Land*, I, 43-46." *Expl.*, IX, 7 (Oct., 1950).
- Curtius, Ernst Robert. "T. S. Eliot: Das Wueste Land." *Die Neue Rundschau*, III, 327-345 (1950).
- Dwyer, Daniel N. "Eliot's *Ash-Wednesday*, IV, 1-4." *Expl.*, IX, 5 (Oct., 1950).
- Eliot, T. S. "A Letter from T. S. Eliot." *Poetry*, LXXVI, 88 (May, 1950).
- A note of congratulation to Karl Shapiro as new editor of *Poetry* calls attention to the fact that *Poetry* is not merely another "little magazine," but an institution.
- Freimark, Vincent. "Eliot's *Ash-Wednesday*, II-IV." *Expl.*, IX, 6 (Oct., 1950).
- Fussell, Paul, Jr. "A Note on 'The Hollow Men.'" *MLN*, LXV, 254-255 (April, 1950).
- Lines of Eliot echo Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, II, i, 63-69.
- Guidacci, Margherita. "I Quartetti di Eliot." *Letteratura* (Italy), IX, 29-41 (July-Oct., 1947).
- Morris, Robert L. "Eliot's 'Game of Chess' and Conrad's 'The Return.'" *MLN*, LXV, 422-423 (June, 1950).
- Orsini, Napoleone. "Nota in margine ad una poesia di T. S. Eliot." *Letteratura* (Italy), IX, 110-112 (March-April, 1947).
- A comparison of Eliot's "Sunday Morning Service" with Jules Laforgue's "La Rapsode foraine et le pardon de Ste Anne."
- Russell, Peter. "A Note on Eliot's New Play." *Nine*, I, 28-29 (Oct., 1949).
- Sickels, Eleanor M. "Eliot's *The Waste Land*, I, 24-30, and *Ash-Wednesday*, IV-VI." *Expl.*, IX, 4 (Oct., 1950).
- Smith, Grover. "Charles-Louis Philippe and T. S. Eliot." *AL*, XXII, 254-259 (Nov., 1950).
- "Eliot used Philippe's novels . . . to integrate a mood and only in small measure to assist his phraseology."
- Smith, Ray. "Eliot's *The Waste Land*, I, 74-75." *Expl.*, IX, 8 (Oct., 1950).
- [FITZGERALD, F. S.] MacKendrick, Paul L. "The Great Gatsby and Trimalchio." *Classical Jour.*, XLV, 307-314 (April, 1950).
- Illustrates parallels between Petronius and Fitzgerald in *The Great Gatsby*, showing that their social, intellectual, and political attitudes are similar.

[FROST, ROBERT] Anon. "Pawky Poet." *Time*, LVI, 76-82 (Oct. 9, 1950).
 Hoffman, Dan G. "Frost's *For Once, Then, Something.*" *Expl.*, IX, 17 (Nov., 1950).

[GREENE, GRAHAM] Braybrooke, Neville. "Graham Greene: A Pioneer Novelist." *Col. Eng.*, XII, 1-9 (Oct., 1950).

[GREGORY, HORACE] Rosenthal, M. L. "Horace Gregory: The Catullus Translations." *Accent*, X, 175-184 (Spring, 1950).

Gregory was profoundly influenced by Ezra Pound and the Symbolist-Imagist techniques; but behind a mass of parallels and influences, Gregory's great talent for elegiac poetry is discovered even at this early date.

[HALDEMAN-JULIUS, E.] Mordell, Albert. "Haldeman-Julius as a Writer on Freethought." *Critic and Guide*, IV, 1-24 (Dec., 1950).

Yarros, Victor S. "Haldeman-Julius Book Shelf." *Critic and Guide*, IV, 25-32 (Dec., 1950).

The activities of a popular publisher.

[HEGGEN, T. O.] Anon. "Thomas O. Heggen." *Pub. Week.*, CLV, 2170 (May 28, 1949).

[HEMINGWAY, ERNEST] Redman, Ben Ray. "The Champ and His Critics." *SRL*, XXXIII, 15-16, 38 (Oct. 28, 1950).

An analysis of the verdicts of various critics on *Across the River and Into the Trees*.

[HERSEY, JOHN] Guilfoil, Kelsey. "John Hersey: Fact and Fiction." *Eng. Jour.*, XXXIX, 355-360 (Sept., 1950).

Examines the charge of "mere journalism" made against Hersey's work, especially *The Wall*, and concludes that the latter is "literature": Hersey himself is cited as saying (in *Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXXIV, 5, November, 1949) that "character is the proper focus of novels of any genre," and that the novel of contemporary events can do more than the best reporting to "illuminate the human beings who are caught up in the events."

Rugoff, Milton. "John Hersey—From Documentary Journalism to the Novelist's Art." *N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Rev.*, XXVII, 3, 13 (Aug. 20, 1950).

[HOWE, M. A. DEW.] Pier, Arthur Stanwood. "Mark Howe of Boston." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXXV, 75-78 (April, 1950).

[LA FARGE, OLIVER] Bunker, Robert. "Oliver La Farge: In Search of Self." *New Mexico Quar.*, XX, 211-224 (Summer, 1950).

[LAWRENCE, JOSEPHINE] Guilfoil, Kelsey. "Josephine Lawrence: The Voice of the People." *Eng. Jour.*, XXXVIII, 365-370 (Sept., 1949).

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[MARQUAND, J. P.] Hicks, Granville. "Marquand of Newburyport." *Harper's*, CC, 101-108 (April, 1950).

White, William. "Marquandiana." *Bul. Bibl.*, XX, 8-12 (Jan.-April, 1950).

[MATTHIESSEN, F. O.] Hart, Hubert N. "Francis Otto Matthiessen." *Catholic World*, CLXXI, 448-451 (Sept., 1950).

Matthiessen did not accept the church, but depended instead on Whitman and Emerson.

[MENCKEN, H. L.] Francis, Raymond L. "Mark Twain and H. L. Mencken." *Prairie Schooner*, XXIV, 31-40 (Spring, 1950).

Manchester, William. "Mencken and the *Mercury*." *Harper's*, CCI, 65-73 (Aug., 1950).

—. "Mencken and the Twenties." *Harper's*, CCI, 62-72 (July, 1950).

[MILLAY, E. ST. V.] Ciardi, John. "Edna St. Vincent Millay: A Figure of Passionate Living." *SRL*, XXXIII, 8-9, 77 (Nov. 11, 1950).

"It was not as a craftsman nor as an influence, but as a creator of her own living that she was most alive."

[MILLER, ARTHUR] Kennedy, Sighle. "Who Killed the Salesman?" *Catholic World*, CLXXI, 110-116 (May, 1950).

[MILLER, HENRY] Chonez, Claudine. "Henry Miller: Du Pansexualisme à l'Angélisme." *Empédocle* (Paris), II, 74-80 (July-Aug., 1950).

On Miller's evolution toward mysticism.

[MITCHELL, MARGARET] Anon. "Obituary Notes: Margaret Mitchell." *Pub. Week.*, CLVI, 746 (Aug. 20, 1949).

Contains figures on numbers of copies sold, editions, translations, and conditions under which *Gone with the Wind* came to be published.

[PARRISH, ANNE] Scott, Winfield T. "Anne Parrish's Novels." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XVII, 52-59 (Autumn, 1950).

Her novels reflect the "insouciance of the '20's, bewildering shifts of the '30's, tragic breaks across life of the '40's."

[O'NEILL, EUGENE] Chiesura, Giogio. "Intoro a una commedia di O'Neill." *Letteratura* (Italy), IX, 16-30 (May-June, 1947).

An essay on *Welded*.

[PATCHEN, KENNETH] Fletcher, Ian. "Stopping the Rot." *Nine*, II, 50-51 (Jan., 1950).

"Mr. Patchen has only two individual notes: one is the nagging, bullying tone . . . ; the other is the sentimental note—perhaps typically American."

- [POUND, EZRA] Anon. "Congressmen Seek Inquiry into Bollingen Award." *Pub. Week.*, CLVI, 742 (Aug. 20, 1949).
- Hume, Robert. "The Contribution of Ezra Pound." *English*, VIII, 60-65 (Summer, 1950).
 "At his best he shows, as a minor artist can, touching though partial sympathies; at his worst he is a cheaply arrogant poseur."
- Kenner, Hugh. "The Rose in the Steel Dust." *Hudson Rev.*, III, 66-124 (Spring, 1950).
 An analysis of the *Cantos*.
- Paige, D. D. "Letters of Ezra Pound." *Hudson Rev.*, III, 53-66 (Spring, 1950).
- Pound, Ezra. "Letters to a Young Poet from Ezra Pound." *Poetry*, LXXVI, 342-351 (Sept., 1950).
 Five letters written to Iris Barry in 1916, recommending readings in Greek, Latin, and French literature, and speaking contemptuously of English poetry.
- [RANSOM, J. C.] Carne-Ross, D. C. "Ransom's 'Judith of Bethulia?'" *Nine*, II, 91-95 (May, 1950).
- [RICHTER, CONRAD] Carpenter, F. I. "Conrad Richter's Pioneers: Reality and Myth." *Col. Eng.*, XII, 77-82 (Nov., 1950).
- [ROBINSON, E. A.] Jacobs, Willis D. "E. A. Robinson's 'Mr. Flood's Party.'" *Col. Eng.*, XII, 110 (Nov., 1950).
 A note, correcting the implication in Brooks, Purser, and Warren's *An Approach to Literature*, that Eben Flood was a drunkard.
- [SANDBURG, CARL] Cargill, Oscar. "Carl Sandburg: Crusader and Mystic." *Eng. Jour.*, XXXIX, 177-184 (April, 1950).
- Hoffman, Dan G. "Sandburg and 'The People': His Literary Populism Appraised." *Antioch Rev.*, X, 265-278 (Summer, 1950).
 In presenting collective emotions divorced from the individual consciousness to a culture as pre-eminently noncollective as ours, Sandburg may have set himself an impossible task; his following "no longer numbers many of modern poetry's serious readers."
- Jenkins, Alan. "Portrait of a Poet at College." *So. Atl. Quar.*, XLIX, 478-482 (Oct., 1950).
 Sandburg's contributions to the undergraduate publications of Lombard College, Galesburg, Illinois.
- Sandburg, Carl. "Trying to Write." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXXVI, 31-33 (Sept., 1950).
- [STEINBECK, JOHN] Steinbeck, John. "Critics, Critics Burning Bright." *SRL*, XXXIII, 20-21 (Nov. 11, 1950).

A statement of the author's intentions, specifically in *Burning Bright*.

[TATE, ALLEN] Russell, Peter. "A Note on the Poetry of Allen Tate." *Nine*, II, 89-90 (May, 1950).

[TRILLING, LIONEL] Lewis, R. W. B. "Lionel Trilling and the New Stoicism." *Hudson Rev.*, III, 313-320 (Summer, 1950).

[VAN DOREN, CARL] Krutch, Joseph Wood. "A Generous Presence." *Nation*, CLXXI, 150-151 (Aug. 12, 1950).

[VILLARD, O. G.] Gannett, Lewis. "Villard and His 'Nation.'" *Nation*, CLXXI, 79-82 (July 22, 1950).

Delakas, Daniel. "L'Expérience française de Thomas Wolfe." *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, XXIV, 417-436 (July-Sept., 1950).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Anon. "Shapers of the Modern Novel: A Catalogue of an Exhibition." *Princeton Univ. Lib. Chron.*, XI, 134-141 (Spring, 1950).

Couch, W. T. "Twenty Years of Southern Publishing." *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXVI, 171-185 (Spring, 1950).

Memories of the University of North Carolina Press from 1925 to 1945.

Daiches, David. "The Scope of Sociological Criticism." *Epoch*, III, 57-64 (Summer, 1950).

"Only by a proper understanding of the scope of sociological criticism can we ensure that we shall use it to further understanding rather than to increase confusion."

DeVoto, Bernard. "The Easy Chair: Wanted, an Umpire." *Harper's*, CC, 60-63 (May, 1950).

Skeptical remarks on the psychoanalytical interpretation of literature.

Dornbusch, C. E., and Weeks, Annie D. "Yank, the Army Weekly: A Check List." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, LIV, 272-279 (June, 1950).

Farrar, John. "The Condition of American Writing." *Eng. Jour.*, XXXVIII, 421-428 (Oct., 1949); *Col. Eng.*, XI, 1-8 (Oct., 1949).

Farrell, James T. "Some Observations on Naturalism, So Called, in American Fiction." *Antioch Rev.*, X, 247-264 (Summer, 1950).

Naturalism has furthered the exploration of the human imagination and has anticipated the problems of our time: "the consequences of this tradition have been pretty much the opposite of what many critics have asserted."

Flanagan, John T. "Some Minnesota Novels, 1920-1950." *Minnesota Hist.*, XXXI, 145-147 (Sept., 1950).

Limited to "serious adult fiction."

—. "Thirty Years of Minnesota Fiction." *Minnesota Hist.*, XXXI, 129-141 (Sept., 1950).

From 1920 to 1950.

Halline, Allan G. "American Drama and World War II." *Bucknell Univ. Stud.*, II, 71-79 (Oct., 1950).

Handlin, Oscar. "The Withering of New England: The Prophets of Gloom." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXXV, 49-51 (April, 1950).

Johnson, Thomas H. "Modernist American Poetry." *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, LII, 223-231 (Summer, 1950).

The young poet today has "never before in our history . . . had such opportunity to gain an audience and win it."

Jones, H. M. "The Withering of New England: The Recovery of New England." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXXV, 51-53 (April, 1950).

Moloney, Michael F. "Half-Faiths in Modern Fiction." *Catholic World*, CLXXI, 344-350 (Aug., 1950).

Comment on Fitzgerald, Hemingway, Steinbeck, and others.

O'Connor, William Van. "Recent Magazines: The Expense of Conventions." *Poetry*, LXXVI, 118-120 (May, 1950).

Ransom, John Crowe. "The Understanding of Fiction." *Kenyon Rev.*, XII, 189-218 (Spring, 1950).

Considerations that arise from a reading of Philip Rahv's *Image and Idea*.

V. GENERAL

Anon. "American Scholarship." *LTLS*, Oct. 6, 1950, p. 629.

The techniques of scholarship are more advanced in America than in Great Britain and, despite much portentous hack-work, scholarship in America is far ahead of that among other English-speaking people. If American scholars would not despise "a clear, lively English style . . . their mastery in the field of literary studies would be vastly more evident."

—. "The Negro: A Selected Bibliography." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, LIV, 471-485 (Oct., 1950).

Books by and about the Negro in the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature.

Alderfer, E. Gordon. "In Quest of Main Currents of Pennsylvania Literature." *Penn. Hist.*, XVII, 110-120 (April, 1950).

Angoff, Charles. "On American Historical Writing." *Am. Merc.*, LXX, 750-756 (June, 1950).

Most of the best works have dealt with foreign or distant lands or with the northern hemisphere preceding the founding of the nation.

The "new" history seeks to make our national past vivid, colorful, meaningful, and is much concerned with the life and habits of the common people.

Beck, Horace. "Indian Humor." *Penn. Archeologist*, XIX, 54-60 (July-Dec., 1950).

Beth, Loren P. "Monmouth Literary Societies." *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XLIII, 120-136 (Summer, 1950).

From 1856 to 1933.

Bowling, L. E. "What Is the Stream of Consciousness Technique?" *PMLA*, LXV, 333-345 (June, 1950).

Cargill, Oscar. "Historians or Industrialists? Reflections on Bancroft, Winsor, Rhodes, Channing, and Nevins." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XVII, 34-46 (Autumn, 1950).

Fletcher, Herbert. "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Texiana." *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, LIV, 62-69 (July, 1950).

Frye, Northrop. "Levels of Meaning in Literature." *Kenyon Rev.*, XII, 246-262 (Spring, 1950).

There are four.

Harrigan, Anthony. "American Formalists." *So. Atl. Quar.*, XLIX, 483-489 (Nov., 1950).

"The formalist tradition may be described as that body of poetry in which emotion is defined with great scruple and care and in which the ideas involved in a poem . . . are presented in a logical manner, precisely as if the poem were a prose work."

Marcuse, Ludwig. "Nietzsche in Amerika." *Neue Schweizer Rundschau*, XVIII, 222-231 (Aug., 1950).

Nietzsche, who had great admiration for Emerson, has had many opponents and a few disciples in the United States.

Melz, Christian F. "Goethe and America." *Eng. Jour.*, XXXVIII, 247-253 (May, 1949).

Murakami, Fujio. [The Study of American Literature in Japan.] *Jim bun Kenyu*, I, n.p. (Aug., 1950).

Text in Japanese.

Ribalow, Harold U. "Jewish Life in the American Novel." *Am. Merc.*, LXXI, 109-117 (July, 1950).

Rouse, H. Blair. "A Selective and Critical Bibliography of Studies in Prose Fiction." *JEGP*, XLVIII, 259-284 (April, 1949); XLIX, 358-387 (July, 1950).

Shick, Joseph S. "The Early Theater in Davenport, Iowa." *Palimpsest*, XXXI, 1-44 (Jan., 1950).

Tate, Allen. "Preface to *Libretto for the Republic of Liberia.*" *Poetry*, LXXVI, 216-228 (July, 1950).

Mr. Tate wonders what influence this work will have on Negro poetry in the United States.

Wecter, Dixon. "Literary Lodestone: 100 Years of California Writing." *SRL*, XXXIII, 9-10, 37-41 (Sept. 16, 1950).

Winkler, E. M. "The Vandale Collection of Texana." *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, LIV, 27-61 (July, 1950).

At the University of Texas.

Woodruff, John. "America's Oldest Living Theatre—the Howard Atheneum." *Theatre Annual*, VII, 71-81 (1950).

The Howard Theater in Boston from 1846 to the present.

MORE ADDENDA TO ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

1920-1945

ROBERT ADGER LAW
The University of Texas

Below are a few more items to be added to the list of articles on American literature for 1920-1945. All of these appeared in Texas magazines of the period mentioned.¹

1607-1800

[DAVIS, JOHN] Law, R. A. "The Bard of Coosawhatchie." *Texas Rev.*, VII, 133-156 (Jan., 1922).

1870-1900

[HOWELLS, W. D.] Cooke, D. G. "The Humanity of William Dean Howells." *Texas Rev.*, VI, 6-25 (Oct., 1920).

[WHITMAN, WALT] Clark, G. D. "Walt Whitman in Germany." *Texas Rev.*, VI, 123-137 (Jan., 1921).

MISCELLANEOUS

[FICTION] Williams, S. T. "Aspects of the Modern Novel." *Texas Rev.*, VIII, 245-256 (April, 1923).

[FRONTIER] Asbury, S. E., and Meyer, H. E. "Old-Time White Camp Meeting Spirituals." *Pub. Texas Folk-Lore Soc.*, X, 169-185 (1932).

Barns, F. E. "Strap Buckner of the Texas Frontier," *Pub. Texas Folk-Lore Soc.*, VIII, 129-151 (1930).

_____, "Strap Buckner Again." *Pub. Texas Folk-Lore Soc.*, X, 127-130 (1932).

Boatright, M. C. "Comic Exempla of the Pioneer Pulpit." *Pub. Texas Folk-Lore Soc.*, XIV, 155-168 (1938).

Dobie, B. M. "Tales and Rhymes of a Texas Household." *Pub. Texas Folk-Lore Soc.*, VI, 23-71 (1927).

Dobie, J. F. "More Ballads and Songs of the Frontier Folk." *Pub. Texas Folk-Lore Soc.*, VII, 155-180 (1928).

¹ Since Professor Leary is planning to bring out a revised and enlarged edition of his book, *American Literature* does not wish to print any more addenda to his check list. Such addenda should be sent to him for the new edition.—J. B. H.

- [INDIANS] Densmore, Frances. "The Alabama Indians and Their Music." *Pub. Texas Folk-Lore Soc.*, XIII, 270-293 (1937).
- Ward, H. W. "Indian Sign on the Spaniard's Cattle." (Illus.) *Pub. Texas Folk-Lore Soc.*, XIX, 94-105 (1944).
- [NEGROES AND NEGRO LITERATURE] Harrison, R. C. "The Negro as Interpreter of His Own Folk-Songs." *Pub. Texas Folk-Lore Soc.*, V, 144-153 (1926).
- [PERIODICALS] Law, R. A. "*The Texas Review*, 1915-1924." *Southwest Rev.*, X, 83-90 (Oct., 1924).
- [POETRY] Coblenz, S. A. "The Poetical War." *Texas Rev.*, VI, 176-189 (April, 1921).
- "Poetry Brought Down to Earth." *Texas Rev.*, VIII, 323-328 (July, 1923).
- Ingianni, Ignacio. "In Defence of the New Poetic Movement." *Texas Rev.*, VII, 84-94 (Jan., 1922).
- Jones, V. L. "Congress and Poetry." *Texas Rev.*, VI, 108-118 (Jan., 1921).

IN MEMORIAM: FRED LEWIS PATTEE

1863-1950

W. L. WERNER

Pennsylvania State College

ARLIN TURNER

Secretary, American Literature Group, M.L.A.

IN THE PASSING of Dr. Fred Lewis Pattee death has removed a pioneer scholar and an authoritative historian of American literature. As a teacher and writer, he was active in the early battles to establish this area of study, and his labors in the field continued until his final illness.

He published one of the early textbooks on American literature in 1896, explored the contemporary writers of the West and South in *American Literature since 1870*, edited an anthology of continuing popularity, *Century Readings*, and wrote authoritatively on *The Development of the American Short Story*. He contributed to *The Re-Interpretation of American Literature* volume, and was one of the first group of editors of this quarterly.

Despite poor library facilities and several serious illnesses, he achieved an amazing record of production. In addition to writing eight and editing eleven books on our literature, Dr. Pattee expressed his versatile abilities in two volumes of poetry, three novels, several books on religion and pedagogy, and numerous articles and reviews in magazines and newspapers.

All this writing did not prevent him from leading an active campus and community life at the Pennsylvania State College. He carried the burdens of a department headship for thirty-five years, served as college chaplain, coached undergraduate dramatic and debating groups, and even wrote the "Alma Mater." He was a leader in his town's religious life and active in social movements.

His influence as a teacher was widespread; he lectured for varying periods at Rollins College, Breadloaf School of English, Blowing Rock School of English, the University of Illinois, and Columbia University in addition to his years at the Pennsylvania State College. He was probably the first full professor with the title "Professor of

American Literature," and certainly the first department head with that title.

A student of C. F. Richardson at Dartmouth and a follower of Taine, he always regarded literature as the expression of the people. He is gratefully remembered by many former students as a wise and witty lecturer. He will long be remembered by many more readers for his happy facility in presenting the details of research in a popular style and for the sincere American spirit which illuminated his defense of our literature and his histories of it.

24-3-62